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DISCOVERY OF ASIA

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FOREWORD

I was privileged to see the present work in its proof-stage, and I wish to confirm, in the short notice, the high opinion I began to hold, from the start, about the importance of the latest work from Dr. Kalidas Nag. A book like this, giving a *survey of the world of Man in the Asiatic lands* fringing on the Pacific Ocean and in the islands of the Pacific—Indonesia, Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, was for a long time a *desideratum*, and there were few people, at least in India, who could handle this vast *terrain* with the authority of the scholar and the traveller. Dr. Nag, as one of the founders of the *Greater India Society* of Calcutta, is keenly alive to the part which India has played in the evolution of culture and civilization, in the Far East and the islands. An *honest attempt has been made to appraise the part played by the Man in Asia, from the prehistoric times right down to the glorious days of the Guptas and the Tangs and later, in helping the men of the Far East and other distant lands, to come to the full height of their being.* For this task, Dr. Nag, as it will be admitted by all those who know him and who will read this work, is eminently fitted. An Indian scholar, who has specialised in Indology not only in his own country but also in Paris and elsewhere abroad, he is one of the most widely travelled men from University circles in India; and his sojourn in Honolulu as Visiting Professor to the Hawaii University and his travels in New Zealand and elsewhere, where he could meet prominent men among the important Polynesian peoples, have given him a unique opportunity to visualise some of the situations first-hand. He has besides widely travelled in Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Ceylon, Malaya, Java and Bali, the Philippines, China and Japan, besides the United States and some of the lands of South America in addition to considerable parts or Europe and some parts of Africa. Scholars and learned bodies, museums and private collections have everywhere been consulted by him, over and above the printed page. *We have thus in the present volume a unique study of the problems regarding the origin and development of civilised life among more than half of the human race which the author has written with enthusiasm which also infects his readers.*

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A certain amount of repetition was unavoidable as so many peoples and cultures overlap each other ; and in this regional survey, in dealing with contacts, this could not be helped. The bibliographical and other references, all given in the course of the narrative, are full and up-to-date, and this adds not a little to the value of the book. The titles for the different chapters will indicate the scope of the work : The Pacific Basin—a Cultural Survey ; Cultural Migrations in Oceania : Maori Land and Culture ; The Polynesian World ; Cultural Organisations of Hawaii ; The Peoples and Cultures of the Philippines ; India and the Archæology of Malaysia and Indonesia ; Art and Archæology of Thailand ; Art and Archæology of Indo-China ; Art and Archæology of Sumatra : Java in Asiatic History and Culture ; China and the Dawn of Asiatic Culture ; Problems of Chinese Art and Archæology ; Buddhism and the Evolution of Chinese Art ; Collections of Chinese Art and Archæology ; Prehistoric Japan ; Japanese Art and Religion in its various periods ; the national Art Treasures and Museums of Japan ; Art and Archæology in Japan ; Conclusion : Pre-history and Proto-history of Asia, India and the Asiatic Background ; Pacific Civilisation and India.

In addition to a narrative statement of the evolution of cultures in these lands, the *author has given a running survey of all that modern research and conservation have done to study and to preserve for posterity all the remains of civilisation so far available in these lands.* Altogether, the work is well-conceived, and well-executed, and it should be read and consulted by all students of Indian and connected cultures.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (London),
Emeritus Professor, University of Calcutta and
Chairman, Legislative Council, West Bengal.

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DISCOVERY OF ASIA

I

NEW ASIA

DEDICATED

TO

SRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

WITH

PROFOUND GRATITUDE

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INTRODUCTION

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, First Premier of Free India, showed remarkable foresight when, in March, 1947, he invited to New Delhi the first Asian Relations Conference. Thus, a few months before the advent of Independence to India (15th. August, 1947), he opened a new chapter in the history of modern Asian nations by extending hospitality to representative men and women of the leading nations of our part of the world.

Dr. Kalidas Nag, who, since his first visit to Ceylon in the second decade of this century has been crossing and recrossing the continent of Asia, was invited to prepare a data-paper on the "Cultural Problems of Asia" which was, later on, distributed among and considered by the delegates who enriched the subject discussed with their valuable suggestions. It was thus that the monograph gradually developed into a book "New Asia."

The Conference, sponsored by Pandit Nehru and presided over by Poetess Sarojini Naidu, naturally evoked great enthusiasm among all the delegates, who were as much impressed by the profound utterances of Pandit Nehru as by the poetic genius and rare eloquence of Sarojini Devi. But the most cherished memory, to the delegates, was the unexpected appearance, on the last day, of Mahatma Gandhi, hailed by one and all as the Father of Indian Freedom.

The greatness of Gandhiji flashed upon every one when, in the significant prelude to his talk, he introduced himself as the "Coolie Barrister." He not only summarised thereby the history of his fifty years' struggle for all the dispossessed, the insulted, and the tortured sections of mankind, but pointed, as it were, to the baffling problems of the future—the problems of racial hatred, of political domination and of colonial exploitation, still darkening the horizon of Asia, Africa and other backward regions of the globe.

To tackle these problems effectively, we must gradually build up a more or less permanent institution, which will survey, with scientific detachment, the various movements in and outside Asia, some of which are threatening to disturb

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world peace, others helping to relieve the mounting tensions and fortunately, some even slowly and tentatively preparing the ground for mutual agreement and collaboration.

So Dr. Nag, after devoting the first few chapters to a concrete and vivid description of the colourful delegations from the Middle and the Near East, from South East Asia, Russia, also from Soviet Asia, contributes a special chapter on the formation of the Asian Relations Organisation (A. R. O.) in India, its constitution, its purposes, principles and functions.

India, no doubt, is a member of the United Nations, the Unesco and the World Court. But many other non-European and non-Christian nations, specially of Asia and Africa, are still non-members, and are labouring under various handicaps and humiliations. The standard of living for the common man here is low and the condition of labour—industrial as well as agricultural —is unsatisfactory. Mass illiteracy and social backwardness are equally bad. And these challenge our special attention.

While these negative aspects of modern Asian history call for a friendly and co-operative venture to solve the problems gradually, there are also positive grounds and prospects of Inter-Asian collaboration. This has been clearly indicated by Dr. Nag in the last chapter—"The Spread of Indian Culture", which the author communicated to the India-America Conference held in Delhi, in December, 1949.

Undoubtedly, his most practical and fruitful suggestions find a place in the chapter entitled '*Encyclopædia Asiana*". Here, Dr. Nag makes a passionate appeal to the scholars and scientists of New Asia, as well as to other official and non-official agencies, to come forward and to give a concrete shape to the history and progress of Eastern civilisation. Even amidst baffling diversities, there is a basic unity of Eastern life and thought, evolving through thousands of years ; and it is high time that these realities and ideals should be presented through a full-fledged Asian Encyclopædia.

I congratulate the author on his thought-provoking book and recommend it to the general public.

RAJ BHAVAN,
CALCUTTA.

H. C. MOOKERJEE
Governor of West Bengal.

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CHAPTER ONE

ASIAN CONFERENCE : THE ATMOSPHERE

That India should be the first to invite and to be the *venue* of the Asian Relations Conference is a fact of tremendous historical significance. Interested foreign propaganda has always tried to prove that Indian people and civilisation grew in 'splendid isolation'. Yet, from the earliest phase of her documented history India was in constant touch with all the principal currents, racial and cultural, of Asia. Some of the Asian folks have penetrated peacefully, others have rushed into our body-politic ; but all of them have contributed substantially to the development of our state and society and to the enrichment of our cultural heritage, literary, artistic and philosophical. Some of the ethnic strains got assimilated into the central stock of Hinduism ; others, like the Islamic groups, have remained partially isolated, with distinct individuality, both in their sociological and theological outlook. As against the bewildering *diversity* of Hinduism, Islam boldly proclaimed the *unity* of Godhead and equality of man. Buddhism with its sublime emphasis on Non-Violence (*ahimsa*) and Fraternity (*maitri*) linked up the civilisation of India with that of Eastern Asia. Christianity with its doctrine of Atonement through Love, originated in Asia, migrated to the West and has re-entered Asia. These bigger cultural currents apart, we have so many other smaller, though nonetheless significant groups, like the Jews, Zoroastrians and others.

This complicated pattern of Asiatic culture was admirably represented in the first Asian Relations Conference at New Delhi. Over 200 delegates, representing about 30 nations of Asia, met in a most friendly atmosphere in spite of differences of political, economic and social outlook. There were moments of tension, as for example, when the Jewish delegates met the delegates of the Arab world, or when the Viet Nam representatives faced the loyalist delegates from Laos and Cambodia. But the overpowering sense of Asian unity, which was the life-breath of the

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Conference prevented the tensions from degenerating into discourtesies and conflicts. We need not shut our eyes to the fact that not a single Arab delegate could come to represent the case of the Palestine Arabs. But their case was ably championed by the delegates from Egypt and by the observer from the Arab League who personally attended and disputed some of the statements made by the Jewish delegation. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, with rare tact and patience, controlled the situation, and the whole Assembly thundered with applause when the leader of the Jewish delegation shook hands with the Arab delegate.

There were sharp differences also among the delegates from Indo-China. The heroic resistance of the Viet Nam people naturally roused the sympathy of the Indians ; but they were considerate and courteous to the loyalist delegates from Laos and Cambodia. Thus while there were moments of tension, there were no stalemates or breakdowns. The sound statesmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and the towering personality of Srimati Sarojini Naidu, the chairman, worked miracle ; and they piloted the vessel of the Conference through troubled waters to the haven of human fellowship and collaboration.

Privilaged to be invited to this historic Conference and to prepare for it a detailed Memorandum on the literary, artistic and cultural collaboration of the Asian nations, I felt that the most significant result was the creation of positive goodwill and the preparation for erecting a permanent centre of Inter-Asian collaboration. Postponing, for the present, my detailed discussion on the Asia Institute, I may say that even ten days of energetic discussions could not satisfactorily dispose of the major items on our agenda. These were sub-divided into six important 'commissions' which, through their *rapporteurs* communicated to the public their generalized conclusions in the form of agreed statements. But many of the important items could not be exhaustively treated, because of the timebar and the serious handicap of language differences.

One of the most hotly debated and yet, alas, the least convincing of all discussions, related to the acceptance of an international language for all peoples. Whether such a constructed or 'fabricated' language could adequately express the inner thoughts

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and aspirations of all peoples remained as problematic as ever. Provisionally, however, English was found to be a convenient workable medium for prompt exchange of our ideas. With English and French one could exchange ideas with most of the delegates, including those from Asian Russia. Knowing, as we do, that the United Nations have declared Chinese and Russian as two of the five major languages for discussion and translation, and realizing that China and U.S.S.R. jointly count more than six hundred million souls, we Indians must quickly popularize the teaching of the *basic* Chinese and Russian among our intellectual workers. Even a general familiarity with these two historic languages, as against the possibility of fabricating a new language, would help considerably the cause of Asian unity.

India, like Russia, is a multilingual and, may we say, multicultural sub-continent. Probably that is the reason why we have got accustomed to manage our ordinary affairs by gesture language. I was glad to find in the grand pavilion of Asian nations that gesture language played its role admirably. Indian courtesy carried the day. And this was conclusively proved when, in the hot afternoon of some plenary sessions, the charming Indian girl volunteers served soft drinks to thirsty foreigners who dropped their foreign look automatically. Whether they thanked in Russian, Arabic, Tibetan or Indonesian languages, is a very minor point. The spirit of kinship grew spontaneously through sincere services rendered by our leaders, collaborators and volunteers. Each nation delivered its message to the general assembly in its *native tongue* and received great ovation as soon as the gist of the message was translated. But no less inspiring was the simple narrative of the arduous journeys of our friends from Mongolia, Korea or Viet Nam, covering the enormous distances in 14 to 24 days of tiring and risky passages, by all possible routes on land, water and air. We all felt thrilled when, towards the closing days of the conference, some of the most adventurous delegates literally dropped from the clouds !

Lastly, when the least expected and yet most desired Mahatmaji suddenly decided to greet the delegates personally and to deliver his profound message of *Ahimsa* at the final session of the conference, we felt that the veritable *Tri-ratna* symbol

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of Truth, Non-Violence and Amity was placed on the superb dome of the Asian Relations Organisation of which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the architect and dreamer. By his sincerity of purpose and far-sighted wisdom he laid the foundation of a shrine of creative unity which Tagore wished to see realized years ago. That noble dream is going to be a reality through the active co-operation of our brothers and sisters of Asia and we conclude this preliminary survey by citing the prophetic massage of Rabindranath, written in Bengali (1899) about half a century ago and translated by him into English during the dark days of the first World-War :

The Sunset of the Century

The last sun of the century sets amidst the blood-red clouds of the West and the whirlwind of hatred.

The naked passion of self-love of Nations, in its drunken delirium of greed, is dancing to the clash of steel and the howling verses of vengeance.

* * * *

The crimson glow of light on the horizon is not the light of thy dawn of Peace, my Motherland.

It is the glimmer of the funeral pyre burning to ashes the vast flesh,—the self-love of the Nation,—dead under its own excess. Thy morning waits behind the patient dark of the East
Meek and silent.

Keep watch, India.
Bring your offerings of worship for that sacred sunrise.
Let the first hymn of its welcome sound in your voice and sing
"Come, Peace, thou daughter of God's own great suffering.
Come with thy treasure of contentment,
the sword of fortitude and meekness crowning thy forehead.

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CHAPTER TWO

TAGORE : PIONEER IN ASIAN RELATIONS

Moving amongst the delegates of the Asian Conference, I was agreeably surprised to notice how many of them remembered our national poet Rabindranath not only as the greatest luminary in the literary horizon of Asia, but also as a pioneer in reviving inter-Asian relations in modern times. I propose to recount here briefly some of the specific contributions of Rabindranath to the cause which found such glorious vindication in the Delhi Conference.

The earliest so-far-traced reference to Tagore's interest in Asian affairs is to be found in his Bengali article on *Death Traffic in China* protesting vigorously against the inhuman Opium trade of the European merchants. The article was published in 1881 before the foundation of the Indian National Congress, and it should be re-translated into Hindi, Urdu and other Indian vernaculars. Rabindranath's saintly father, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, undertook, in an advanced age, a sea-voyage to China; though, unfortunately, his diary of that voyage is now lost, fragments were published in his famous Bengali journal *Tattva Bodhini Patrika 1875-76* which printed articles on Taoism Confucianism and other systems of Chinese philosophy as well as some vivid description of the temples of Canton which was apparently the terminus of his China tour.

Rabindranath naturally inherited from his father a deep appreciation of Chinese culture and it will be news to many that in his later years, when he read that brilliant vindication of Eastern idealism by Professor Lowes Dickinson in his *Letters of John Chinaman*, Tagore was the first to popularise the book in Bengali through his essay, *Chinamaner Chithi (1905-6)*.

The Republic of China was established in 1911 and Tagore, after his 50th birthday, started on his momentous tour with the English version of his *Gitanjali* which brought the first Nobel Prize to Asia (1913). In his third foreign tour of 1912-13,

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the Poet came in contact with many oriental students and some of the early translations of the *Gitanjali* were in Chinese and Japanese.

In 1915, Mahatma Gandhi returned from South Africa and brought home to the Poet, at their first personal contact, the tragic history of race-hatred in South Africa. The Reverend C. F. Andrews and W. Pearson, two of the most loyal British friends of the Poet, who were also professors at Santiniketan had already been to South Africa to help Mahatma Gandhi. Naturally, the Poet received with open arms the members of Mahatmaji's family and his disciples in Santiniketan.

In 1916, Tagore undertook a voyage through China and Japan to America and suffered humiliation from the Japanese for his trenchant criticism of nationalistic chauvinism which was the cause of the first world war. He repeated the same warning to Japan through his letters to the Poet Noguchi (1938).

In 1920, I had the privilege of travelling with him through France and other European countries. I saw how in his sixtieth year, Tagore plunged with the enthusiasm of a youth, into the planning of an Asian Research Institute at Santiniketan. He had already inspired Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri to learn Tibetan with a view to restoring some of the forgotten Indian texts, luckily preserved in Tibetan translations. While in Paris, he came to learn from my venerable professor Sylvain Levi that a large number of valuable Indian texts, now forgotten by India, would be recovered, if some Indian scholars could be induced to learn Chinese. And although the financial resources of the Santiniketan School were very low in 1921, Rabindranath at once decided to invite Professor Sylvain Levi to inaugurate the department of the Sino-Indian studies at the cost of over ten thousand rupees. Thus Professor Levi spent some of the happiest months of his life in Santiniketan and the Visva-Bharati was founded in December, 1921, as the first institute of Asian Culture, developing under the joint collaboration of the scholars from the East and the West.

In 1923 when I returned from the University of Paris to join the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University, I had the rare fortune to be invited by Gurudev to join his

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Visva-Bharati mission to China and the Far East. The Poet had received a cordial invitation from eminent leaders of the Chinese Republic, led by the renowned Liang Chi Chao. Details of this memorable tour have already been published by me in many articles, and recently in the booklet, *Tagore in China.* His appearance in China opened a new chapter in the collaboration between China and India in modern days.* Pandit Kshitimohan Sen explored the possibilities of organising a comparative study of Chinese and Indian religions and cultures. Acharya Nandalal Bose, who also was a member of the delegation, charmed artistic China by his magic brush and brought back to India valuable hints and suggestions regarding the assimilation of the techniques of Chinese and Indian arts. And I, in my humble way, hoped to integrate the studies of South-East Asian art and culture into our university curriculum ; thanks to Dr. Tagore and to the support generously offered by the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, I could organise the Greater India movement which completed its Silver Jubilee in the year of the Asian Relations Conference.

On my way back from China and Japan, I visited in 1924 our ancient cultural colonies of Champa (Viet Nam) and Cambodia in Indo-China, as well as the islands of Java and Bali. In 1927 Tagore sailed for Indonesia and established relationship with the Indonesian leaders of Java and Bali ; on his return journey he spent some time in Siam, Malaya and Burma as well. Some of the significant poems that he wrote in this period should now be translated from original Bengali into different Asian languages. The entire East Asia with its rich legacies of Sino-Japanese art (mainly inspired by Indian Buddhism), the art and culture of Indonesia, Siam, Burma, in fact, of the whole of South-East Asia, was made for the first time real to our consciousness by the exploratory zeal and and the creative genius of Rabindranath.

My friend Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, a pillar of our Greater India movement, who accompanied Tagore in 1927, has given a very valuable account of this cultural odyssey in his Bengali book *Dvipamoy Bharat.*

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* *Vide* : *Visva-Bharati News*, June 1947 : "First Asian Convention of 1924" ; also *Christian Science Monitor*, October 3, 1924,

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Another learned colleague and a dear friend at the University of Paris, the late Dr. Probodh Chandra Bagchi, opened a new chapter by proceeding to the National University of Peking as a visiting scholar ; and he remembered, with gratitude, the fact that he got in touch with Professor Sylvain Levi for the first time in Santiniketan where he was initiated into the various branches of Sino-Indian studies in 1921-1922.

In 1930-31 I had again the privilege of travelling with the Poet through Europe and America. We watched how the venerable Poet, almost in his seventieth year, was still dreaming of exploring fresh fields of cultural collaboration. Visiting Soviet Russia in 1930, Tagore was deeply moved to find how eager were the rural folks of Russia, specially of Soviet Asia, to come to the aid of our unfortunate exploited rural population. Tagore's *Letters from Russia* written in Bengali (but not then permitted to be published in English), should now be published by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, pioneer of inter-Asian Relations, for the benefit of all those who cannot read them in the original, and specially for the numerous nations of Soviet Asia who sent such a large and brilliant delegation to the Asian Conference. When in 1931-32 I had the privilege of assembling and publishing *The Golden Book of Tagore*, messages flocked in from his admirers of Europe and America as well as from Soviet Russia, China, Japan, Indonesia, the Middle East and the Far East.

Tagore's relations with the Near Eastern countries were most cordial. He passed often through Egypt and King Fuad presented him with a set of valuable Arabic manuscripts for the Islamic Department of the Visva-Bharati. The celebrated Near Eastern poet Bustani personally visited Santiniketan ; and I was glad to note that he completed the translations of some of our Sanskrit classics into Arabic. In 1932 the Poet received a personal invitation from the builder of Modern Iran, Reza Shah Pehlavi. Tagore then in his seventy-first year, flew to Teheran and to Baghdad and amidst the glorious roses of Iran, his birthday was celebrated with banquets and poetic recitals, evoking truly Iranian grace and glamour. The Shah also made gifts of enduring nature to the Poet by sending in his party to Santiniketan the celebrated poet and scholar Poure Daoud, together with some rare manuscripts from

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the Royal Library. Thus Iran also joined hands with India. And Iran and Iraq were the last foreign countries which the Poet could visit in his declining years. But even in his sick-bed, whenever he would hear about an Indian going to some outside country, specially to some Asian cultural zone, he would give enthusiastic blessings.

I remember vividly, in this connection, the evening when the venerable Poet was giving readings to us from his Bengali manuscript of *Chhelebela (My Younger Days)* and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru quietly came into the lounge, had a few moments' conversation, and with his warm benidictions, started on his first voyage to the Chinese Republic. The Poet had the satisfaction of seeing firmly established, through the devoted zeal of Professor Tan Yun-San, the China-Bhavana, where a regular cultural exchange between China and India has been established. Scholars and students not only from China, but also from Japan and Java, Siam and Burma, Ceylon, Afghanistan and Iran, and far-off Palestine, have been visiting the International University of Visva-Bharati. This account of Tagore's practically unaided efforts in reviving inter-Asian relations will, I hope, inspire us to undertake our responsibilities in a proper way and on an adequate scale in Free India.

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CHAPTER THREE

RUSSIAN DELEGATION :

Proceeding now to survey the diverse contributions of the different groups of delegates to the Asian Relations Conference, I feel that I would better start with the Russian delegation.

Before coming into personal contact with those delegates in Delhi, while I was drafting my 'Memorandum on Cultural Problems,' I recorded the following facts : (1) that Soviet Asia occupies nearly half of the entire Asian Continent, covering 7,346,548, sq. miles, which is more than 7/8ths of the total area of the Soviet Union ; (2) that its climate varies from that of the burning desert of Gobi to that of the ice-bound Arctic circles ; (3) that extreme variations are equally noticeable in the economic structure and social pattern of the diverse races, professing different religions and speaking different languages ; (4) that the fissiparous and centrifugal tendencies have been effectively checked by a liberal scientific education and by the application of science in the solution of the basic problems of life.

Writers like Bates, Dariest and Steiger have given staggering statements about the economic and industrial progress of Soviet Asia within the short period of thirty years : 'What emerged as important was the fact of the rise of Man from an ignorant past to an enlightened present ; important the number of schools and students, of hospitals and doctors, of laboratories and research workers, new industries, new railways, thousands of miles of air-ways and new varieties of grains for the frozen North.'

The Mongolian and the Tuna People's Republics were for centuries under the chilling influence of Tibetan Lamaism ; they effected the separation of the Church from the State in 1924 and made remarkable progress, devoloping their Republics on secular lines in friendly co-operation with the Soviet Union.

The populations of Uzbekistan and Kazakhastan, numbering about five million each, marched from utter backwardness to scientific and industrial efficiency within the last twentyfive years.

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The Tadjiks, Turkmenians and the Kirghizes, numbering one million each, are right on the northern frontiers of India. Here are the Pamir Ranges where the Soviet scientists are reported to have built up a Cosmic Ray laboratory and they read with great interest, no doubt, the news of the discovery of Thorium deposits in Travancore. In this 'Roof of the World,' even the valley bottoms are 13,000 feet above sea level, while its Lenin Peak is over 23,000 feet and the Stalin Peak 24,590 feet, rivalling our Kinchinjungha Range.

SCIENTIFIC COLLABORATION: The systems of trigonometrical survey in Russia and India have recently been co-ordinated, so that the map-making in Russia and India follows a uniform system. In fact, many of the complicated geographical, geological and geophysical problems of India and China could only be solved by reference to the researches of the Russian scientists. The northern frontiers of Iran, India and China march uninterruptedly with the southern frontiers of Soviet Asia and the inner lines of communication are always open. But the iron curtain of suspicion has temporarily suspended scientific and economic collaboration between our respective zones. We hope that such a callaboration would be fostered with the stabilization of Asian States and the improvement of their status in the comity of nations.

In the domain of archaeology, the chalcolithic cultures, of Russia, China and India (Ordos, Yang-Shao and Indus Valley) should be studied on parallel lines. The Russian Turkestan bears valuable evidence of cross-currents and cross-fertilization of diverse religions and cultures: Confucianism, Buddhism, Mithraism, Manicheism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

INDOLOGY IN RUSSIA: In India we are specially interested in the history of expansion of Buddhism through Russian and Chinese Turkestan to the remote monasteries of Mongolia and Siberia. That history has yet to be fully written in collaboration with Russian philologists and antiquarians, as I tried to show by getting my friend. Dr. George N. Roerich, to write a paper on 'Indology in Russia'.*

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* *The Journal of the Greater India Society*, July 1945.

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Fables and tales of Indian origin penetrated Russia through Iran, Byzantium, and the Arab world. *Legend of the kingdom of India* was popular in Russia in the 13th century. In 1466-1472 the Russian merchant Athanasius Nikitin travelled through Persia and South India, leaving much valuable information in his unfinished diary. In the 17th century an Indian colony was established in Astrakhan on the Volga estuary and Indian traders sailed up the Volga right up to Tver (native city of Nikitin). Fire-worship was introduced into Baku in the 18th century by the Parsees and Indian 'sadhus' who must have come to Astrakhan from Baku.*

George Foster, who made in 1782-84 an overland journey from Bengal to England records in his travels : 'The Hindus enjoy in Astracan very fair indulgence···after accumulating a certain property they return to India and they are succeeded by other adventurers.'

As soon as the first English translation, by Charles Wilkins, of the *Bhagavad Gita* was published in 1785, its Russian translation was published in 1787 by the famous Russian publisher Norikov.

Gerasim Lebedev of the Russian Embassy in England spent twelve years (1785-97) in India, working as a clerk at Fort William, Bengal. He founded a theatre in Calcutta and performed plays, written by Lebedev himself in Bengali, as well as plays by European dramatists, which he translated. Thenceforward we find continuous publication by Russian scholars of books and monographs on Indian languages, religions and cultures.

Between 1855-75, the Russian Academy of Sciences published in seven volumes *The St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary*.

Much valuable information, relating to cultural collaboration between India and Russia, has been carefully compiled by Dr. Roerich ; and when I presented copies of his paper to the Russian delegates in Delhi they promised to send more of such bibliographical survey to Indian periodicals.

BENGAL, AND RUSSIA : While welcoming the Russian delegates along with others at a special reception orgainised by the

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* Barthold. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, P 609.

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Delhi Ramakrishna Mission, I could not help communicating to some members of the Russian Academy, a few hitherto neglected facts, concerning Bengal's relations with Russia. In the seventies of the last century an adventurous Bengali youth. Nishikanto Chatterji, managed to enter Russia *via* England where he studied for a while; and possibly, taking advantage of the growing interest in Sanskritic studies among the Russian scholars, Nishikanto submitted a thesis on the Folk-theatre *(yatra)* of Bengal and served for a while as a lecturer at the University of Moscow or St. Petersburg. References to his career in Germany and Russia I discovered while consulting the old files of *Tattwa-bodhini Patrika* founded by Devendranath Tagore who, I found, helped this struggling Bengali scholar with funds. Some of Nishikanto's Bengali essays on radical thoughts of contemporary Europe were also published in Bengali periodicals; these should be republished in order to establish further proofs of cultural contact.

Within the first ten years of its existence (1917-27), the Soviet Government called an Asian Congress in Baku (1920) and established a big University of Oriental Studies in Moscow, where many promising scholars from India and other countries of Asia have been working; but so far no connected account of their activities has been published.

TAGORE IN RUSSIA: When Rabindranath Tagore could visit Moscow in the spring of 1930, he opened a new world as it were to our people: 'I am in Russia after all. Every thing I see here is striking and does not resemble the things known in other countries. The difference is fundamental and radical. They aspire to awaken all men to equal status through root and branch reform.' These valuable Bengali *Letters from Russia*, I am glad to learn, will soon be published in English by the Visva-Bharati.

Men, women, children, labourers and peasants crowded round the Indian patriarch when he visited Russia and they sent touching messages to *The Golden Book of Tagore*, published by me on the occasion of the 70th birthday of the Poet. When Tagore quitted the world, Russians were about to face the titanic blast of the German war machine. Now that the U.S.S.R.

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has emerged as one of the leading world Powers and sent observers from European Russia and delegates from the important Republics of Soviet Asia, they, on their return, would open a new chapter of collaboration.

I remember, specially, in this connection, the enthusiasm of the leader of the delegation from Georgia, Professor M. Akvlediani, a veteran philologist and a great admirer of Sanskrit classics, specially of the *Ramayana*. He was deeply touched by the hospitality of his Bengali friends who arranged a musical *soiree* at the Gouripore House. Kumar Birendra Kisore Roy Choudhury gave his brilliant demonstration of classical melodies on string instruments. Then a Bengali girl danced to some Tagore melodies and the Russian professor exclaimed: 'Oh, she reminds me of Kamala in Tagore's *Wreck*'. The *Naukadubi* of Rabindranath was already a favourite with our Russian guests.

Professor Sarymsacoff, leader of the Uzbekistan delegation, was a member of the Academy of Sciences and a brilliant mathematician, who follows closely the researches of the late Professor Meghnad Saha and of Professor S. N. Bose and others.

Madame Taivov, leader of the Tadjikistan delegation, was a Muslim lady, specialising in Civil Engineering and Architecture. She was ably seconded by two other polyglot Russian ladies who had a strenuous time, translating and re-translating the speeches and statements in the various Asian languages, into Russian and into English, for the benefit of all of us who were debarred from enjoying the consonantal music of the Russian language. Outside the group of 'interpreters', some of the delegates could exchange a few sentences with us in English or in French. I was very glad to discover two eminent historians, Professor M. Charipoff, leader of the Kazak delegation, and also Professor Abramian of the University of Armenia, who had long talks with me on the recent archæological discoveries in the Indus Valley. Professor Z. Kalalnov is a distinguished philologist and President of the Armenian Society for Cultural Relations. The Azerbaijan Republic also sent several delegates led by Dr. Ibrahimoff. Professor Tursunzade is a member of the Academy of Tadjikistan and a very renowned Muslim poet.

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STUDY OF RUSSIAN : And how many such poets and artists, technicians and scientists were there among the twenty delegates from U. S. S. R. whom we had the privilege of receiving in New Delhi. They tried their best to convey to their Indian friends some information relating to their economic and cultural life. But language was a great barrier and in a hurry they could not bring prepared reports and papers for the Conference. Nevertheless, we were happy to have the opportunity of establishing human contacts ; and we hope that when the next Conference will assemble in China or elsewhere, we will all meet with less handicaps, less confusion in world trends and more of goodwill and creative collaboration. Russian, with Chinese, French. Spanish and English, is one of the major languages in the United Nations Organisation ; and it is a happy augury that special provision for the study of the Russian language has recently been made by the authorities of the Delhi University. While the Russian scholars are completing their translation of the Great Epics—the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*—we should see to it that the standard Russian works are translated likewise into Hindusthani, Bengali and other living languages of India.

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CHAPTER FOUR

EAST-ASIAN DELEGATION

In the last twenty years, intervening between the end of the first World war and the beginning of the second, statesmen and publicists were accustomed to find Japan among the Far Eastern nations dominating in every important international conference. Japan, however, was totally unrepresented at the first Inter-Asian Relations Conference ; and, that led many of the participants to enquire if it could not be made possible to get Japan represented, in the present situation by an eminent Christian leader like Dr. Kagawa, and also by some pronounced pacifists among the Japanese Buddhist community. Invitations no doubt were sent, but apparently they did not reach the parties in post war Japan or facilities for transport and visas could not be procured in time. Quite recently, Japanese experts were permitted to attend for the first time after the war, the World Rice Conference at Trivandrum ; and Japanese manufactured goods, especially textile products are already in the market of the Middle East.

Another significant gap, noticed by many, was due to the absence of even a single delegate from Communist China. We know that there was a complete rupture of diplomatic relations between the Republican Government on the one side and the Communist Government on the other. In fact, news came to us, while we were attending the Conference that one lakh and twenty thousand Communist troops under General. Linpo Cheng, launched an attack on Sin Siang, a Government base in North Honan. Thus Communist China in the north could not make its voice heard at the Delhi Conference where the old Kuomintang Government delegates alone represented their party.

MONGOLIAN DELEGATION : Fortunately, two of the smaller but nonetheless interesting delegations from Mongolia and Korea were there to give a partially representative character to the delegates from the Far East.

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Mongolia is divided into two big zones : the outer Mongolia has its capital as Urga, 170 miles to the south of the Siberian frontier and is thus still largely under the protection of U. S. S. R., which support their basically pastoral economy by purchasing raw materials like wool, hides, furs, horns, etc.

Inner Mongolia, on the other hand, exports goods to China and is dominantly Chinese in their social and economic organisation. We were very happy to find that two of the Mongolian delegates were scholars of outstanding merit. Mr. Lub San Vandan was a philologist and a member of the Science Commission of the Mongolian Republic. He was formally elected to represent Mongolia in the General Council of the Asian Relations Organisation. Mr. Nobo Sambo, the leader of the delegation, a professor of the State University, is engaged in writing a new history of Mongolia. He struck an original note in the fine message which he delivered at the end of the Conference ; 'The Inter-Asian Conference opened a new chapter unprecedented in the history of mankind . . . It has proved to the world that Asians are determined not only to maintain peace and harmony, but to free the peoples of Asia and other parts of the world. It is the right time for the Asians to get together to make determined effort to conquer the world by Love and Truth. The West, which has long been proud of its leadership, is now tearing itself to pieces ; we must tell the Western Powers that the days of domination and oppression are over. Asia is rising from a great slumber to lead the world, through the true path, to fight, side by side with, the oppressed peoples for their cherished goal of Independence and to throw aside foreign influence. Asia, the home of Buddha, Christ and Mohammad, should go forward with her message of Love and Truth".

The Mongolian delegates could reach New Delhi after twenty-four days of strenuous journey, as I heard, using all the possible types of transport. That showed what an enthusiasm was roused in the heart of our Asian friends by the first invitation of India. The delegates naturally addressed the meetings in their mother-tongue which was translated into English by a distinguished economist Denbeyb Shirab who came as an observer from the Government of Mongolia.

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KOREAN DELEGATION : Another batch of last-minute arrivals were our friends from Korea. Dr. Paik, the leader of the delegation, a tall dignified personality, did not wait for any interpreter and made in English clear and impressive statements relating to the social and economic problems of his partially liberated country. Korea had the misfortune of being placed between three powerful neighbours : China on the West, Japan on the east and Russia on the north ; therefore Korea functioned for ages as a buffer-state. Aggressive Japan found that only 120 miles from her shore, there was Korea, almost as large as Japan proper (over 85,000 sq. miles in area). So Korea came to be occupied by Japan between 1905-10 and was for about forty years under Japanese domination. But the Korean independence movement became vigorous since 1919 ; at the end of the second world war, Korea came to be divided into two zones : the North occupied by the army of the U. S. S. R. and the South by that of U. S. A. On behalf of over twenty million of Koreans, Dr. Paik made a fervent appeal so that the Asian Conference unanimously supported his plea for a free and unencumbered Korea emerging with the removal of the occupation armies of Russia and America.

It will be news to many that the U. S. A. spends 100 million dollars annually for maintaining her army in South Korea and she is thinking of giving further aids of 300,000,000 dollars to the Korean Government, just as she is doing to Greece and Turkey. But such subsidising operations, on the part of U. S. A., may not necessarily lead to the pacification of the Near East or of the Far East. We do not know yet what would be the reaction of the U. S. S. R. to such *demarches* of the U. S. A. in other Asian fields. Many such forebodings were happily swept away by the dainty gesture of the Korean lady delegate who sprang a surprise on all of us by presenting two charming Korean dolls, a boy and a girl, to the chairman Sarojini Naidu and to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. When the dolls were placed on the table there was as much uproarious ovation as when Pandit Nehru was made to don, on the platform, the gorgeous Serindian robe presented by his friends of Soviet Asia.

CHINESE DELEGATIONS : The Chinese Government sent a strong delegation, composed of scholars and diplomats of

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considerable experience. Their leader Mr. Cheng Yin-fun was the Deputy Secretary-General of the Central Kuomintang and of the Sang Min Chu Youth Organisation. He showed quiet self-confidence in dealing with Chinese questions at the Delhi Conference.

Professor Wen Yuan-ning was a member of the Legislative Yuan, and Editor-in-chief of cultural magazine. *Tien Hsia*, which he published before the war, while teaching at the Peking National University. He and his learned wife received us when we arrived in Peking with Dr. Tagore in 1924. Recently elected delegate to the National Assembly, Professor Wen gave us an informative talk on 'The New Chinese Constitution,' when we were in Delhi. Dr. Mao Yee-hang represented the Democratic Socialist Party and Mr. G. K. Yeh of the Chinese Foreign Office attended as an 'observer.' Dr. Han Hin-wu, the Vice-Minister of Education, was also well-known to us, for he passed through Calcutta as a member of the Good-will Mission to England.

Professor Wang Sing-kung, the Chancellor of Sun Yat-sen University, Canton conveyed some information on the educational problems of South China. Dr. D. H. Lew, as Executive Secretary of the China Institute of Pacific Relations, also belonged to the Kuomintang party. Miss Yi Yun Chen, Editor of *Women's Echo*, Canton, and a member of the People's Political Council, came to represent China's enlightened womanhood and was invited to preside over a sectional meeting. Miss Marjorie Chen and Dr. Wei Chug-tsao acted as Secretaries to the delegation. Lastly our esteemed friend Professor Tan Yun-shan was also there, representing the Cheena-Bhavana of Rabindranath Tagore's Visva-Bharati.

The delegates naturally represented the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party led by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. But we know that there are other political groups who are members of the People's political council, set up at the Kuomintang National Congress, held during the national emergency, in March, 1938. The Democratic League included several minority parties like the National Salvation and the Rural Reconstruction Association, the Young China Party, etc. We found only one member of the Socialist Party, Dr. Mao Yee Hang, attending the Conference.

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The Communist party of China fought bravely side by side with the Kuomintang Party throughout the devastating war with Japan. The Communist Party was represented in Chungking by Mao Tse-tung its leader and the Communist newspaper of Chungking, *Hsin Hua Jih Pao* had wide circulation. The Central Goverment even announced that there was a good chance of securing the full co-operation of the Communist Party, thus forming a 'united' administration for the whole of China. But, as we all know, the happy dream was not realized and China was caught up in civil war. for the final show-down.

The National Government of the Chinese Republic (area : 4,298,352 sq. miles ; population : 459,339,764, according to the Ministary of Interior estimates of 1940), derive their original mandate from the Organic Law, promulgated at Nanking on October4, 1928. The Organic Law was revised in December, 1932 and also in September, 1943 : and in the interval, a draft constution was published on May 5, 1936. The constitution was approved, but unfortunately without the consent of the powerful Communist Party. Whether the 'period of tutelage' of the Chinese people is really over, will be finally proved by time.

A united China, as much as a united India, could stabilize Asian relations satisfactorily. It is a consummation devoutly to be wished ; but alas, it seems yet far from realization. But we must not lose heart and work with conviction and determaintion. Otherwise, there would be no freedom from internal and external intrigues and foreign exploitations. Our Chinese guests apparently shared the optimism of the Indian Congress, our united National Party of India ; and that is why they formally invited, on the last day of the plenary session, the Asian Conference to meet in China (1949.) The invitation of the Chinese Republic was received by acclamation ; for we all felt that, with the pacification of India and China, representing nearly half of humanity, there should be durable peace and stabilization of the world order.

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CHAPTER FIVE

MALAYSIAN DELEGATION

Any one travelling from the Middle East to the Far East, by the usual steamer route, must necessarily pass through Malaya Peninsula and some parts of the Malaya Archipelago made more famous today as *Indonesia*. Racially, this part of South East Asia (strategically so important in the second World War) is inhabited by different ethnic groups ; but the major part of the indigenous population belongs to the Malayan family and speaks various dialects of the Malayan language (a working *lingua franca* of the peoples) which is so important as to be indispensable to any nation eager to establish direct cultural or economic relations with Malaysia.

MALAYA : Leaving aside the continental Malayan races in Indo-China and other minor zones, all the three major divisions of the Malayan people were represented at the Asian Relations Conference. I shall begin with the Malayan delegation which was composed of different races who naturally act as intermediaries between India and South East Asia. The leader of the delegation, Dr. Burhan-ud-Din is President of the Malaya Nationalist Party and adviser to the Malaya Action Council, representing eighty-four organisations, formed to oppose the Malayan Federation proposals. We knew that a new constitution was being concocted in London under the dubious title of 'Malayan Union' which contained seeds of disunion, because the chief sponsors were the British planters and marcantile syndicates, monopolizing the economic resources of Malaya. The natural reaction of the Asian communities was hostile to the so-called Malayan Union.

Dr. Burhan-ud-Din in a statement said : Complete independence is Malaya's ultimate goal ; but our destiny is closely linked with that of other Malayan territories of South East Asia with which we will all become affiliated through a union or a federation. Such a federation of Malayan nations, comprising

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Malaya, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, the Celebes and other islands of the far-flung Malayan Archipelago, is potentially one of the wealthiest and strategically the most important of regions on the face of the globe.'

Reviewing the Malayan peoples' struggle for their rights, the Malayan leader said : 'All progressive elements in Malaya—Malayans as well as domiciled Chinese, Indians and others—are determined to resist British plans to perpetuate the colonial status of the country.

'The Malayan Union plan has already been thrown out by all parties. We are not claiming complete independence at present. We only ask for an improved form of dominion status—substantial self-government for Malaya. We could have obtained it, and probably more on the Indonesian pattern, but circumstances were against us when the sudden Japanese surrender ended World War II.'

The demands of the Malayan Nationalist Party and affiliated groups, he added, were : (1) sovereignty to be vested in the Malayans ; (2) the establishment of a strong central government responsible to an elected legislature ; (3) the inclusion of Singapore in Malyan territory ; and (4) recognition of Malayan as the official language.

Mr. Philip Hoalim, Bar-at-law, is a British subject of Chinese origin, and we know that the Chinese and the Indians are the two most numerous and influential Asian communities coming from outside. Mr. Hoalim is the chairman of the Democratic Union of Malaya, aiming to promote the economic, educational and political advancement of Malaya on the basis of racial equality.

Mr. C. D. Abdullah is Vice-President of the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions and a member of the Malaya Nationalist Party which sent another delegate Mr. Mohamed Saleh Daud, editor of two dailies and of an English fortnightly, *The Voice of the People*.

Another prominent labour leader, Mr. Yap Meow Siew, is a Chinese, born in Malaya. He is the Treasurer of the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions and the General Secretary of the Negri Sambilan Trade Unions.

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State Museum
LUCKNOW.

Womanhood of Malaya was happily represented by the leading lady-educationist Hajjah Zain Bintisulaiman. She is the Chairman of the Women's section of the Pan-Malayan Teachers' Association and Vice-President of the Malaya Student Aid Organisation. She was ably seconded by her Indian sister-delegate, Mrs. Devasahayam. Starting her life as a college lecturer, Mrs. Devasahayam settled down in Singapore and attended as delegate various international conferences: the first Malayan Union Congress (1927), the World Students' Conference in Java, the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference in Honolulu and the World Y. M. C. A, Conference in Ceylon. During the Japanese occupation, she served devotedly under the I. N A. Red Cross.

Mr. S. A. Ganapathy, a youth-leader, also joined the Indian National Army, Singapore, and attended the Conference as President of the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions. Mr. P. Narayanam is Secretary to the Negri Sambilan Trade Union delegation and is associated with many of the youth and labour movements in Malaya. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, who settled in Malaya at an early age, and a leading merchant in the export-import line, is the chairman of the export section of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Singapore and Vice-President of the Malayan Indian Congress. Mr. E. C. Thuraisingham, Bar-at-law, a Ceylonese, born in Malaya, is a member of the Malayan Estate Owners' Association and President of the Ceylon Association of Malaya. Lastly we were glad to welcome Brahmachari Kailasan of the local Ramakrishna Mission. He is the joint secretary to the Indian Relief Committee in Malaya, set up by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He is also a member of the Singapore branch of the Indian Independence League and has written several books on Malayan history, on Buddhism and other cultural subjects. At my request he changed his route in order to visit Calcutta and delivered an inspiring address at the Fraternity of Faiths Conference held at the Brahmo Sammilan Samaj.

Like our friends of the Burmese delegation, who also passed through Calcutta, the Malayan delegates betrayed considerable anxiety as regards the plans that the British monopolists were hatching under the cover of conferring a new constitution for

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the indigenous people. The Malayan delegates were not as vocal as their Burmese colleagues ; but they seemed to be perfectly conscious that real self-government would not be easily conceded, specially because the Sultans of Malaya would be obliged to play 'puppet' on the political chess-board of Malaya. The press and public organisations of Malaya are still relatively un developed and the long exploited native Malayans are still waiting for the emergence of an outstanding leader. Yet, it was in Malaya that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his associates sowed the seeds of Freedom, built up the Indian National Army and a Provisional Government of Free India which inspired so many of the suppressed nations of Asia.

PHILIPPINES : On the other extreme of Malaysia is the self-confident Republic of the Philippines, recently "liberated" from American tutelage. The Filipino delegates were accorded a rousing reception and I was very happy to meet them. I had the privilege of travelling in the same boat, S. S, 'President Hoover', with the first Filipino President, Manuel Quezon. He induced me to visit the Philippines which I did in 1938, on my way back from the Common-wealth Relations Conference, Sydney. President Boccobo of the National University of the Philippines not only arranged lectures for me at the different departments but also requested me to deliver the convocation address on 'Gandhi and Tagore' at the Commencement ceremony. Professor Francisco Benitez and his colleagues of the Education Department gave me all facilities to visit the rural schools and to form an idea as to the work which America had done in the domain of rural hygiene and village rehabilitation within forty years of American occupation and administration (1898-1938).

The leader of the Filipino delegation, Professor Ananstacio de Castro is a member of the Philippine Academy of Foreign Affairs. He was appointed Governor of the Province of La Union. While he was attending the Delhi Conference, President Roxas and Mr. McNutt, the U. S. Ambassador signed in Manila on March 21, 1947, a pact of military assistance between the U. S. A. and the Philippines. On the eve of his departure, Mr. McNutt said : 'In this pact the U. S. Government undertakes, without exacting a single obligation on the part of the Philippine

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Government, to aid and assist the National Defence Force of the Philippines. Thus the Philippine Army will be made stronger and better able to contribute to the advancement of our ideals and purposes in international affairs.'

Prominent among the delegation was the learned lady Paz Policarpio Mendez, Professor of English at the famous University of Santo Tomas where I had the honour of lecturing on the 'Universalism of Rabindranath.' She is the acting president of the National Council of Women voters and editor of the *Women's Home Journal* and the *Women's World.* She charmed her Indian sisters with her butterfly-sleeved *filpina* costumes. Professor Mauro Mendez is the editor of several newspapers and head of the Department of Journalism, Santo Tomas University. Mr. Manuel S. Enverga is a prominent lawyer, Vice-President of the Philippine Academy of Foreign Affairs and Vice-Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Oriental College. Mr. Jose A. Carpio, a leading economist and connected with many branches of business and industry, is a member of the Filipino Institute of Pacific Relations. He with his friend Professor Quirina G. Gregorio expressed hope that greater cultural as well as commercial intercourse would be established between India and the Philippines in the near future, for, according to them, the Conference marked the beginning of Inter-Asian co-operation in many lines of human endeavour.'

INDONESIA : The Indonesian delegates, who attended the Conference during the most critical phase in their fight for freedom, received tremendous ovation. Their leader Dr. Abu Hanifah is a member of the Indonesian Parliament, who joined hands with the leader of the Viet Nam delegation, Dr. Tran Van Luan, publishing a joint statement for concerted action by the Asian nations to prevent colonialism from re-establishing its position as suppressors of Asian peoples. The experience of Viet Nam and Indonesia during 1¾th years of fighting and struggle shows very clearly to the whole world and must strengthen the conviction of all coloured races, that colonialism, although condemned by civilized countries, is not ending and that colonialism will be modernized, if the present awakening of the *coloured* races could not be organized into mutual support and active co-operation. They hailed the 'establishment of

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social justice, prosperity and independence for all the *coloured* races of Asia.'

The Communist Party of Indonesia was represented by Mr. Soeripno who represented also the Indonesian Youth and Student Federations. The Socialist Party was represented by Mr. Siauw Giok Tjhan who is also a member of the Indonesian Parliament. Dr. Ali Sastroamidgogo is a member of the Nationalist Party and of the Parliament. The national Christian Party was represented by Dr. Tamboenan, a former judge of Cheribon. The All-Indonesian Trade Unions were represented by Parliamentarian Sjah Roezah. A lady member of Parliament, Dr. Hurustiati Soebandrio, as a health expert, gave valuable information regarding their social welfare activities, and was deeply appreciated when she made her statements in lucid English. She represented both the Indonesian Womens' Congress and the Youth Congress.

Among the observers we found Hadji A. Salim, Vice-Minister for foreign Affairs ; Dr. Nazir Pamontjak, a leader of the student movement ; Haji Rashid of the Ministry of Religion ; Dr. A. K. Tringgodigdo of the Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs ; Mochtor H. Loebis, Editor of the Indonesian Press Agency and last, though not the least, Major-General Abdul Kadir of the National Army of Indonesia.

But the greatest and the pleasantest surprise to us all was Dr. Sutan Sjahrir, the hero of Indonesian liberation. He arrived at Palam airport at midnight where he met his lovely bride who had been stranded in Europe during the world wars. Dr. Sjahrir was described before the Conference by Sarojini Naidu as 'a human atom bomb', and there followed an explosion of laughter from the huge crowd. Dr. Sjahrir was brief yet telling in his statement : 'We in Asia have come together for the first time. Let us then set to work together in real earnest for the benefit of all mankind ; and we shall certainly succeed in fashioning a New World in which there will be peace, security and prosperity.'

So in this survey we cover 53,222 square miles of Malaya (population : 5,444,833) ; 114,000 square miles of the Philippines (population : 16,356,000) ; and 735,268 square miles of Indonesia (population : 70,727,233). The Filipinos find, fortunately, their

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national Government stabilized with U. S. A. aid. The Malayans have difficult days ahead of them, with a century-old tradition of foreign exploitation which dies hard. The Indonesians have battled heroically through enormous sacrifices towards freedom. But the Dutch imperialists are again at their old game of division and partition. There is an attempt to mutilate Java by setting up a separate Sundanese State in the west under Dutch guidance. And recently a parallel movement is sponsored by the Dutch in West Borneo where the Sultan of Pontianak is made to sign a treaty with the Dutch, pledging loyalty to the Dutch Queen. Even the Dyaks of Borneo's hinterland who revived their head-hunting practices to defeat the Japanese, are manoeuvred to sign a treaty, recognising West Borneo as an autonomous State. Their puppet leader Ocvaeng Derai is made to confess that if Dyak interests were not fully protected he would obtain the views of his compatriots in Sarawak and British Borneo about a separate State under either the Dutch or the British Crown. This sounds like an unholy Western Alliance in East Asia to frustrate the freedom movements of Asia. After prolonged negotiations the reactionary Dutch politicians appear to have gained the upper hand so that open fight has flared up again between the Dutch and the Republican troops in Java. The ghastly story of the massacre of 40,000 Nationalists in the island of Celebes, provoked by Dutch army commanders shows how imperialism dies hard in Asia. The Democratic Press of Holland led by *Da Wearheld* writes : "The Dutch Government are aware of these horrible facts but they continue keeping dead silence and doing everything to conceal these candalous facts."

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CHAPTER SIX

SOUTH EAST ASIAN DELEGATION

The next three countries that I propose to discuss are Indo-China, Siam and Burma, grouped by classical geographers into the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula. The Ganges being the river most well-known to the Latin and Greek writers, Ptolemy, while writing his famous Geography in Alexandria, used the word *Trans-Gangeticum* as early as 2nd century A. D.

From the 3rd century A. D. we find inscriptions in Indian language and script, in different parts of Indo-China, specially in Champa and Cambodge. In the early centuries of the Christian era the Chinese already entered Tong-King, and Indian religion and art influenced profoundly the life of the people for about 1,000 years. Champa was divided into four provinces : Panduranga, Kauthara, Vijaya, and Amaravati. I explained these things to Professor Tan Van Giau, the delegate from Viet Nam, who was glad to learn that his country once carried so many charming Sanskrit names together with so much of archaeological and artistic evidences of Indian cultural colonization. Dr. Giau already completed his work on Chinese influences on Viet Nam, and he proposes to write another book, 'India and Viet Nam', now that he could claim direct contact with India.

We came to know that while the Asian Relations Conference was listening, for the first time, to the narrative of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom, their premier Dr. Ho Chi Minh, with the sobriety of a true statesman, was appealing to the French Government in the following words : "We declare solemnly that the Vietnamese people desire only *unity* and *independence* within the French Union and we pledge ourselves to respect French economic and cultural interests in Viet Nam. If, in spite of our sincere desire for peace, the French intend to continue the war, they will lose all without gaining anything ; because war will foster hatred and rancour between our two nations. It would be sufficient for France to say the word in order that hostilities should end immediately, that so many lives and so much property

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should be saved and that friendship and confidence should be resumed."

Alas, France could not say the right word at the right time and the French Communist Party, which finally left the coalition Government of the Socialist Premier M. Ramadier, abstained from voting on the demand for military credits of 8, 543,000,000 francs for carrying on the fighting in Indo-China. That was on March 22, 1947, and tragic destruction of life and property still continues. What is worse is that attempts are being made to create division among the Vietnamese, as we noticed in the Dutch attempt to disrupt the Indonesian front by the partition of Java and Borneo. A newly-formed political association, the United Nationalist Front pledged its support to the ex-Emperor of Annam, invited Dr. Ho Chi Minh to join the front, and significantly observed : "If Dr. Ho rejects the offer, the Front will deal with the French authorities without him". Thus while the Front is operating in the north, we find further south that there is a Provisional Government of the Cochin China Republic with Dr. Hoach as its President who observed : "The presence of the French in Indo-China is indispensable but must be purposeful and constructive." Thus there is not only a family likeness between French and Dutch colonialism but the two imperialist powers are pursuing similar tactics with the sectional minorities in dealing with the independence movement of the majority in their respective dominions.

The delegates from Cochin-China, Cambodia and Laos were not very impressive as against the three energetic Viet Nam delegates : Dr. Luan, Professor Giau and Mr. Mai The Chau. The Cambodian delegate Dang Ngoc Chan professed loyalty to the French-'protected' king of Cambodia, and a Cambodian princess H. R. H. Piug Peang Youk Anthor tried feebly, in her hurried French, to impress upon the audience that the Cambodians were different from the Vietnamese people ; but whether they dissociated themselves from the freedom movement in Indo-China was left vague. Failing to address the assembly in English and also to appear with a good interpreter, the case of the pro-French group looked very much unconvincing ; while the determined Vietnamese delegation succeeded in making a very good impression,

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especially by circulating a report on the "Freedom Movement in Viet Nam" by Mai The Chau, its representative in India. Some interesting art objects and photographs from the French Archaeological Service of Indo-China were shown in the special Exhibition on Asian Art arranged by the Archaeological Department, Government of India.

SIAMESE DELEGATION : The Siamese delegation was under the able leadership Phya Anuman Rachathon. He is the Vice-President of the Royal Institute of Siam and President of its literary and artistic section. As a member of the Ministry of Public Instruction, he is also the Director-General of the Fine Arts Department and is very keen in developing the exchange of artists and scholars between India and Siam. He translated many stories from classical Indian literature and is watching with fatherly care over the cultural activities of the Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge, originally founded by Swami Satyananda Puri. After his untimely death the Lodge has been kept alive by the signal devotion of Pandit Raghunath Sharma and under the direction of its learned president Phya Anuman. It is trying to foster better understanding between India and Siam through the following activities : (1) exchange of scholars ; (2) teaching Sanskrit and Hindi ; (3) establishing a reference Library and an Art section ; (4) opening a free Medical clinic in Bangkok ; (5) helping Indian children in Siam to get national education and (6) arranging Indo-Siamese sports, games and recreations.

In the Siamese delegation we were glad to welcome a talented young lady Nang Sao Chaluay Kanchanagom who was a student of Swami Satyananda in Sanskrit and Hindi. She is deeply interested in Indian culture and won many friends among her Indian sisters. She is also a lecturer in Siamese at the Chulalongkorn University which sent a learned member of its governing body, Professor Nai Sukhich Nimmanheminda, as a delegate. Professor Nai Sukhich was the head of the Department of Mathematics and Director-General of the Royal Institute of Siam. He gave a very well-informed address on "Scientific and technical education in Siam" while the delegation was invited by the staff and students of the College of Engineering and Technology, Jadavpore. The delegation was helped by Nai Manoj Vudhaditya,

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an expert journalist who recently took part in a meeting in Bangkok of unofficial delegates of Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia, urging Siam "to take the leadership in the formation of South-East Asia Union".

BURMESE DELEGATION : From Indo-China and through Siam we naturally reach Burma bordering on the Bay of Bengal. Only a few years ago, Burma was a part of India ; so in our conversation with the Burmese delegates we found many problems of common interest. We learnt that General Aung San was returned unopposed in the election to the Burma Constituent Assembly and that his party A. F. P. F. L. was entrusted with shaping the destiny of Free Burma. As in India, the dethroned bureaucracy and the reactionaries in Burma will try for a while to create political chaos to confuse the issues of an All-Burma Union. But the Burmese delegates were unanimous in their conviction that Burma which had suffered most in the last World War must gain her full independence in the near future. Meanwhile the Karens, the Kachins and such other minorities and tribal folks may be exploited temporarily to create retarded zones in the Burmese National Union. But we noticed the most encouraging unity and solidarity among the Burmese delegates, led by Hon'ble Mr. Justice Kyaw Myint, a brilliant speaker and a former member of the Indian Legislative Assembly. Among the three lady delegates we greeted Mrs. Daw Saw Yin, once connected with the All India Radio, New Delhi ; Miss Naw Ohn May Taw, a leader of the Karen youth organisation and Khin Myo Chit, a noted authoress well-known for her books, *Problems of women in Burma* in Burmese and *Three Years Under the Japanese* in English. Professor Dr. Hla Myint of the Rangoon University is the author of *Theories of Welfare Economics* and he was ably supported by Principal U Ba ; Professor U Wan, a Scholar in Sanskrit and Tibetan ; Dr. Tha Hla, a geologist and Mr. U Thein Han, Librarian of the Rangoon University. The renowned Burmese educationist U Ba Lwin, the Hon'ble Thakin Mya and U Chan Htoon, Constitutional Adviser to the Government of Burma were among the delegates and observers. Mr. M. A. Raschid, a cultured and progressive Muslim delegate together with Myan Aung U. Tin, U Paing and U Saw Tun, U Mya Sein and U So Win studied with keen interest the

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current Indian questions—political and economic. We felt, while discussing together our common problems, that our principal objective was the winning of complete independence from the domination of the Western Powers ; and at the same time, the inauguration of a new World Order through the collaboration of the progressive spirits of the East and the West who work above party for the permanent well-being of mankind.

General Aung San, leader of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, proclaimed that the Union of Burma would be an Independent Sovereign Republic, with a great future for the working men. Later on we heard with profound sorrow the news of the cruel assassination of General Aung San and his colleagues.

Dr. Ho Chi Minh on his 57th birthday speech reiterated that negotiations with the French Government could start "only on the basis of the French recognition of a united Viet Nam as an independent unit of a French Union".

Dr. Soekarno is assuring the general Indonesian Trade Union that with the freedom of Indonesia, security and prosperity of the workers will be the prime considerations of the State, which may invite foreign investments for national reconstruction.

The labour leaders of Australia are openly expressing sympathy with the cause of Indonesian Freedom and even going so for as to refuse co-operation to the Dutch Shipping. The Dutch are trying to foment further trouble by exploiting the native chiefs, the tribes, the Christian and other minorities. But Mr. Teunfiku Hasan, the Republican Governor of Sumatra wisely observed : "Differences should not be allowed to bring a division between the people and the Government". These are words of great import to us, Indians, who should follow closely the main trends of the freedom movements of South-East Asia ; for, we are connected strategically, economically and culturally as a unit of vast potentialities.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

INDIA'S ISLAMIC NEIGHBOURS

With the partition of India into Indian Union and Pakistan, we are obliged to think seriously of the future relations of Pakistan with our Islamic neighbours of Western Asia, conventionally called the Near and the Middle East.

We may remember, in this connection, that the Pakistanis proclaimed a boycott of the Asian Relations Conference sponsored by Pandit Nehru and other leaders of the Indian Union. In the face of that formidable embargo we were surprised to discover so many distinguished men and women leaders from Islamic Asia, attending the Conference. We know that the Islamic population of China and Mongolia would number several millions ; but they were unfortunately not represented by a single Muslim representative among the Sino-Mongolian delegations. Another big concentration of Asian Muslims happens to be in Malaya and Indonesia, and fortunately both these groups were well represented. What is more significant is the fact that the most enthusiastic reception was accorded by the Delhi Conference to Dr. Sutan Sjahrir, leader of the independence movement in Indonesia. Thus, India, struggling for liberty, transcended communalism and welcomed the liberation of seventy million of their Muslim brethren in Indonesia. We were happy to note that Mr. Agos Salem, the Indonesian Secretary for Foreign Affairs, signed a treaty of friendship with Egypt and that he visited other Arab States to conclude similar treaties.

The U. S. S. R. also claims a large Muslim population and some of the prominent delegates of Soviet Asia were Muslims, although in their statements and criticisms they ever demonstrated a commendable freedom from all communal bias, affirming the solidarity of interest of the degraded and down-trodden common man in Asia. We remember, in this connection, the services rendered by the Muslim Lady Engineer of Tadjikistan, Madam Tairova and her colleague, the famous Tadjik poet Tursunzade. Azerbaijan was also represented by two Muslim leaders, Ibrahimoff

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and Yusufoff. Thus the multi-national and multi-cultural U. S. S. R. have given a clear lead to all modern states by rising above medieval barriers of communalism, by giving full citizenship rights to Muslims and Jews, and by dissociating politics from religion, as it has been done in most of the progressive states of the world.

Turkey is the nearest neighbour of the U. S. S. R. and under the inspiring leadership of Kemal Ataturk, Turkey thoroughly secularised her state and came to be the spearhead of all the progressive socio-economic movements in the Near East. The intimation being too hurried, the Turkish Republic, in place of a full-fledged delegation, sent an observer in Mr. H. Kocaman, formerly an official in the Turkish Foreign Ministry and, at present, the Turkish Vice-Consul at Bombay. Turkey is being vigorously courted today by U. S. A. and U. K. with the U. S. S. R. frowning ominously ; but the left-wing section of the Arabic press of Baghdad is criticising the proposed Turkish-Iraqi treaty which may set up a strategic *bloc* for Britain's use. This new *bloc* would include Turkey, Transjordan, Iraq and Iran, and thus may divide the signatories of the Saadabad pact from the Arab League. Unfortunately, no delegation was sent from the Arab State of Iraq. We had, however, the opportunity of receiving the representatives of the newly-created Lebanon Republic and of Hebrew Palestine, although the Palestinian Arabs were unrepresented.

The Arab League could not send a full delegation but was represented by an astute observer, Tauqiudin-el-Soleh, who had a brief passage-at-arms with the leader of the Jewish delegation. Mr. Tauqiudin is the President of the Press Association of Syria and Lebanon and he must have observed many interesting things in the Asian Conference. As the Arab League is composed of seven Arab States, so King Abdullah of Transjordan is recently urging the establishment of Greater Syria with Iraq, Transjordan, Syria and part of Arab Palestine which would gradually build up a big Arab Federation. In King Abdullah's opinion Anglo-Transjordan relations were based on friendship, mutual benefit and full understanding, and he added that the 're-establishment of an Islamic State in India—Pakistan,—was a great work which

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showed wisdom in the settlement of the Indian problem.' The King apparently was unconscious of the violent unsettlements through which the final settlement was reached.

Another prominent member of the Arab League, King Ibn Saud, sent a personal message to Mr. M. A. Jinnah from Saudi-Arabia. The King conveyed his best wishes 'for the lasting happiness and welfare of our Indian Muslim brethren,' and prayed to God Almighty that He may help 'you (Mr. Jinnah) to be a strong factor in the cause of the World Peace and Muslim Brotherhood.' To this message, Mr. Jinnah gratefully replied : 'I join you in your prayer that the Almighty may guide our steps in the cause of the peace and help us to cement the bonds of Muslim Brotherhood and that we may stand united on the solid rock of Islam.'

Africa has a very large Muslim population, partially of Arab extraction but mostly of African converts to Islam. They were not represented in the Delhi Conference ; probably because, no invitations were sent to them, for they belonged to a different continent and also because delegates were not invited on religious basis. But Mahatma Gandhi very significantly affirmed in his final message to the Conference that the Asians could not and should not forget the claims of their African brethren cruelly exploited by Western slave-dealers and imperialists. Though not acting as an official observer, a distinguished American Negro educationist, Professor W. Stuart Nelson of the Howard University, Washington, fully concurred with the views expressed by Mahatma Gandhi who, as we all know, led successfully the Hindu as well as the Muslim Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa. Thus when the newly-organised Asian Institute would begin functioning in India it must take into account the shockingly degrading conditions of African humanity. Our Asian Institute may begin by establishing relations with the African Institute of Race Relations supported by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and allied organizations.

The only nation of Africa to send a full-fledged delegation was Egypt, and we all know that the Egyptian people, although geographically belonging to Africa, are the leaders in most of the progressive movements in Arab Asia. Its holy land, no doubt, is in Hejjaj (Mecca and Medina) but the intellectual capital of the

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Arab world is Cairo with its world-famous University of Al Azar where Muslim students from India, Indonesia, China and other parts of the world assemble. King Fuad as an enlightened ruler built up the modern Fuad University which sent, as an observer, Professor Abdul Wahab Azzam Bey, Dean of its Faculty of Arts and representative of the Egyptian Government. The leader of the Egyptian delegation was Mustafa Momin who represented the Muslim Brotherhood of Cairo.

Egyptian womanhood was ably represented by two highly cultured ladies : Miss Havai Idrees, a member of the Women's Union of Egypt, is a prominent worker of the Red Crescent Society of Cairo ; she was seconded by Miss Kareema El Sayid, who is a member of the Social Reform Association and belonged to the women's department of the Popular University of Egypt. Miss Sayid not only conveyed very valuable and precise information relating to the departments of Egyptian Education and Health but also parried expertly the thrusts of the Hebrew delegates of Palestine who unhappily raised the thorny question of Jewish-Arab adjustment which baffled England and may even give some headache to the members of the U. N. Fact-Finding Commission on Palestine. As in the case of India, some political surgeons have prescribed the remedy of cutting the country into two ! The patients, of course, have no right of appeal or of protest ; and so they must submit to lie on the operation table, with or without anaesthesia. Thus, within a couple of months from the termination of the first Asian Relations Conference, major operations were performed on the body-politic of many oriental nations still under Western masters and caretakers.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

THE JEWISH DELEGATION

Asia, after the slumber of ages, is wide awake. Asian nations live in their respective countries under a vague system of linguistic and cultural unity, but they are threatened from every side by disunion, resulting from foreign, mostly Western interference in their political and economic life. Western political domination, economic exploitation and colonial policies have come to complicate the issues of self-determination and national self-assertion in Asia. Even China, one of the *Big Five*, emerging from the last World War, is a battle-ground of conflicting interests and ideologies in the Far East.

The Middle and the Near Eastern field also shows, in an acute form, the clash of national interests against the intrusion of foreign diplomacy and vested interests of Europe and America. This has been demonstrated with tragic clarity by the cross-currents of the Jewish-Arab conflict in Palestine.

This tension broke, for a while, the general atmosphere of placidity and *camaraderie* prevailing in the Asian Relations Conference. There was real friction between the Arab and Jewish delegates, although they were made to realize that they were brother Asians, thanks to the tact of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the overwhelming goodwill of the Assembly.

In 1897, a Jewish writer Dr. Theodore Herzl wrote a pamphlet, *The Jewish State*, and his plan was adopted by the first Zionist Conference which outlined the *Basle Programme*. His plan to form a Jewish colony in Sinai (1902) was however rejected. The Jews, a highly cultured and commercially important community, dispersed in different parts of Europe and America, naturally carried on a world-wide propaganda for the 'National Home for Jews' in Palestine. Towards the end of 1917 came the famous Balfour Declaration to win over the sympathy and support of the World Jewry and incidentally the support of America for the allied cause in a critical phase of the World War 1. Thus

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a vague sort of Jewish world-state was made to assume the concrete form of an autonomous Jewish state of Palestine. But there the Allies had already given earlier assurances, of a more definite nature, to the Arabs who formed the majority. Five years after the Balfour Declaration, we notice the following figures in the population census of 1922 :

Muslims	...	...	590,890
Jews	...	...	83,794
Syrian Christians		...	73,024
Druses, Bahais. Sikhs, Hindus ...		...	9,474
			757,182

In 1928, the Jews figured 150,000 (according to the estimate of the Jewish National Fund) which showed that in six years' time the number of Jews got almost doubled by importation from abroad, and that the Jews of Palestine represented roughly one per cent of the fifteen and a half million Jews in the whole world.

No wonder, that the Arabs, who formed the majority, became anxious, specially the Bedouin Arabs who, for centuries, have wandered over hills and planes with their sheep and goats, and resented the trespass of the foreign Jews upon their grazing ground. The cause of the Palestine Arabs was taken up by the neighbouring Arab States ; and we find today that Egypt, Transjordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Yemen are organized to thwart the Jewish State and demand Arab dominion over Palestine. They pointed out that, while the Jewish population of Palestine in 1918 was only 55,000, in 1938 it had reached 411,000. This increase was largely accounted for by the constant flow of immigrants from European countries where the Jews were not wanted ; and a crisis came when, as the result of Nazi massacre and gas-chamber killing, the total Jewish population of Europe was reduced by one third, if not by half. Naturally there was additional pressure upon Palestine, upsetting the Arabs who opposed the American plan of importing one lakh of Jews every year. England as a Mandatory Power was committed to carry out the plan in favour of the Jews. But the Jews turned equally violent and destructive as the Arabs, making Palestine a veritable pandemonium of politics. The Arabs were planning to start both

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passive resistance and violent action ; and in case of a pronounced Anglo-American support to the Jewish cause, the Arabs would retaliate by openly seeking the support of Soviet Russia. Mr. Bevin failed and the U. N. Fact-Finding, Committee in Palestine was also boycotted, Thus the whole problem of the partition of Palestine or its alternative, the Federal Government plan with autonomy for the two component units (as vainly planned in India), and the centre to be ruled by the High Commissioner, was in a melting pot. The future is very uncertain and portentous.

But if the Jewish State is difficult to materialize, the homeless Jews must have a home. The only modern state to offer them hospitality and home is Soviet Russia which was first to offer citizenship rights to the Jews, who lived mainly in the Western but also in the Eastern Republics. Over a million of Jews were evacuated from the war zones of Eastern Europe to Uzbekistan where a large number of Jews lived for centuries, speaking a Tadzhik-Jewish language. Besides the Yeddish-speaking East European Jews, we find, in the Soviet Union, the Crimean Jews who speak a Tartar language, the Jews of Georgia speaking Georgian, the Jews of Dagestan and Azerbaijan speaking an Iranian language with a Hebrew mixture which is also spoken by the Tadjik Jews of Central Asia. Lastly, in the Soviet Far Eastern Republic a regular Jewish colony was settled in Birobidzan. This large Jewish population of the U. S. S. R. may naturally try to help their brethren in Palestine, unless for deeper diplomatic reasons the U. S. S. R, finds it convenient to support the aggressive Arabs and cut the vital communication lines of the British Empire, disturbing the Anglo-American oil interests in the Middle East and finally opening the Soviet waterways *via* Persian Gulf to the Arabian Sea. How Pakistan will react to these highly complicated diplomatic moves remains to be seen. Meanwhile Mr. Jinnah was enthusiastic in winning recognition of his Pakistan by the Arab States and even joined Pandit Nehru in supporting the Muslim Indonesian cause against the Christian Dutch imperialists.

The problem of the homeless Jews continued to be one of the most baffling problems of modern history. The last Jewish King, Herod the Great (37—4 B. C.) ruled as

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King of Judea by appointment of the Roman Senate. He began the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem and erected a temple of Emperor Augustus in Samaria. Jesus of Nazarath was born (between 6 and 4 B. C.) towards the end of Herod's reign. Shortly after the crucifixion of Christ, the Jews rebelled against Rome in 66 A. D. and Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus in 70 A.D. So Judea was devastated and Jerusalem made a Roman colony, prohibiting the entry of the Jews into their own Holy City. Thus the centres of Jewish culture were shifted to Galilee and to Babylonia, where two great editions of the *Talmud* were prepared about 500 A.D. About one thousand years after, we find the great Jewish philosopher Spinoza and his family expelled from Spain (where the Jews lived for centuries) and settling down in Holland. From the expulsion of the family of Spinoza to the age of European Jewish 'massacres and progroms' culminating in Nazi horrors and the dispersion of the Jews of the generation of Einstein, we have a most painful and degrading chapter in the history of race persecution.

I visited the colony of the Jewish refugees in Jerusalem at the end of the first World War and I was deeply impressed by their tenacity, optimism and inborn sense of economy. Going round the central Jewish library with Dr. Hugo Bergmann, I discovered innumerable standard books on science and letters, translated from the European languages into Hebrew. The Hebrew University was then just beginning to function, but the boys and girls of school-going age were using Hebrew (once a dead language) as their mother-tongue. It was, therefore, a matter of real joy to me, when I had the privilege of welcoming in Delhi the Jewish delegation, led by Dr. Bergmann. Like a true philosopher, he bore the brunt of Arab opposition with dignity and detachment. His colleague, Dr. Immanuel Olsvanger was born in Poland where he studied Italian and Sanskrit. He translated the *Inferno* of Dante and the *Gita* into Hebrew. He had visited India before and came down to Calcutta to collect materials for an important book on India. His memorrable addresses at the Fraternity of Faiths Conference at the Brahmo Sammilan Samaj, Calcutta, stirred the Indians deeply. There were three Jewish women delegates, Dr. May

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Mereminsky, born in Canada ; Mrs. Habbos Hacohen, born in Palestine and Dr. Anna Brachyahu born in Russia all actively engaged in Jewish women's movement, attending, at the same time, to their special vocations as educationists, journalists, and doctors. Mr. Bonne Alfred, born in Germany, is an authority on the economic development of the Middle East. He is also the Director of the Economic Research Institute of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. Mr. David Hacohen is a leader of the labour movement in Palestine. Mr. Yaacov Shimoni is a member of the staff of the Department of 'Arab Affairs' in the Jewish Agency; he published a book in Hebrew on the *Arabs of Palestine*.

All Arabs were not hostile to the Jews. Jewish economists have paid considerable attention to the working out of a common Jewish-Arab labour front which recently celebrated May Day when Arab labour leaders, with their Jewish colleagues, appealed for the solidarity of all workers in Palestine and the world. Recently, there was a 12-day sit-in-strike in Haifa when the Palestine Arab Workers' Society came to an agreement with the Iraq Petroleum Company in Haifa without consulting the Workers' Committee. About 1500 Arab workers of that Company seceded from the right-wing group and won the sympathy of the Jewish labourers. In Tel-Aviv, the Histadruth Workers' College was started to train social workers and future leaders of the movement. A prominent member of the Jewish labour party was Mr. Ben-Zion Ilan. Born in U. S. A., he settled in Palestine and helped building one of the largest collective settlements, Afikin. He conveyed much valuable information to us relating to (1) the small holders settlement (Moshav Ovdim); (2) the collective farming colonies (Kontza) ; (3) the co-operative movement (Histadruth) in Palestine. Booklets on these subjects have been published by the Youth of the Palestine Pioneer Library. The General Federation of Jewish Labour publishes a weekly bulletin, *Labour in Palestine*, which deserves close study by the economists, community settlers and rural workers of India.

The whole country of Palestine is convulsed today, like India, with problems of partition and chaos. But few of our Indian newspapers care to send special representatives to study the situation on the spot. The tragedy of Palestine is a shocking

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chapter of modern history. The homeless must be provided with a home, some time, somewhere. Innocent women and children, the sick and the aged are entitled to elementary civic rights, protection and first-aid. Surely, modern nations have not gone to such a state of political bankruptcy that they cannot solve by concerted action these pressing human problems of a corner of the Middle East.

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CHAPTER NINE

IRANIAN ASIA

After discussing Arab Asia and its critical relations with the Jewish national home movement, I am drawn naturally to discuss the problems of Iran and her neighbours against the background of the complicated politics of the Middle East.

Modern Iran has an area of 628,000 square miles with an estimated population of about 12,000,000 out of which there are about 3,000,000 nomads : Kurds, Turks, Leks, Lurs, Arabs and Baluchis. Thus Iranian language and culture extend over the vast area from the borders of Turkey and U. S, S. R. to Iraq, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and, may we add, Pathanistan (Zalme Pakhtoon), the last claiming to be a buffer-state between Pakistan and U. S. S. R., as announced recently by the Minister of Education, North Western Frontier Province.

While the Pakistan group, now seceding from the Indian Union, is trying to develop diplomatic relations with the Suniite Islamic states, several millions of India's Shiah population would naturally feel drawn towards the dominantly Shi'a Muslims of Iran. Islamic culture is as much indebted to the one as to the other ; and some authorities go even so far as to say that Arabic Islam was vastly enriched by its contact with Iranian civilization. Persian shares with Arabic the credit of being the major classical language of Islamic India ; and the influence of Persian language and culture, specially in the form of Sufism, could be clearly traced on the linguistic and social patterns of Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Pathanistan, Sind, Kashmir and even parts of the Punjab. That is probably why I noticed a special enthusiasm among the Asian Conference delegates, for the Iranian delegation. So much so, that Mahatma Gandhi, while attending the last plenary session, expressed his desire to listen to the extempore address (which had to be repeated) in Persian of the leader of the delegation, Dr. Gholam Hossein Sadighi. Without understanding a word, we felt, all the same, the magic of his eloquence and the music of his native tongue. Dr. Sadighi is the Professor of Philosophy at the

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University of Teheran, publishing a scholarly treatise on the Religious Movements of Iran. He was ably supported by Dr. Mehdi Bayani, Director of the National Library in Teheran and closely connected with the development of the arts, science education and library movement in Iran. Among the observers we found Mr. Mustafa Ram, representing the Iranian Ministry of Finance, and H. E. Ali Ashgar Hekmat, President of the Iran Branch of the UNESCO and leader of the Goodwill Mission to India in 1945. He held various portfolios in the Iranian Government between 1921 to 1943. The progressive womanhood of Iran was represented by Princess Safiyesh Firouz. She represented Iran at the Red Cross Conferences of Geneva and Oxford and was a delegate to the International Assembly of Women U. S. A. (1946), When I had the privilege of meeting her, she talked of her brother Janab Nemazi, a merchant of Singapore and Hongkong, who extended (as I told her) a princely hospitality to us when, in 1924, we visited Hongkong with Tagore during his mission to the Far East. Princess Firoug speaks French and English with equal facility and she gave, in her talk over the All India Radio, an admirable survey of the social and cultural progress of modern Iran.

We know that in 1925 the Shah was deposed by the Majlis and a new dynasty was set up with Reza Shah Pehlavi as the dominating figure. The time has not yet come to make a just evaluation of Reza Shah's achievments ; but there is no doubt that he raised the status of Iran, after ages, in the comity of nations by infusing the spirit of discipline and disinterested service. Shrewder critics, however point out that his overenthusiasm for 'modernization' led to some dislocations in the structure of society ; so also the dispossession of the leading classes and the uprooting of tradition 'made the individual homeless and created a social vacuum which modern education and the introduction of Western material civilization could not compensate.'*

India passed through a similar crisis and naturally felt profound sympathy for Iran a hunting-ground of foreign

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* (William S., Haas : *Iran*. Columbia University Press, 1946).

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diplomats and capitalists. Like Bengal, in 1905-06, under Lord Curzon (whose *Visitations to Persia* should be scrutinized), Persia was about to be partitioned between the British and the Russian 'spheres of influence.' The reason was the discovery of oil in *Maidan-i-Naphtun* in 1908 ; and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (Anglo-Iranian Company since 1935) began dictating the pace of the economic life of Iran. Next to U. S. A., Iran possesses the richest resources of oil in the world ; and, as we know, before the advent of Atomic energy, oil was considered to be the life-blood of twentieth century diplomacy. In 1923, oil concessions were granted, for North and North Eastern provinces of Iran, to some U. S. A. Companies led by the Standard Oil Company. In September, 1944, the U. S. S. R. sent a special representative to discuss the terms of a concession in North-East Iran, in an area of 110,000 sq. kilometres from Azerbaijan to Quachan. But the request was cleverly shelved, though not actually turned down, through the pressure of Anglo-American 'Oil Diplomacy' which dominates today the domestic politics of the whole of the Middle East, from the Indus valley to the Nile valley. The destiny of Iraq, of Saudi Arabia, of Syria and Palestine would be shaped to-day not by their indigenous population but by the foreign exploiters of the fateful oil assets of those countries.*

As against the oil wealth, the agricultural resources of Iran seem to be mediocre. Wheat, barley and millet are the main crops with some rice in the Caspian provinces. But the richest export income is from opium which fetched £ 2,000,000 in 1926-27. Although a north-to-south railway was completed by Rezah Shah linking the ports of the Caspian with those of the Persian Gulf, Iran is still very backward in transport facilities, retarding her commercial development, as I gathered from some of the delegates.

Between Soviet Russia and British India lies Afghanistan with all the chequered career of a buffer-state. Afghan delegation was led by Dr. Abdul Majid Khan, Vice-Chancellor of Kabul University who was the Director of the Institute of

* (Vide : *Iranian Oil* by Raj Narayan Gupta, *Journal, Indian Institute of International Affairs*, January, 1947).

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Bacteriology and Hygiene. He was accompanied by Mr. Ali Ahmed Naini and Mr. Hokan Tschand, Managing Director of Afghan National Bank and Director of the Afghan Trade Agency in Karachi. The present Director of Public Instruction, Kabul, Dr. Mohamed Anas Khan, a distinguished mathematician, also came as a delegate. Our old friend, Mr. Ahmad Ali Kohzad, Director of the Kabul Museum of Archæology, who attended (1946) the Bicentenary of Sir William Jones, renewed his contacts with Indian scholars. Last, though not the least, there was Sarwar Khan Goya Etimada, a personal friend of Rabindranath Tagore and Iqbal. The Afghan delegates freely used Persian with their fellow delegates from Iran ; but Afghans used with equal facility the Pushto language (a Persian dialect) which connects Afghanistan with Pakhtoonistan or Pathanistan.

Thus Iranian Asia with its centre in modern Iran and with ramifications of Iranian languages and cultures from Asiatic Russia to our Indus Valley, may be called to play a very important role in the history of Asian liberation, political, economic and cultural. Free India must keep a close eye on the freedom movements in those heroic nations of the Middle East.

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CHAPTER TEN

NEAREST NEIGHBOURS OF INDIA

Among the very close neighbours of India, we noticed the activities of the Turkmenian, Uzbek, Tajik and other republics of Soviet Asia bordering on the frontiers of Kashmir, Gilgit and the North Western Frontier Province. We discussed them in connection with the U. S. S. R. delegation to the Asian Conference. Within three months from that Conference, the semi-official Russian periodical *New Times* opened a fresh chapter in our North Western relations by 'claiming an ethnical similarity between the local Afghan tribes and the inhabitants of the Russian republics on the Northern Frontier of Afghanistan. In the South, over four million Afghans have been cut off from Afghanistan and joined to India forming the North Western Frontier Province.' Very significantly, we find the Afghan Government reviving its claims on the N. W. F. Province and attempting to revise the Indo-Afghan frontier. The builders of Pakistan absorbed by 'referendum' the N. W. F. Province, which, under the patriotic lead of Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan, is asserting the claim of independent Pathanistan (holding the balance evenly, as a buffer-state, between Pakistan and the U. S, S. R.). Comments in the Russian papers may have encouraged the Afghan Government to attempt getting back that portion of our North Western Frontier, which was sliced off in the interests of British India's defence. In the face of these diplomatic *demarches*, the Indian Union as well as Pakistan must try to present a united strategic front; otherwise there would be a positive weakening in our common 'defence in depth'. The Afghan Government, apparently with the full consent of King Zahir Shah, pressed its claims before the British Foreign office in the middle of June, 1947. In May, 1946 the British Cabinet Mission's plan significantly observed that 'the two sections of the suggested Pakistan contained the two most vulnerable

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frontiers in India ; and for a successful *defence in depth* the area of Pakistan will be insufficient.' This may give some headache to the future foreign ministers of Pakistan, specially when they remember that the U. S. S. R. has been worried by U. S. A. subsidies or loans to Turkey, Iran and possibly other states of the Middle East. Similar troubles occurred, as we all know, both in Iran and in Turkey, when the U. S. S. R. began to argue in favour of an ethnical similarity in Iran between Persians and Russian Azarbaijanians and in Turkey between Turkish and Russian Armenians.

TIBETO-BURMAN NEIGHBOURS : Turning to another weak chain in our defences on the borders of Eastern Pakistan, we find that the Mongolian fringe will always be of divided loyalty and of doubtful strategic safeguard.

Our Burmese neighbours have already declared for an independent sovereign republic under the leadership of General Aung San. Culturally and spiritually Burma was and will remain close to the Indian Union ; but the tribal peoples like the Nags, to the North of Burma and East of Assam, will always remain doubtful quantities ; and we know definitely that the Shan folks are considered to be the cousins of the Thai. Manipur, a vast battle-ground in the last war, appears to be eager to join the Indian Union, and some other Tibeto-Burman races may do likewise. New Assam, an important member of the Indian Union, must pursue a vigorous and constructive policy, specially with reference to the people of Burma, China, Nepal, Tibet and such nations.

We were happy to welcome in the Asian Relations Conference several distinguished leaders of modern Tibet. Mr. Theiji Sampho, the leader of the delegation, is the Tibetan Accountant-General with some experience of Indian affairs, for he visited India in 1942. Mr. Sampho Sey, a secretary of the Cabinet Khasat, also visited India before. K. Lowanji was the ecclesiastical leader of the delegation, who served for many years as one of the secretaries to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. He was assisted by another monk-delegate, L. K. Jyalt Sen, one of the stewards of the Golden Tomb of the thirteenth Dalai Lama.

Two interpreters were attached to the delegation : Mr. Kapshopa Sey who was educated in India and is now a member

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of the Tibetan foreign office, and Mr Letsen Kyipup who was educated in India and England, returning to Tibet in 1919 after training in Telegraphy and Civil Engineering. He is one of those who laid the first telegraph line between Gyangtsi and Lahsa. The entire Tibetan and Bhutanese delegation moved about in magnificent colourful robes. Spare of speech, they compensated by their captivating smile and dignified Buddhist gestures which made us realise that India's historical relations with Tibet extend over one thousand years and that Tibetan Buddhist scholars have, through their faithful translations and adaptations, helped conserve some of our most valuable branches of literature, religion and arts. Tibet is also the important link in the cultural collaboration between India and China ; and therefore, Sino-Tibetan studies must form an integral part of our universities and of the Asian Institute envisaged by the Delhi Conference.

NEPAL DELEGATION : Bhutan sent two observers and the independent state of Nepal very appropriately sent a large delegation led by His Honour Prasiddha Pravala Gorkha Dakshina Bahu Major General Vijaya Sumsher Jung Bahadur Rana. As Director-General of the Industrial Survey and of the Cottage Industries Department, he is intimately connected with all the development projects of Nepal. He was assisted by Major-General Subarna Sumsher Jung Bahadur of the Department of Statistics. The Trichandra College of Katmandu had the honour of sending its professor of Economics Ratnabahadur Dikshit, connected with the Board of Agriculture and Sardar N. Acharya Dikshit, Chief Editor, *Gorkha Patra*. He was a member of the Nepalese Mission to France (1940) and was Secretary to the Nepalese Legation for many years. Sardar Gurja Man Singh was once Secretary of the War Office and now a member of the Railway, Education and Industrial Survey Boards. A rising Nepalese scientist, Lt. Col. Khadge Narsing Rana, a fellow of the Indian Academy of Science, Bangalore and a member of the American Institute of Mining and Meteorological Engineers, is holding the post of the Director of the Board of Mines, Jodha Research Laboratories of Nepal. Pandit Surya Prasad Upadhaya is an Inspector of Schools who was arrested in India in 1943 under the Defence of India Rules but was released in 1944.

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Lastly we were glad to meet a distinguished Nepalese historian, Sirdar Rudra Raj Pande, Principal of Trichandra College, who is also a member of the Indian History Congress and has published several books on the history of India and of England in Nepal.

CEYLON DELEGATION: Nepal is the birth-place of Gautama Buddha; and Ceylon may claim to be our first spiritual colony. We were, therefore, very happy to receive a large delegation representing the various nationalities and interests of Golden Lanka. The delegation was led by the Hon'ble S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Minister of Local Administration. As President of the Ceylon National Congress and of the Ceylon Workers' Federation, he shaped largely the policies of a self-governing Ceylon which would begin to function after shedding the problematic privileges of a Crown Colony. The Hon'ble George E. D'Silva, Minister for Health and the Hon'ble C. W. W. Kannangara, Minister of Education ably discussed their special problems in the different commissions as well as in the plenary sessions. There were two eminent doctors, Professor W. A. E. Karunaratne and Dr. Andreas Nell, a surgeon and a great authority on Ceylonese art. Professor B. B. Das Gupta, the well-known Bengali economist of the University of Ceylon and Editor, *Ceylon Economic Journal*, attended as a delegate. Justice Samara Sekhara and Mr. G. R. W. D'Silva, Controller of Finance and Supply were there with Mr. E. W. Kannangara of the Ceylon Civil Service as observer and secretary to the delegation.

Tamil Ceylon was represented by Dr. E. M. V. Naganathan, Secretary, All-Ceylon Tamil Congress and Mr. P. N. Thirunavukkarasu, a fellow-member of the Congress. Amongst the observers there was Narcissus A. F. Meemanage, Vice-President of the Indo-Lanka Buddhist Association, Bombay. An energetic journalist, he started a new journal *Buddhist World* through which he seeks to maintain cultural relations with the Buddhist nations of Asia and also to propagate the true spirit of Buddhism.

Muslim Ceylon was represented by Miss. Nilam, Principal of the Muslim Girls' College, studying for the Home Science diploma at the Lady Irwin College, Delhi. Among other women delegates we found Mrs. E. C. Fernandes, a member of the Economic Society, Mrs. Cissy Cooray, President of the Lanka

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Mahila Samity, Mrs. H. R. Guna Sekhara, a leading social worker and President of Gamani Mata Upasika Samiti, Mrs. H. R. Gunawarthana of the Lanka Mahila Samiti, Mrs. Gunaratnam Cooke of the All-Ceylon Women's Conference and Miss Anil D'Silva, an enthusiastic publisher and journalist.

The Delhi Conference heralded a new dawn on the Asian horizon and brought the message of hope and freedom in the hearts of millions of men, women and children of Asia. Let us hope that the Asian Relations Organisation, born of the first Inter-Asian Conference will introduce a new and a glorious chapter in the consolidation of the national and international life of Asia.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

INDIA AND THE PACIFIC NATIONS

In the Age of Discoveries, India was indirectly responsible for the epoch-making voyages and explorations of pioneers like Bartholomew Diaz (1485), Christopher Columbus (1492) and Vasco Da Gama (1498). All of them attempted to break the monopoly of the Turks and the Arabs in the profitable trade with India ; and thus, the trade-routes of Europe to India were discovered and, parenthetically, the discovery of the New World effected.

But most of these voyages were along the Atlantic Ocean ; the most intrepid sailors and geographers could not even suspect the existence of that gigantic ocean, now known as the Pacific. Spain's Balboa roaming in the Panama Zone is reported to have climbed on a hill-top and accidentally discovered (1513) on the other side of the Panama, another vast ocean. Naturally many of the Pacific nations, as I came to know while visiting Hawaii, celebrate this event with a 'Balboa Day.' The Portuguese navigator, Maghellan turned the southernmost tip of South America and was the first to cross the Pacific from East to West right up to the Philippine Islands where he was accidentally killed in 1521. In the wake of the Spanish and the Portuguese, other Westerners like the Dutch, British aud and French adventurers also explored the Pacific and its countless island-groups from different routes. With the downfall of the Hispano-Portuguese empires towards the end of the 16th century, the British, the Dutch and the French developed their colonial empires in different sectors of the Pacific. U.S.A., the last to enter the field, took over the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands in 1898 after a brief war with the decadent Spanish Government. The protagonists of the East Asia civilisation, by different stages, reached the far-off island-groups of the Pacific Ocean which undoubtedly was first explored by the Indian and Chinese pioneers long before the appearance of Western adventurers. During my last visit to the Philippines,

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I was surprised to discover that the basic words relating to religion and culture in the language of the Filipinos were either from Sanskrit or derivatives thereof. I could not understand then, as I can understand now, why these proud Malayan cousins of ours, whose mother-tongue Tagalok is so reminiscent of Indian languages, should be called after a half-forgotten Spanish King Phillip II. After the Asian Conference, the name of the lovely archipelago and its liberty-loving people should be changed from Spanish into some significant title derived from Tagalok or any other Asian language. Our next-door neighbours, the Thai, have not hesitated to change their titles now and then. So far, the Western nations have been shaping the Pacific Basin policy and the destiny of the Pacific nations for about four and a half centuries. But the future of the Pacific, as we visualise it today, is no longer an Occidental concern.

The Oriental nations in general and India and China in particular, have made great contributions to the exploration and settlement of the Pacific World. The earliest migrations, so far traced, from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific may be divided into the following principal ethnic-cum-cultural currents :

(i) The Negritos who proceeded from some part of Africa along the coastal belts leaving traces of their stock in South India, in the Malayan Peninsula and beyond, as far as the Philippines.

(ii) The Proto-Australoids or the Pre-Dravidians, whose descendants are the Todas of Nilgiri and the Veddahs of Ceylon, likewise reached the far-off Australasian Continent where their cousins came to be isolated as the aboriginal races of Australia and Tasmania.

(iii) In the closing centuries B. C. and in the early centuries of the Christian era, we find mass migration of Indians to Malaysia and Indonesia where we find place-names in Sanskritic languages in Sumatra, Java, Champa, Kambuja, Suvarna-Bhumi and Suvarna-Dvipa bearing unmistakable evidences of the early cultural and commercial, if not also political, colonisation of the Western Pacific by the Indians. The earliest inscriptions so far traced in Champa (Viet Nam), Java and Borneo were written in Sanskrit and in purely Indian scripts. Isolated centres of trade and commerce, founded by the Indian merchants and mariners, developed

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gradually into big cultural zones and finally into the Hindu colonies and empires like that of the 'Shree Vijaya' in Indonesia and of the Hinduised kingdoms of Champa and Cambodia in Indo-China. Small local sanctuaries gradually developed into colossal architectural marvels like the 'Borobudur' and 'Prambanan' of Java and the 'Bayon' and 'Angkor Wat' of Indo-China. The Brahmanical and Buddhist leaders as well as Indian merchants, princes and intellectuals co-operated intensively with the gifted indigenous populations and thus laid securely the foundation of *Greater India* which like *Magna Graecia* was also predominantly a cultural expression of the collaboration of the races and nations. Thanks to the blessings of the message of universal brotherhood (*Maitri*) promulgated by Gautama Buddha and applied in the domain of State Policy by Emperor Asoka in the 3rd Century B. C., the Indians were foremost in preaching and practising world fellowship in the enormous Pacific Basin extending from Malaysia and Indonesia to Micronesia and Polynesia.

The gifted Polynesian races conserved a good deal of the ritual and dance traditions of the Indonesian World and carried them as far as Maori Land (New Zealand) in the Eastern Pacific. The Hawaiians and the Maoris speak basically the same Polynesian language and yet they are separated by over 2,000 miles of watery waste. Both look westwards, towards India, the land of cocoanuts, for their original homeland ! Both cultivated to perfection the technique of rhythmic expression through their dances and graceful gestures, originating possibly in the 'Bharata-Natyam.' We know now definitely that long before Balboa and Maghellan, the Indonesians and the Polynesians had successfully colonised the entire Pacific Basin.

The Maoris are admitted to have discovered and settled New Zealand after adventurous voyages in 12th-13th Centuries. By that time, generally speaking, the Hinduised kingdoms of the Western Pacific were overwhelmed by another audacious race of explorers, the Arabs of Western Asia. Taking advantage of the disintegration of the Hindu kingdoms, the Arabs pressed forward conquering with lightning speed the whole of Malaysia and part of Indonesia ; so we find Islam with its special code and the Arabic script spreading all over the vast area stretching

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from Malaya to the Philippines. Christianity came in its turn ; but numerically the overwhelming majority of the population profess now the Muslim faith. Four hundred years of Christian missionary activity could not organize a sizeable and homogeneous community like the Hindu-Islamic communities of Indonesia.

It should, however, be remembered, in this connection, that the contribution to the development of these regions and nations by the Chinese, for over one thousand years, was considerable. Confucian philosophy fused naturally with Indian Buddhism and strengthened the morale of the heterogeneous races of the Western Pacific and largely regulated their economic life.

A United China and a Free India are the main pillars of a central 'Pacific Basin Foundation'. The Institute of Pacific Relations and the Pan-Pacific Union with branches in different countries should be invited to collaborate with us ; but the main responsibility of renewing and fostering cultural and economic relationship among the Pacific nations will naturally be shared by China and India, historical and authentic leaders of the Pan-Pacific movement through ages. The civilizations native to Asia have hitherto filled a disproportionately slight role in the books and periodicals of the world and it is high time that a Pacific Foundation could be organized to co-operate with our Asian Institute. It should attend to the needs of the Pacific races and to the economic and cultural problems of the Asian nations. I pleaded for the creation of such a Foundation in my convocation address to the University of Hawaii in 1937, and I hope that the Asian Relations Organization will help materialize the project for the benefit of all of us. It is a happy augury that 'observers' from many Pacific nations attended the Delhi Conference.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

CULTURAL PROBLEMS OF ASIA

Asia today is a continent of problems. Asia covers almost threefourths of the habitable earth surface and has more than half of the entire human race. Her natural history (including mountain-building, formation of rivers, lakes, the growth of her fauna and flora from the prehistoric fossil varieties to their rich modern developments) challenges the scientific attention of research workers. Yet, with the exception of only a few first class research institutes in China and India on geology, geophysics, botanical and zoological surveys,—most of the countries of Asia are still lagging sadly behind Western research laboratories. Western states are always supporting Western scientific researches. But most of the Oriental states are still far removed from "nationalisation" in the true sense of the word. Scientific research, in our own specific domains, is still under the domination of the West, for Western scientists and technicians still monopolise the key-positions in the scientific survey departments. In India the geological, the zoological and the botanical surveys will soon be thoroughly nationalised (as China and Turkey have already done), and India is in urgent need of comparing notes with the independent sovereign or quasi-sovereign states of Asia who are striving to nationalise their scientific research services.

Asia, again, is the cradle of the major races and cultures of mankind. The earliest chapters in the history of Man and of the human society could only be written with the help of the ethnological, anthropological and archæological materials explored, excavated and classified from the enormous zones of Oriental culture extending from the Nile Valley to the villages of Yang-tsi-Kiang and Hwang-ho. Yet, the study of Man in Asia and its relation to the diverse human families in different regional zones, has not been systematically organized. It is a sad commentary on our "imported" university education that our syllabus of studies and text books still betray preoccupation

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with the histories of Europe and America and very little with those of the Asian nations. Asia is a living museum of the most variegated races and civilisations ; and no Museum of Man can afford to ignore Man in Asia. Hammurabi of Babylon, Akhnaton of Egypt, Manu and other Vedic sages of India, Zarathustra of Iran, Mahavir and Buddha, Christ and Muhammad, stand as eternal symbols of Asian spirituality. The various branches of humanism like comparative philology, comparative literature, comparative mythology and religion want a definitely new orientation. India. Iran and China may yet yield the measuring scale of spiritual values and provide invaluable evidences of cultural collaboration in ancient as well as medieval ages.

Only in the modern age the Oriental nations, by a strange irony of fate, ceased to function (temporarily we hope) as modern beings. But the challenge of the modern state, especially in the Atomic Age, is upon us, as also upon our friends in the West. In the projected *Museum of Man in Asia*, which we hope to build in collaboration with the experts of the various regional museums of Asia, we must develop our national galleries against the cosmic background of Asian Art and Culture. The theory of *splendid isolation* is doomed to vanish, giving way to a planetary and dynamic conception of history where every clan, race, and nation would be assigned its proper place in the orchestra of Asian humanism.

Archaeological and art collections, similarly, would be arranged, epoch by epoch, tool by tool, pattern by pattern, preparing thereby the mind of our rising generation and gradually enabling them to visualise the grand *Encyclopaedia of Asian Art and Culture.*

Architecture being the synthesis of all arts, deserves special attention. The crude shelters built by the tree-dweller in South India, the temples of Heaven and of Agriculture in Peking, the Pyramids and Ziggarats of the Near East, the dainty wood-carvings of Burma and Siam, and the colossal stones of Java and Cambodia—all these would give us materials for our museum of Comparative Architecture. Professional architects should be given special facilities for visiting the important architectural monuments of the East ; and portfolios of architectural drawings

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and designs, from our neighbouring nations, should be made available to the students of our National Schools of Designs and of comparative architecture. Surely, we do not want to lag behind others in mastering the technique of modern construction, nor would we like to see our beautiful countries disfigured by the architectural incongruities from the West. A new sense of art and of artistic values would surely emerge when we shake off the numbing influence of Western imitation and, plunging into the vast ocean of Asian forms, we re-discover our ancestral art treasures of inestimable worth.

Art is generally represented, so far, as the creation of priests and prophets, kings and emperors ; in other words art is supposed to be primarily hieratic, religious, or aristocratic. But we have forgotten, to our great disadvantage, to notice that those are but superstructures (splendid no doubt) which could not possibly stand if they were not supported by the bed-rock of the common man's art instincts and craft habits. No satisfactory survey of the arts and crafts of the common people has been undertaken from the point of view of the Oriental nations. Years ago, the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris, made the first attempt in that line by publishing two illustrated volumes on Popular Arts ; but they contained very little positive data relating to the arts and crafts of Asia. In the remote villages of Bengal, Orissa and Assam, we are surprised to see, even today, extraordinary compositions and designs of our womenfolk who have preserved age-old traditions of art in spite of the ruthless invasion of the machine age.

The aboriginal races of India as well as of many other Oriental nations are carrying on traditions of arts and crafts which must be saved from oblivion, together with the folk-dances, songs and ballads which are fast disappearing because they are mostly unwritten. We should follow the example of the National University of Dublin which has taken thousands of phonographic records of the voices of the dying Irish Bards and story-tellers in a language that was about to be killed with the imposition of a foreign language. The unwritten literatures of the Hawaiians and the Maoris, two of the most talented of the Polynesian races, have partially been preserved through the care of sympathetic scholars ;

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the vanishing of such literature would be a positive loss to mankind.

The unlettered bards and story-tellers are the real educators of our masses ; but we have almost wiped them out of their existence by our neglect and by our unbalanced enthusiasm for the new system of class-education imported from the West. We must modernise our schools but not necessarily by sacrificing oral mass-education of the villages. Rural education must go hand in hand with rural welfare ; since nearly eighty per cent of our people live in villages, we cannot escape the verdict of Mahatma Gandhi that if we kill our villages, our much-vaunted city-bred civilisation will collapse. People inevitably flock to the towns for economic and social amenities and that is why such amenities were made available, for the first time to villagers, by the pioneers of Soviet Russia. The sensational progress in the liquidation of illiteracy and mass poverty through the development of rural co-operatives in Russia during the last decades would serve as an object-lesson to many of us ; and we know that China, of all the other Asian nations, has derived the greatest benefit out of the Russian experiments.

The "basic education" movement in India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi would possibly open another such revolutionary chapter in the history of education in Asia. Production of food and clothing for our teeming millions provides the two most substantial bases of *applied education* according to Mahatma Gandhi. He challenges our educationists as well as our administrators to work out a system of mass-education in our villages with its vast possibilities. The food and clothing industries for the 400 million of Indians, if properly co-ordinated with Elementary and Secondary education, may involve tremendous expenditure of energy and resources ; but such education would, at the same time, repay in human dividends beyond calculation. Asian Russia has solved many such problems in an incredibly short time ; and there is no reason why, granted freedom of initiative, good-will and guidance, similar results could not be achieved by other Asian nations. Experts on rural education from Asian Russia should be invited by our National Boards of Education. Radio and educational films would play the leading role in mass-education in our

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country as they did in Soviet Russia. With the Romanisation of texts (as already done in Turkey) the baffling problems of scripts could be partially solved. Tagore's poems could them be intoned by our Turkish, Iranian, Chinese and Indonesian cousins, through the International Phonetic script recently perfected by scholars. Side by side, regional Boads of Translators should be set up with a view to giving, through faithful translation, the classics of one nation to another. National Anthems of all the Asian nations may be transcribed with musical notations and distributed widely through the various National Boards of Education.

Science confronts us, for good or for evil, at every step of our life. Scientific studies and research should, therefore, be the first charge on our national budget, specially because most of the Asian nations to-day, sovereign or quasi-sovereign, are sadly dependent upon the Western scientists in the task of surveying, harnessing and utilising our own natural resources. We must, of course, assign priorities to the following needs :—

(1) Science of food production and agriculture (including special branches of soil-chemistry, fertilisers, etc).

(2) Textile technology to meet the clothing needs of millions.

(3) Irrigation, river-physics. hydro-electric plants, etc.

(4) Land utilisation and scientific development of our mineral resources including Thorium and other rare deposits specially in view of our poverty in oil fuel.

(5) Electrification of our immense rural zones and for developing our rural industries.

(6) Scientific development of all forms of transport by land, water and air.

(7) Co-ordinating scientific data through a central scientific *Bureau of Standards* under our greatest scientists in collaboration with the International scientific societies.

Science has nowhere been applied recently to social welfare with greater effect than in Soviet Asia which occupies nearly half of the Asian Continent (7,346,548 sq. miles). This is more than 7/8 of the total area of the Soviet Union. Its climate varies from that of the burning desert of Gobi to that of the ice-bound Arctic Circles. And such extreme variations are equally noticeable in

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the social pattern and economic structure of the diverse races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Yet the fissiparous and centrifugal tendencies have been effectively checked by a liberal scientific outlook and application of scientific principles in the solution of the basic problems of life. Even the baffling Siberian Arctics have been forced by Soviet scientists to open a sea-way across the top of the world and some rotation of crops has been reported from that area with the application of scientific agriculture in the ice-fields. The Mongolian and the Tuna People's Republic, for centuries under the influence of Tibetan Lamaism, effected, the separation of church and state in 1924 and developed their states on secular lines in friendly co-operation with the Soviet Union. The animal wealth and the gold reserve of the Yakutia Republic are being exploited by Russian scientists. Lumber mills, coal mines, power plants and cement factories are growing. One of the outstanding food-factories is a refrigerator ship which in 1941 began to ply the Lena river collecting, processing and canning over 60 million pounds of fish that are caught annually for delivery to the main inhabited centres of the Republic.* Through unfortunate neglect of science by our Government departments, the river and marine fisheries of the Bay of Bengal Basin, specially of East Bengal and Chittagong, could not be made available to our people who died by millions in the 1943 famine.

American commentators, after personal observations, remarked very appropriately : 'What emerged as important was the fact of the rise of Man from an ignorant past to an enlightened present ; important the number of schools and students, of hospitals and doctors, of laboratories and research workers, new industries, new railways, thousands of miles of airways, and new varieties of grains for the frozen north. The Russians are conquering the Arctic and the desert'.* The northern frontiers of Iran and India and China march along the southern frontiers of Russia and the inner lines of communications are always open, but the iron curtain of suspicion has somehow suspended scientific and economic collaboration.

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* (*Soviet Asia* by R. A. Dariest and A. J. Steiger).

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The Tajjiks, the Turkmenians and the Kirghizes number one million each and they are right on the northern frontiers of India. The Pamir Range where Soviet scientists are reported to have built up a cosmic-ray laboratory, is known as the "Roof of the world", for even its valley bottoms are 13,000 ft. above sea level, while Lenin Peak is over 23,000 ft. and Stalin peak 24, 590 ft. Geographical exploration occupies a great part of the attention of the Russian scientists and many of the complicated geographical and geological problems of India and China could only be solved by reference to the researches of Russian scientists. Similarly in the domain of archaeology, the metal-age culture of India, China and Russia (Ordos-Yang-Shao and Indus Valley) should be studied on parallel lines. The history of expansion of Buddhism through Russian and Chinese Turkesthan, to the remote monasteries of Mongolia and Siberia, has yet to be written in collaboration with Russian antiquarians. The population of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan numbers over 5 million each ; and within 25 years they have marched from utter backwardness to scientific and industrial efficiency. Thus Soviet Russia has set an example to all Asians by applying science towards the solution of some of our desperate social and economic problems ; and what Russia has done could also be done by other Asian nations capable of pursuing a unitary policy of national consolidation on a scientific basis. China has also benefited by the official and non-official co-operation of the U. S. S. R., especially in the domain of health and hygiene, but much still remains to be done. In India even after the rude shocks of two world wars, scientific planning is just beginning.

PROBLEMS IN SEQUENCE

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH : In the age of transition from the medieval to the modern (1700-1800), the West was ready to take full advantage of its scientific knowledge while the East neglected (as often lamented by Pandit Nehru) science and industry to the detriment of her national economy. Thus Asia came to be exploited mercilessly by Western colonialists and commercial corporations like the British, the French, the Dutch and the Flemish East India companies. Leaving aside scientific

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knowledge, even knowledge as such in any form was not deemed worthy of being given to the Asian subjects of the Western Powers. The first Indian (and possibly the first Asian) to publicly demand modernisation of our education by the introduction of Western sciences like medicine, chemistry etc. was Raja Rammohan Roy, the Father of Modern India. In 1823 he made that specific demand in his memorable letter to Lord Amherst. Within 10 years the first Medical College was established (1835) in Calcutta with generous subsidies from eminent Indians like Dwarakanath Tagore (grandfather of Rabindranath Tagore), a loyal colleague of Rammohan. Progress in science and medicine, physiology and anatomy, biology and allied sciences has been traced in a volume published on the occasion of the centenary of the foundation of the Calcutta Medical College. The Government started the Trigonometrical survey towards the beginning of the 19th century, and a Geological survey was started about the middle of that century. But when in 1857 three universities were created by Royal Charter, in Bengal, Bombay and Madras it was all a literary affair with very little of science. The Government scientific services were jealously guarded by Western scientists with only ill-paid Indian assistants in the junior grades to help them. Individual scientists like Dr. Mohut and Father Lafont tried in their own way to build modest centres of scientific studies till at last between 1870 and 1880 Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar, a physician and a Fellow of the University built for the first time our National Scientific Institute, the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Sciences. Thanks to Dr. Sarkar's initiative, two pioneer scientists, Jagadish Chandra Bose and Prafulla Chandra Ray, began their epoch-making researches leading to the foundation of the national schools of Physics and Chemistry.

Science made a very timid entrance into the syllabus of the University of Calcutta when in 1908 it almost completed half a century of its existence. The same could be said about other Indian Universities. The first University College of Science and and Technology was created by the great Indian educationist, Sir Ashutosh Mookherjee, with the generous financial assistance of two of his lawyer friends Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehari Ghosh. It was in the laboratory of the Calcutta University that

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Sir C. V. Raman, as Palit Professor of Physics, brought (1930) the first Nobel Prize in science to Asia.

Thus between the interval of the two world wars, we witnessed the growth of the science departments of many of our universities and the formation of a team of brilliant Indian scientists. The major heavy industry of this period, the Tata Iron and Steel Corporations, provided scope for many Indian scientists and technician ; and advanced research laboratories were set up by funds supplied by the munificence of Sir J. J. Tata who built the Bangalore Institute of Sciences. Thus private initiative and non-official support was the mainstay of scientific progress in India which was looked upon with a step-mother's eye by the Indian State Departments. But while the progress in Physics, Chemistry Mathematics and other abstract sciences fared comparatively well, most useful branches of applied sciences linked up with the improvement of our national standard of living for the common men and women, remained largely still neglected.

Against this background of struggle of Indian scientists, the progress of scientific studies and research in other Asian countries has got to be surveyed. The Indian National Institute of Science is now fortunately well organized as a clearing house of information and it should be entrusted with the task of compiling a handbook on the institutes of science and technology in India and in other Asian countries. Exchange of publications as well as of scientific workers may also be fostered for our mutual benefit. The invitation accorded to late Professor Meghnad Saha at the 225th jubilee of the Russian Academy of Sciences (1945) as well as invitations to other Indian scientists from the learned societies of Europe and America, have opened a new chapter in the collaboration of the East and West. The American Boxer Indemnity Fund and the Rockefeller Foundation, have substantially helped in the advancement of scientific researches in China ; and we are glad to find that in the worst days of China's sufferings in the second world war, the Chinese scientists and technician are coming to the front.

EDUCATION : In most of the Asian countries we notice two widely different systems of education : (i) indigenous system of education through our village schools mainly for the

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development of our rural population, and (ii) the imported or imposed system of Western schools chiefly to supply interpreters, clerks and subordinate officials for Western governments or spheres of influence in Eastern countries.

After about a century of experiment on Western lines, we find that the Western type of school is exclusive and prohibitive in cost. It involves unmerited neglect of the native tongue and indigenous literatures and creates a system of unhealthy cleavage between the few educated upper class in the cities and the unlettered if not uneducated millions in the villages. The problem of mass illiteracy with its appalling dimensions and complexities, is now facing most of us. The new Republic of the Philippines alone, under American guidance, can be proud of achieving creditable results. China since the establishment of the Republic in 1911 and Russia since 1917 have set inspiring examples to all of us by their bold experiments in liquidating illiteracy and thus strengthening the basis of democracy. Turkey, Egypt, Syria and a few other nations of the Near East have made some progress. Burma has luckily preserved her indigenous temple-schools and so it would be easier for her to bridge over the unfortunate gap between the mass and the class system of education. China has evolved an admirable system of adult education which could profitably be adopted by many Oriental countries. The grandest achievements in the domain of mass education are those of U. S. S. R., especially with reference to the backward nations of Soviet Asia. What was possible for Russia to do in twenty years, under tremendous handicaps, could be done in other countries, granted well-designed State Planning and voluntary co-operation. Modern scientific developments in radio and film industries, together with other instruments of audio-visual education, should be properly utilized ; and travelling libraries, industries fairs and folk-art exhibitions could help in repairing the communal and sectional cleavage detrimental to national solidarity. Dr. Sun yat-Sen boldly proclaimed livelihood to be as important as nationalism and democracy, and Mahatma Gandhi substantially agreed with Dr. Sun yat-Sen when he promulgated his system of Basic Education centred in important handicrafts such as spinning which would enable people to earn something while they learn and also to

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emerge as self-supporting members of society at the end of their training. From vocational education it is an easy transition to education in trade and industries.

Education should also have direct reference to social uplift and human welfare so that our trained teachers would be ready to render first-aid in case of national calamities like famine, epidemic etc. Formidable loss of society could be averted if only we could train our teachers to be potential social workers as well, assuming leadership in case of emergency and practising strict discipline. That brings into our scheme the technique of self-defence and national defence through military education, to ensure discipline and adequate protection to the common folk and also to attend to the bigger question of national defence organization. Lastly we should aspire to transform the education in citizenship into the education for world citizenship. There we can build on the foundations so nobly laid by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in his International University of Santiniketan. Tagore the educationist, with his significant emphasis on Beauty and Harmony, is a pioneer in the path of International education.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE :—Although architecture and art are considered as luxuries, they are indispensable elements in our civilized existence. Man as a social animal was fully alive to the pressing need of protecting his family by taking shelter in natural caves even in the remote Stone Age. Recently, sensational discoveries have been made in China. Java and Palestine proving the existence of Paleolithic industries of the Peking man (in East Asia), the Java Man (in South Asia) and the Mount Carmel Man (in West Asia), each opening a new chapter in the scientific study of Early man in Asia. The valuable reports published in *Paleontologia Sinica* and other scientific journals in the last half a century (1890-1940) have completely revolutionized our idea with regard to human origins and to the beginnings of Asians arts and industries.

In the age of transition (10,000—2,000 B. C.) from the Neolithic to the early metal-using Chalcolithic civilization, we notice the progressive developments of agriculture and human settlements along the river-valleys of the Nile, the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Indus and the Hwang-Ho. Cottages of reed grass

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and bamboo mark the earliest stages in the development of architecture which quickly passed on, through timber and log construction, to sun-baked and fire-burnt bricks and finally to massive and expensive stone-architecture. The Pyramids of Egypt, the Ziggarats of Babylonia, the palaces and the Thousand-pillared Hall of Persia, the coloured tile construction of China, and the rock-cut temples of India are landmarks in the evolution of architecture with its branches of allied arts and industries like sculpture, painting, wood-carving, lacquering and other decorative processes which should now be studied on a scientific basis, helping us to compile a comparative Dictionary of Oriental Art and Architecture. We have in Asia our own schools, orders and styles which still remain to be carefully analysed, classified and compared with Western architectural orders. We may discover thereby how ancient Egypt influenced Greek and Byzantine art ; how during 500 B. C.-1500 A. D, Hellenic temples acted as prototypes of many temples of India and the Middle East, and how India again influenced China, Cambodia, Java and many other nations in the Far East. But our interest should not be confined only to tracing superficial resemblances or so-called influences. We should pay no less attention to discovering the positive and original contribution of the indigenous races as craftsmen, artisans and architects ; for we know definitely that if India influenced in the beginning the art traditions of Java and Cambodia, even their architectural marvels like the Boro Budur and the Angkor Vat owe at least as much to the artistic genius of our Indonesian brothers as to the indirect influence or inspiration coming from India.

In the medieval period (600—1600 A, D.) our Islamic cousins of the Near East made grand contributions to architecture and decorative art (arabesque) which should be studied carefully with reference to concrete monuments like the Mosque of Khalif Omar in Cairo, the bejewelled minarets of Persia and the Indo-Persian architecture of India under Akbar the Great, covering full one thousand years (600-1600 A. D.) in the history of oriental art and architcture. The migration of the Buddhist *stupas* and rock-cut temple designs to Gentral Asia, China, Korea, and Japan, forms another glorious chapter of artistic collaboration in the Far East.

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The last phase is marked by the infiltration of Western art and architecture and our reaction to then, during the last 300 years, developing a mixed modern style.

LITERATURE: A little over half a century ago the celebrated German Orientalists, Max Muller, launched a series of translations from oriental classics which he named *The Sacred Books of the East.* Most of the books of that series were taken from India, representing early Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism ; a few like the *Avesta* of Iran in Zend language and the *Quoran* from original Arabic were also translated. But China was not well represented and so we find a parallel series published by Dr. J. Legge, editor of *The Chinese Classics*, which opened for the first time to our eyes the wealth of Chinese thought and literature, even when the English renderings were far from satisfactory. Since then many important oriental books, both sacred and secular, have been translated into European languages like English, French, German, Italian and Russian. Alas, we find few oriental publishers volunteering to print dependable and cheap translations of such books into our diverse living languages. The Institute of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, planned, during the last 20 years of its existence (1919-39), but achieved very little by way of publishing good translations of *oriental* books, ancient as well as modern. In this work some countries of Asia like Turkey, China and Japan have already shown much better progress than we have shown here in India. An Asian Translation Board should be developed with subsidies from progressive Governments contributing to build a permanent Oriental Translation Fund, as was started by the Royal Asiatic Society of London and by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal with very modest resources. Such a Board duly constituted, by enlisting expert linguists from different countries, would keep the public in touch with the ancient literary heritages and their medieval counter-parts as well as with the works of the outstanding modern poets, playwrights, novelists, thinkers and writers of Asia.

But Asia, the biggest land block in the Pacific world, holds priceless gems of folk poetry, tales, myths and legends which form a special category of their own ; for most of them are

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still transmitted orally. Most of the backward races and tribes from whom we are to gather such fragments of unwritten literature, have no scripts of their own. Some of them have been preserved and transcribed in a rough form of Roman script, but the system of transliteration and translation has got to be vastly improved. Two apparently dead languages have recently been revived, thanks to the zeal and expert guidance of linguists of the Hebrew University of Palestine and of the National Irish University of Dublin. Hebrew and the old Irish languages have come back to their own and the children of the new generation now use these languages freely, forgetting that these were dead languages only quarter of a century ago. Folk-literature and folk-art are indispensable materials for all who aspire to enter into the spirit of our civilisation.

For mass education we want popular text books at cheap prices and here the East lags behind the nations of the West. We depend, with pathetic resignation, for the supply of text books upon Western publishers ; and we have thereby enriched enormously many of the big Western firms. Now that education is a national responsibility, an army of writers has got to be trained, both men and women, from amongst our national teachers who should be encouraged, by adequate subsidy and leisure, to produce text books at reasonable cost to suit the very modest purse of our village-folk. And such books should, as far as possible, be printed and adequately illustrated, making book production itself a work of art. Nursery rhymes as well as the national anthems of the Asian nations should be printed in Roman character with notations, so that these could be chanted or sung according to convenience.

History and Geography should definitely cease to be boring catalogues of mere names and places. They should be transformed into vehicles of humanistic thoughts which would help to make us feel that all men are brothers living in a universe slowly rising above war and destruction to Peace and creative Unity.

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ITEMS OF RESEARCH

1. SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH :

(a) In relation to (i) National Economy, (ii) Utilisation of National resources. Stabilisation of national finance depends on adequate scientific planning as demonstrated by the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. Utilisation of national resources depends on up-to-date plants and technical personnel trained in the latest scientific methods. Problem of foreign or imported scientific and technical experts in most of the Asian countries ; their progressive liquidation and replacement by indigenous workers.

(b) In relation to applied sciences and technology ; co-operation with the Massachussets Institute of Boston, the Mellan Institute of Pittsburg, the Carnegie Corporation of Washington etc.

(c) In relation to basic industries like food and housing clothing and fuel etc.

(d) In relation to public utilities and power potentials, steam, hydro-electric forces, geo-physics, electricity, atomic research, soil chemistry and erosion. Irrigation dam, river physics, subsidance and earthquake studies.

(e) In relation to health and hygiene : nutrition and food substitutes (especially in famine zones), preventive medicines, standardisation of drugs with special reference to tropical diseases, in co-operation with the Rockefeller Foundation, the Pasteur Institute and other world organizations actually operating in Oriental fields,

(f) In relation to fundamental research : contact and co-operation with the workers of the leading scientific laboratories and academies, exchange of students and research fellows, co-ordination and classification of scientific data and their publication on the model of the *International Scientific Catalogue*, sponsored by the Royal Society of England,

(g) In relation to the registration and social insurance of scientific workers—their salaries. travelling expenses, gratuities etc. Creation of an 'Asia Prize' in scientific and

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industrial research like the Nobel Prize in scientific subjects.

(h) In relation to the study of the past history of the scientific contribution of the Asian nations, the causes of retardation in the Middle Ages, and the condition of future development in each Aaian country.

Compilation of technical terms from Oriental scientific works with their modern scientific equivalents, e. g., in (a) Chinese-Sanskrit-Tibetan, (b) Arab-Iranian, (c) Turko-Mongolian, (d) Sino-Japanese (e) Indo-Turanian glossaries.

2. EDUCATION : (a) National, (b) International. Education in most of the oriental countries today (with the exception of Asian Russia) is a privilege for comparatively well to do classes and practically denied to the masses. Hence there are class antagonism and its serious repurcussions.

Education on religious or denominational basis leading to sectarianism and communal cleavage, detrimental to national and human solidarity.

Correctives to be sought by comparing notes with Turkey, Asian Russia, China, the Philippines and other countries.

Education with reference to livelihood, earn-while-you-learn method of U. S. A. and its adaptation to the needs of Asian students ; vocational guidance, and future career of younger generations.

Rural education on craft basis—Gandhian technique of education and its application—liquidation of poverty and of illiteracy simultaneously, if possible.

Drastic changes in education, time-table and curriculum of studies : (a) primary and basic (5-12 years) ; (b) post primary or secondary (12-16 years) ; (c) post secondary (16-20 years) till graduation in the University or in Technical Institutes.

Education with reference to Commerce and Industry, Business, Schools and Colleges, Banking and International Trade.

Education in social service and national welfare : life-saving, protection of women and children in times of war and other public calamities. (International Red-Cross training).

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Education in self-defence ; and in the larger national defence ; compulsory military training.

Registration and social insurance of educational workers from the primary school to the University ; present degradation of teachers and means to improve their status.

Travelling fellowships for teachers and promising scholars ; exchange of teachers between different Asian countries to foster better understanding.

Education through applied arts, interrelating general education with music, drama, dancing, painting, modelling and other arts and crafts as demonstrated by Dr. Tagore in his Visva-Bharati University.

Education with reference to International relations and in world citizenship : co-operation with U.N., U.N.E.S.C.O., the International Bureau of Education, Geneva, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and other world organisations.

3. ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE : Neglect of oriental artists and craftsmen dying out rapidly ; emergency measures to save and rehabilitate them.

Patronising attitude of Western critics of Oriental arts. Orientalism considered almost synonymous with the *fantastic* and *grotesque*. Such wrong notions to be rectified by (i) collecting and classifying Oriental art objects ; (ii) reproducing them adequately in illustrated journals on national arts and industry ; (iii) presenting less expensive picture-postcards for common men and women and school children ; (iv) encouragement of visit to important sites of architecture and centres of art development, and of national Tourist Industry with expert guide-lecturers ; publication of illustrated hand-books, maps etc. ; (v) holding Inter-Asian Art Exhibition, changing venue from country to country ; exploration of historic and archaeological sites ; co-operation of specialists in the field of pre-historic art and archaeology as well as in the later historical schools of arts.

Special legislation permitting exploration rights to foreign learned societies while safeguarding the interest of our national museums,

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Special training in field-work in archaeology, in museology and art display, exhibition technique etc.

Safeguarding our National Treasures, old and newly discovered ; cataloguing them from the Oriental collections now dispersed in the museums of Europe and America. Preparation of a co-ordinated catalogue of Asian art objects scattered in non-Asian countries. Exploring the possibilities of their partial restoration to the respective countries of origin (as I pleaded in my book : Art and Archaeology Abroad, 1937).

NATIONAL SCHOOLS OF DESIGN : Special protection of our national arts and crafts from the mechanical mass-production of the Western type. Problem of rehabilitating our rural arts and crafts, folk-dance, music, etc. Subsidies to our artists and craftsmen and their social insurance backed by adequate legislation. International Exhibition of Oriental Arts in co-operation with the U.N.E.S.C.O. the International Institute of Museums (Paris) to foster world understanding. Poster exhibition in world fairs. Spcial research prizes for studies on the technique and philosophy of oriental arts and crafts. National schools of art and their co-operation with International art centres.

4. LITERATURE : (a) Revival of the Sacred Books of the East, on a more comprehensive scale ; (b) publication of the Classics of the Orient with special reference to secular literature. (c) printing in International phonetic script, the valuable fragments of our *unwritten* literature, quickly dying out, but luckily still preserved amongst many isolated and backward tribes and races of Asia, specially in the Pacific ; model study, the Unwritten literature of Hawaii : (d) tribal myths and legends, folklores, proverbs, tales and ballads etc. which from the bedrock of higher literature so-called ; (e) migration of stories and legends like the Alexander and the Kasar Saga ; migration of Hindu, Buddhistic, Christian and Islamic thoughts and legends ; (f) institutes of comparative mythology and comparative literature with special reference to Asian languages and their extension to the Pacific zones in the East and to African Zones in the West ; (g) co-operative planning for the preparation and printing (in

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Roman script) of the *Encyclopaedia Asiana* to be published in small fasicules like the French *Encyclopaedia Larousse* ; (b) creation of an Oriental Translation Fund permitting the circulation of the classics of each nation in the literary world of our neighbouring countries ; (i) institution of a Tagore Prize for the Annual award on the outstanding book in any language of Asia ; (j) holding from country to country biennial congress of Oriental literature. (k) Exhibition of Asian paintings, prints etc.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE ASIAN RELATIONS ORGANISATION

The Asian Relations Conference, held at New Delhi between March 23 and April 2, 1947, decided to discuss some of the major problems of Asia under the following :—

1. National Movements for Freedom.
2. Racial Problems and Colour bar.
3. Migration, inside and outside Asia.
4. Transition from colonial to national economy.
5. Agricultural reconstruction and industrial development.
6. Labour Problems and Social Services.
7. Cultural Problems.
8. Status of Women and Women's movements.

These topics were discussed by five Round Table groups rearranged as follows : (a) National Movement—Topic I. (b) Migration and Racial Problems—Topics II & III (c) Economic development and Social Services.—Topics IV, V. VI (d) Cultural Problems.—Topic VII. (e) Women's Problems.—Topic VIII.

The group meetings were open to delegates observers, and distinguished guests who participated in the morning and afternoon sessions. The rapporteurs of each group prepared 'agreed' statements on the main issues, but no formal resolutions were submitted to the plenary session of the Conference which were attended by the press representatives and members of the general public by invitation.

In spite of language difficulties and delay involved in summarizing or translating the ideas of the various delegations, the members showed a remarkable and sustained enthusiam in the causes championed by them individually or as member of a group.

On account of the re-grouping, the two Round Tables (b & c) found themselves somewhat encumbered and over-loaded as compared with a relatively simpler group like that on 'Women's Problems'. While Migration was discussed mainly from the point

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of view of current complications, political, legal or economic, Racial Migration as a whole could not be thoroughly discussed in the light of the sciences of Anthropology, Ethnology and Sociology. Similarly, excepting a generaal review, many of the complicated problems relating to our Economic developments, Labour problems and Social services could not he handled satisfactorily for lack of time. The national movements of the different Asian countries were no doubt sketched by the representatives of some of the major nations, but both their method and matter of presentation varied according to the varying capacities and ideologies of the delegates. Lastly, the Cultural Problems were of such baffling diversity that we found most of them barely, even superficially touched, after two full days of double sessions,

But in spite of these inevitable drawbacks we profitted enormously by participating in those open forums and specially by personal contacts with fellow delegates outside the Conference hours. As I compared notes with them and collated the various findings of facts and personal impressions, I felt the need of synthesizing the whole into a central co-ordinating plan of the Asia Institute or the Asian Relations Organisation, as it emerged in its final form out of the last plenary session of the Conference. The Organisation has already started functioning from New Delhi and I hope that some of my suggestions may prove useful.

LOCAL HABITATION AND A NAME

Among the few definite results of the Delhi Conference, may be mentioned (1) The naming of the central body as the Asian Relations Organisation which may be conveniently summarized as A. R. O. (2) The location of the A. R. O. provisionally at New Delhi in a temporary building, 'Travancore House' on the Canning Road. But when we remember that the Conference held its session then in an undivided India, which is at present divided, the question of location may be reopened. Moreover, as we know, in spite of the big tradition behind Geneva as the headquarters of the League of Nations, for over twenty years, the centre of the United Nations was shifted to New York, undoubtedly through the dominating voice of the U.S.A. as the biggest power in the post-war world.

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The only big power from Asia recognized by U. N. is China and China, as we know, took full responsibility in inviting the A. R. O. to hold its second session in some part of the Chinese Republic in 1949. But the old Republic is in clash with the new Communist China; and one can hardly predict the situation of China in near future. Her invitation however was unanimously approved by the Delhi Conference, which set up an administrative machinery to carry on the work in the intervening period. But nowhere had it been made clear whether the Indian Union (Pakistan, as we know, non-co-operated from the very beginning), will take full responsibility in finding a permanent local habitation for the A. R. O., and also in furnishing the necessary capital expenditure and recurring grants etc., for the adequate staffing, and maintenance of the Organisation, just as it has been done with American thoroughness in the case of the U. N. O.

If A. R. O. starts functioning as a Peripatetic body like the Pan-American Union or the Inter-Parliamentary Union, then chances may come by rotation to any of the Asian nations to invite the Conference biennially according to convenience. But if Pandit Nehru, the first elected President, decided to make some city of India to be the permanent headquarters of the A. R. O. then the entire procedure would be different. In the selection of that site as well as in the method of financing, there may be differences of opinion : and in these matters we must necessarily wait for further clarification from Pandit Nehru and his executives, now functioning from New Delhi. No one so far has made, like John D. Rockefeller Junior, a land-grant or any other grant, in favour of a permanent Indian headquarters of the A. R. O.

THE CONSTITUTION : PURPOSES & PRINCIPLES

Like the U. N., the A. R. O. also must draw up clearly its aims and objects so that we know definitely,

1. What would be the principal departments of activities, according to its agreed purposes and objects.

2. What constitutional procedure should be followed in our National as well as International Relations.

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3. What would be the principles and methods of selecting the personnel for the central executive or the Secretariat, the Council, the General Assembly ; and also for the delegated and decentralized functions through the accredited representatives of the A. R. O. Unlike the Pan American Union, which is almost a satellite of the U. S. A., the A. R. O. even as a regional group of Asia, should function as a perfectly democratic body, based on equality irrespective of distinctions of colour, creed, sex and property. Our responsibility is very great because most of the Asian nations assembled at the first Conference entrusted the leadership of the Conference to India the host country. I quote in this connection, the significant observation of Rev. Garland Hopkins of Washington D. C. : 'From now on, Inter-Asian Relations Conference must be reckoned as one of the powerful propaganda agencies of the world ; and in due season, it will equal, perhaps surpass, in importance such a group as the Pan-American Union'. Probably Rev. Hopkins was not consciously 'uncharitable' when he called the A. R. O. a 'propaganda agency' ; for he represented, as an observer, the Churches Committee on International Affairs and the World Council of Churches. But we cannot afford to forget that the relation of the Christian Church Organisations with the Christian states exploiting the millions of the nationals of Asia and Africa was neither quite correct nor commendable. To this fact Major B. D. Basu's monumental survey of the *Rise of the Christian Power in India* bears ample testimony. Moreover, another public document which we can handle is *The Layman's Enquiry* published by a commission of American experts who scrutinized the activities of the Western churches functioning in the East. It was presided over by the eminent American philosopher Prof. W. Hocking of the Harvard University.

We are sure that under the inspiring lead of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the A. R. O. would rise above all occasional propaganda and strive to solve the desperately baffling problems of mass-poverty, illiteracy, social inequality and above all political and economic domination of the teeming millions of Asia and Africa by the Western powers. I quote, in this connection, the inspiring message of Pandit Nehru to Mr. James Beauttah who attended the Conference as an observer on behalf of the

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Kenya Union : 'Standing as we do on the verge of independence and freedon in India, we send our good wishes to the people of Africa. In this long course of our struggle for freedom in India we have realised fully the value of that *freedom not only for ourselves but for all others.* We have stood therefore for the freedom of all people in Asia, Africa or elsewhere. Indeed the world can no longer be divided into part free and part unfree. Any such attempt will lead to trouble and friction and wars. Peace can only be established on the basis of world-wide freedom.

'We have suffered enough exploitation in our own country and we want to get rid of it not only here but everywhere. We want to build up one world where freedom is universal and there is equality of opportunity between races ond peoples'.

Pandit Nehru has rightly emphasised that freedom and equality for all men and women were the principal objectives before India in inviting the first Asian Conference to our historic sub-continent. The note of Universalism is ringing clearly through every word that he uttered. We hope that the initiative taken by Rabindranath in iniviting all men to his spiritual nest of Visva-Bharati, will be followed up by the new generation of workers at the end of the Second World War.

Thus in our Charter and Preamble, while we must necessarily insist on the urgency of liberating our teeming millions from the political, economic and cultural domination of the West, we should, at the same time, keep the door open for co-operation with the West, on the basis of perfect equality and good-will. India as a member of the U. N. has alreay started functioning in that line ; and with progressive consolidation of her national Government, India with China may give a new orientation to functioning of the U. N. O. and other International Organisations. For India, China and Soviet Asia represent practically half of humanity ; and the first Asian Conference was marked by their active and sincere collaboration. This is indeed a happy augury.

We should also remember, that in the last War, India held the key-position in the South East Asia Command and, as such, India must emerge (as I predicted in my *India and the Pacific World*) as one of the leading Pacific nations. That explains why

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obsevers were specially sent to the Delhi Conference by other Pacific Powers : Mr. Gerald Packer of the Australian Institute of International Affairs ; Mr. J. A. McCallum of the Australian Institute of Political Science ; Dr. P. N. S. Mansergh, Chatham House Research Professor of British Commonwealth Relations ; Mr. Zhukov and Mr. Plyshevsky of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Moscow ; Mr. Phillip Talbot of the same Institute, New York ; and Mr. and Mrs. Richard Adolf representing South East Asia in the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York were carefully watching the activities of the Conference on behalf of their respective countries and institutions. Our own regional and continental problems apart, we have got to develop the A. R. O. into an effective organ of Internationalism and World Culture.

If we remember these fundamental principles and also the fact that, unlike the U. N. the Asian Relations Organisation met not against the context of an international war, but in an atmosphere of Peace radiating from the spiritual personality of Mahatma Gandhi, the accredited leader of liberated India, it would be easy for a body of constitutional experts to draw up a Constitution suitable to the needs of the free and voluntary organisation of Asian nations. The draft may be circulated and opinions, even of the smallest and weakest nations, if found reasonable, should be allowed to modify the draft constitution and the Charter resulting therefrom. The decision on no account should be in the hand of the so-called Big Powers, using their veto, but on the free voting of all the member-states including the humblest.

The purposes and principles of the A. R. O. should be formulated in the simplest language possible, and each nation should make an authentic version in its native tongue. To begin with, four versions may be made in the four major languages of Asia : Hindi, Arabic, Chinese and Russian ; English as an International language may be simultaneously used for diplomatic purposes.

MEMBERSHIP : The original members of the A.R.O. should be the nations who participated in the first Asian Relations Conference. But any other nation, big or small, free or unfree, who would be ready to co-operate with and to accept the purposes and principles of our Charter of Fundamental Rights should be

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permitted to join as members after due formalities of application and procedures of election. There may be a Credentials Committee to examine the claims for membership of each applicant nation, and the election would be finalized by the Council and the General Assembly of the A.R.O. Its membership should be open to all peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the Charter and which, in the judgment of the General Assembly, are able and willing to carry out the obligations of the A.R.O. charter. The Charter of Asian Liberties should apply equally to the selfgoverning as well as to the non-self-governing nations. They should openly and formally denounce all colour bars and other disqualifications of caste, creed, sex or property. The negative considerations of not possessing something or not belonging to some specially favoured groups or denominations should be replaced by the positive qualities of membership : acceptance of peace, collective security and negotiation as the basic principles of individual and national conduct. If and when any nation would be found to deviate from those cardinal principles, preventive action may first be taken as a disciplinary measure and in case of defiance, the name of the recalcitrant member may be removed.

ORGANS & FUNCTIONS : If the New Delhi Secretariat decided to restrict its present activities to the development of an Institute of Asian Culture, the administrative set-up would necessarily be of an academic character with a Library, a board of Experts and of Publications together with an Information bureau to keep in touch with the general public.

If on the other hand, the aim is to develop a fulfledged Asian Relations Organization, then, to justify its title, there should be a comprehensive and scientific planning after the pattern of the International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.) and the U.N. Without waiting to enquire whether a planning committee would be set up at New Delhi, I venture to offer a few suggestions. In drafting this plan we should try to remember that different types of functions and their corresponding departments would be needed in order to enable the A.R.O., to operate as an International body as well as a regional Research Centre.

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DIVISION OF LAW AND POLITICS

In the agenda circulated to the members of the Asian Conference the first place was assigned to National Movements for Freedom, (Topic 1, Gr. A). It was expected that in discussing this topic the following subjects should be specially remembered : (a) stages in the movement towards freedom in Asian countries ; (b) difficulties and obstacles in the way of freedom ; (c) extent and limitations of co-operative action in the non-political sphere to assist each other in the freedom movement.

Many of the Asian nations were deprived of freedom, our birthright, by Imperialist Powers, who not only exploited our economic and political weaknesses, but also the uncertain attitudes towards our constitutional and international status. Therefore, our first and foremost attention should be devoted to the clarification and bold assertion of our rights as nations before the bar of history. We should not rest content by mere assertions in an abstract way of the Rights of Man ; we should establish beyond doubt, as if before a World Court, our rights to freedom by exhaustive and convincing documentation from the history of every nation deprived of Liberty by force or fraud. We in India know quite well how every form of national self-assertion was ruthlessly suppressed under convenient legalistic formulas of Sedition, Mutiny or Anarchism, as if any nation in Europe or America could be shown to be free from such episodes in the history of their Liberation. Makers of modern India, like Mahatma Gandhi, Bal Gangdhar Tilak, Chittaranjan Das, Aurobindo Ghose, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Subhas C. Bose were victims of this 'lawless law.' What happened in British India, happened also in the Portuguese, the Spanish, the French and the Dutch colonial empires. Now that India has triumphantly vindicated the right of the Indian National Army to fight for freedom and our comrades from Viet Nam and Indonesia are also fighting for freedom, as they narrated personally before the Asian Conference, we should think of setting up the Division of Law and Politics.

It should be constituted in such a way, and manned by jurists of such outstanding merit that the findings of this Division would command the attention and respect not only of all Asians

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but of all judicious spirits in the East and the West. In fact, the Division of Law and Politics must gradually occupy the same status and authority enjoyed at present by the World Court of International Justice which started functioning long before the League of Nations, survived its collapse and shares now a place of honour with the General Assembly and the Security Council of the U.N. Eminent judges from any nation of Asia should be invited to serve by rotation in this Division. Not only will they be masters of their respective National Codes but have a thorough grasp of International Law, public as well as private. They must also be adepts in the science of Comparative Jurisprudence and Comparative Politics. A judgeship in this Asian Court of International Justice would be the crowning glory of a political and juristic career. Like the International Law Division of the Carnegie Endowment Washington, this Division should publish special monographs on the Code of Hammurabi (20th Century B.C.), the Jewish and other Semitic laws, the Confucian Code, the Law of Manu, the Koranic and later Islamic Laws etc. The contributions of Indian law-givers and jurists should attract special attention, not forgetting the contribution made by Mahatma Gandhi, as a prisoner in the dock, to the theory of punishment and to the amelioration of Criminal Laws in a modern state.

While examining the various questions proposed in Group B of the agenda, relating to Racial Problems (Topic II) and Inter-Asian Migration (Topic III), we found that, outside the regional surveys and anthropological approaches. most of the complicated questions of Inter-Asian Migration bear a politico-legal character. While racial equality must be affirmed in our Asian nationalism, we have got to examine also how racial conflicts have crept into the municipal and commercial codes with regard to questions relating to the *European versus the Asian,* as also between the nationals of the various Asian countries. Such discriminatory laws in our administrative and economic relations could be re-examined and revised satisfactorily by an expert tribunal of the Division of Law and Politics. So the complicated laws of immigration and of naturalization of racial minorities, of aliens, refugees, displaced persons and prohibited immigrants etc., should likewise be under the jurisdiction of this Division. Inter-Continental conflicts,

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between India and South Africa, between the coloured races and the colour-conscious United States of America, may have to be tackled by some Supercourt or legal commission composed of representative jurists of the nations concerned. Findings of the International Court of Justice, with a long tradition behind it, may be consulted if necessary. But we cannot afford to forget that as late as 1910-11, political motive dominated over justice and equity when, in the case *Emperor vs. Savarkar* the Indian patriot was condemned to imprisonment for about a quarter of a century! No less regrettable is the fact that, in spite of the unanimous protest of all the non-Christian Asian nations, the principle of racial inequality was introduced into the Covenant of the League of Nations, drafted at the end of the World War 1. With the curse of colour-bar on its head, no court of whatever eminence can render full justice, as experience has shown repeatedly, in cases of disputes between whites and non-whites, Christians and non-Christians appearing before the Court. Thus the Division of Law and Politics of the A.R.O., may set up a new standard and leave to posterity a series of new decisions, precedents and interpretations which would go to enrich the traditions of Law and Constitution of entire Humanity. Case-laws from the legal archives of all the major Asian nations from Egypt and Turkey to Iran, India and China may be compiled and published for the benefit of all jurists and statesmen, specially of New Asia.

ECONOMIC & SOCIAL DIVISION

Asian nations are starting their career with the greatest handicaps in economic and social matters. This was realized by all attending to the discussions in Group C opening with, 'Transition from colonial to national economy.' At every stage of evolution of Asian economy we have to confront the uncomfortable realities of Western colonial exploitation or Imperial preference, both now in the process of liquidation. In relation to our real assets, the external debts, specially in a country like India and China, seem to be dangerously disproportionate. Our production organisations are still under the shadow of Foreign Capital investments; our industrial productions are relatively

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State Museum,
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unimportant, and most of the Asian countries have been kept as lands for supplying raw materials for the benefit of the highly industrialized Western Powers, who practically control our currencies by the manipulation of exchange rates. Six or seven million of Dutchmen have grown fabulously rich at the expense of 70 million of Indonesians, exploited for three centuries under a ruthless colonial economy. The same may be said with regard to the French and Portuguese colonies in Asia and more truly about all the European colonies in the vast continent of Africa, where the Africans occupy the lowest place in the economic ladder.

The national economic structure of the Asian countries would be stabilized and strengthened to the extent that their national Governments could be strengthened, so as to take a bold stand in the International Exchange. We should not encourage extreme nationalism which exposes us to dangers of isolation and autarchy. We have full confidence that with freedom and peace, our progressive business communities and organisations would display their traditional genius of economy and adaptability, so that Asia again would play a great role in International Trade.

But to achieve that goal we must be careful that our economic pyramid be broad-based on stable and equitable social relations. Mere profit-motive can not be allowed to dictate the pace of our economic advancement; for that would inevitably lead to unhealthy accumulation of wealth in the hand of a limited few who would be challenged by the dispossessed majority into a disastrous 'class-war'. Such a tragedy is manifestly going on in that great country China, ravaged by a Civil war which is as much political as economical. Moreover, we cannot afford to forget that not only India and China but the countries of Europe are divided today on the ideological principles of Capitalism and Communism. The U.S.S.R. is admitted to be an Oriental Power and the Republics of Soviet Asia sent the strongest delegation to the Asian Conference. Russia has applied successfully the method of collectivisation and co-operative farming in agriculture; and most of the Asian countries, still being under agricultural economy, must take note of the Russian experiment which permitted the liquidation of illiteracy and an all-round improvement in rural welfare and in the standard of living of the common men and

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women. What is possible in Russia and even in some of the backward republics of Soviet Asia, would easily be achieved by any other country of Asia. But social justice must be the shining motto on the portals of our Economic Reconstruction.

INDUSTRY & LABOUR DIVISION

In organizing the work of this particular division the Asian nations must remember that in this age of transition, Industry and Labour mean something different from their connotation in Western books on economy. Whatever may have been our reputation in the past regarding our 'fabulous wealth', Asia today is a land of fabulous poverty. It will be the duty of the experts working in this Division to conduct intensive researches into the causes of this poverty and to publish scientific and statistical data on all matters connected with capital formation, industry, labour and allied subjects. Here, India, China and many of the Asian nations should get all possible facilities from the International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.), functioning for years, and of which we are members from the very beginning. But, in handling the materials of I.L.O. we should remember that for various reasons, the biggest labour government of the world the U.S.S.R. was for years not a member of the I.L.O. Moreover, there is a lurking suspicion in the mind of many progressive labour leaders that the I.L.O. was mainly supported by the capitalistic nations, trying to use the I.L.O. as the buttress for damming the rising tide of Communism. Without taking any part in these controversies, we must point out that the I.L.O. can show very little to its credit so far as the survey of the Asian labour and industries are concerned. Partially Westernized Japan alone, of all the Asian nations, evoked the solitary I.L.O. enquiry on the Japanese industrial conditions. But the bulk of the funds and personnel of the I.L.O. were earmarked for the study of European or American problems. They seem to have deliberately avoided making searching enquiries into the labour conditions prevailing in the 'colonial zones' and 'mandated territories' of the Western Powers. These glaring deficiencies in the documentation of the

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I.L.O. have got to be rectified by our experts in the domain of Asian Labour and Industry.

They must remember that before indulging in the luxury of experimenting on highly expensive Western patterns of industries and manufactures, we must stabilize some of the biggest industries vital to the life and well-being of our teeming millions :

(i) Housing Industry

(ii) Food industry, under a board of food experts, and

(iii) Clothing industry, under the supervision of textile technologists assisted by the experts on rural industries, who will keep the technicians in living contact with the eighty per cent of our rural population.

Two of the greatest prophets of modern Asia and protagonists of our rural population—Tagore and Gandhi—strongly urged that, instead of rushing to a blind imitation of Western mechanization and centralized industries, we in Asia should try to evolve a decentralized balanced economy between the city and the village with a distinct bias in favour of our dispossessed and voiceless rural millions. Under the inspiration of Tagore and Gandhi we should try to survey Asian Industry and Labour from a new angle of vision ; not necessarily with the conflicting ideologies of haves and have-nots, but with a view to assigning the majority of our population who are rural agriculturists, their proper place in the state and society. While a library of books have been published by the I.L.O. on the aggressively organized 'Industrial labour', very few convincing monograph has been published on the 'Agricultural labour' of Asia or of Africa ! And yet, from the labourers in the field and plantations of these vast 'coolie' continents, that the life-blood of Western industries have been supplied. Is it not time to enquire under what precarious conditions our agricultural labourers live ?

We cannot forget however, that one of the important heavy industries in Asia has developed in the pre-Aryan jungle zone of Bihar, where we now find the growing plant of the Tata Iron and Steel Company. Many such heavy industries would, in the near future, grow in different parts of Asia ; and naturally a scientific survey and planning, on a continental basis, of Inter-Asian Trade and Industries should be the special responsibility

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of this Division. A corresponding improvement in our industrial relations, with adequate social insurance and improvement in the health and housing conditions of the labourers must be guaranteed. Some of these questions would come under the purview of the Division on Humanitarian activities.

DIVISION OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Satisfactory planning and progress of national industries are impossible without the help of the scientists and technicians. Therefore, this special Division should be manned by the outstanding scientists both theoritical and practical, who would guide the activities of the private industries and public utilities like, Irrigation, River Control, Power Potentials, land, water and air transports, hydro-electric, atomic energy, cosmic ray, and so on. While individual scientists will make discoveries, the state should promptly afford them all facilities with a view to the utilisation of those discoveries for common welfare. House of Patents and Bureau of Standards should be developed accordingly. For the exchange of scientific information and co-ordination of scientific data, a journal like *Science and Culture*, edited by the late Professor Meghnad Saha and other eminent Indian Scientists, should be encouraged to develop a special department of Inter-Asian Science Exchange. It was significant that Professor Saha was invited to represent India at the 225th jubilee of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences (1945) ; and he took the lead in establishing closer scientific collaboration between India and the U.S.S.R. Science has nowhere been recently applied to economic improvement and social welfare with greater effect than in Soviet Asia, which occupies 7,346,548 sq. miles or nearly half of our Asian continent and 7/8th of the total area of the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. like India, is a sub-continent of diverse races, languages and cultures. Yet, the fissiparous tendencies have been effectively checked by a liberal scientific outlook and by application of scientific principles to the solution of the basic problems of life.

China also, like India, depends on scientific research for the solution of many of her social and economic problems. Just as India brought the first Nobel Prize in Physics to Asia

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through the researches of Professor C. V. Raman, so China was reported to have made great progress in Chemistry by the eminent Chinese chemists who patiently conducted their researches amidst the horrors and privations of the Japanese invasion, of devastation and famine. The major scientific institution of China, the Academia Sinica should be invited to cooperate with our National Institute of Sciences, developed under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Asian scientists, as a matter of course, will keep in close touch with the Western scientific and technological societies, especially with those interested in Health and Nutrition. Land utilization and Rural Hygiene. Geneties and Animal Husbandry etc.

DIVISION OF DEFENCE & COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Realizing fully that it is very difficult to draw a line between offensive and defensive wars and respecting the claims of the 'conscientious objectors' against all wars, builders of a modern Asian state may nevertheless claim that the innocent millions who are thoroughly non-violent, suffer terribly if our defence structure proves defective and collapse through backwardness in science and technology. It is primarily through such backwardness that India and many other Asian countries not only became poorer but, were conquered and enslaved by the predatory Western powers. This opinion was strongly expressed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru while delivering his convocation address to the National College of Engineering and Technology, Jadavpur, Bengal. As the head of the Interim Govt. in this chaotic period of transition, he must have realised the importance of adequate defensive measures, both municipal and national, for the protection of life and property of men and women in the face of riots and hooliganism, civil war and foreign invasion ; from the organization of civic guards and police corps, to that of the army, navy and air forces, every modern state must remember that their primary justification is to stop the massacre of the innocent and to protect our cultural heritage from vandalism and destruction. In this age of mechanization, we must remember that our defence structure would be weak and ineffective to that extent that we lag behind in our mastery of science and

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technology. Therefore, our experts in this line must make a comparative study of the defence problems, not only of our own regional zones, but also of all our neighbours, from the point of view of land, sea and air defences, communication and transport, utilization of mineral resources, hydro-electric and atomic energies, food reserves and many other vital problems regarding which the two World Wars have taught bitter lessons to us.

But mere national defence is not sufficient, unless we strengthen it by well-planned Inter-Asian and international treatises and alliances. Our foreign relations are still being shaped before our eyes today, mainly under the direction of the dominant Western powers; and Asia cannot afford to watch and wait with pathetic helplessness. Through the prophetic voices of Tagore and Gandhi Asia should proclaim to the whole world that, not conflict, but co-operation and non-violence should be the ultimate object and guiding principle of our International relations. But if and when any nation or state would defy this civilized code it should be brought back to its senses by the concerted action of all peace-loving nations. Such a nation must be made to realize that no security is worth the name if it is not collective and that *Peace is indivisible.*

DIVISION OF HUMANITARIANISM AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

Asia is a living Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics. Her great men and women have not only preached but practiced, through ages, non-violeuce (*Ahimsa*) and fraterinty (*Maitri*). From the age of Mahavira and Buddha to that of Tagore and Gandhi we may collect materials and publish them in a varitable *Encyclopedia Asiana* of Peace and Harmony for the permanent well-being of humanity. I have discussed the plans of such an Encyclopædia in a seperate chapter. Here I simply draw attention to it of the sponsors of the Asian Relations Organization; for a new epoch in the study of international relations will open, if we could start a documentation on the above lines by undertaking right now the publication of an *Encyclopædia Asiana*, with peace and non-violence as our motto.

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Andrew Carnegie, on the eve of the first World War, contributed his whole fortune to the foundation in U.S.A. of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It recently celebrated its 35th anniversary, and it may be induced to co-operate with us if we present to them our concerted plan of publication. Many other pacifist organisation of Europe and America, specially the society of Friends (Quakers), are working in different fields of Asia and will join hands with us.

Mahatma Gandhi volunteered to lead the first World Pacifists meeting which was held at Rabindranath's International University, Santiniketan, in 1949. Leaders of the Pacifist Organizations from East and West assembled in the 'Mango-grove' of Tagore's Abode of Peace, with Mahatmaji favourite universal Prayer of Peace. Exploitation of man by man and domination of one group by another human group will not stop in a day. It takes generations to cure war mania and its resulant neurosis, and for that we must organize a wellplanned system of International education based on truth and non-violence.

I have discussed this, in detail, in my memorandum on "Cultural Problems" published by the Asian Relations Conference. I tried to supplement thereby the planning of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (U.N.E.C.O.). Our Asian Relations Organization would gladly co-operate with the U.N.E.S.C.O. which announced in its charter that a peace based exclusively upon political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world. The U.N. if it is to succeed in establishing the reign of peace, must have behind it the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind. "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defence of peace must be constructed". War. again is the final tragic explosion of the anti-social instincts of greed and exploitation. So our Humanitarian Division, with the active co-operation of our social workers and new womanhood will try to remove all causes and conditions of exploitation in State and Society. So our Division of International Relations

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will watch closely over the possibilities of friction and conflict so as to warn against and anticipate the tragic recurrence of world war and the possible annihilation of mankind. In case of wars and other unavoidable calamities the Social Service and Health organizations should be promptly organized along the line of the International Red Cross, and such other world famous humanitarian institutions.

In the Division of International Peace and Humanitarianism the women of Asia should have a special place of honour and responsibility and they should make a common cause with the progressive womanhood of every country and clime. The Asian Conference was fully justified in devoting a special commission to the study of Status of Women and Women's Movement. Following the best traditions of modern Democracy, the progressive women of India, China and other Asian countries have boldly declared against special constituencies and safeguards. With full adult suffrage, men as well as women should gradually reach equality of status. But owing to the continuation, in our respective Codes, of many old and reactionary discriminations against women, special care should be taken about the re-examination and improvement of the legal, economic and social status of our womenfolk. The educational as well as employment opportunities of women are still very limited; whenever women are found to be compelled to work for their livelihood, their wages, health and welfare amenities, even in unhealthy and dangerous surroundings like the coal-mine areas, are still most degrading and unfair. With the exploitation of women's labour, there appears simultaneously a more inhuman exploitation of our child labour. Immature boys and girls, having no one to look after them, while the father and the mother of the family go out to work, may go astray or be tempted to follow the parents to unhealthy and dangerours mining or industrial areas, where they are exploited by the employers with impunity. If and when we have the courage to appoint an experienced women doctor, social worker or a labour-leader to the post of the Labour Minister with full powers, we may hope to see the beginning of the end of such merciless exploitation of women

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and child labour leading to other complications and moral degradation of the race through "Traffic in Women and Children", closely studied by the League of Nations. The Scandinavian countries showed the way by boldly appointing qualified women as ministers of State and India also may be proud of her Sarojini Naidu, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Dr. Muthu Laxmi Reddy and others.

National social improvements apart our women leaders should have wider range of activities in the field of Internationalism and World Peace. The Nobel Peace Prize has twice honoured the beneficial career of American women leaders like Jane Addams and Emily Balsch. Activities of Asian women of similar nature and of equal importance should be brought to the notice of the world; and whenever any international conference or commission invites representatives from Asian countries a good proportion of Asian women must be sent abroad with the male delegates who, unfortunately even today, dominate the show. The Asian Relations Conference holds a world record by electing Sarojini Naidu its Chairman and General President. Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of Free India, even goes further by affirming the claim of his adopted daughter, a *pariah* girl, to the future Presidentship of the Indian Republic, if she is found worthy of the office. With capable women at the head of the administration, the Militarists and War Industrialists will find a most necessary check against the race in armaments which treats human beings as mere 'gun-fodder' and ruins the hearths and homes of millions of women who silently and undeservedly pay the heaviest penalties of World War.

DIVISION OF ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

All other miscellaneous and residuary activities of the Asian Relations Organisation, may be entrusted with this Division, which may compare notes with the experts of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (U.N.E.S.C.O.). We hope that this branch of the U. N. will have a better chance than the old Institute of Intellectual

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Co-operation of the now defunct League of Nations. Its International Committee at Geneva and the Institute at the Palais Royal of Paris, were unfortunately attending too much to *Royal affairs* and too little to the pressing needs of common men and women. Moreover, they were dominated by race arrogance and consciousness of the *superiority* of Western civilization (which however has been poorly demonstrated by the carnages of the two World Wars of our generation.) Let us hope that the U.N.E.S.C.O. will display better judgment and higher sense of human values. Professor Julian Huxley, the new Secretary General, is a scientist of international renown, who, moreover, has made devastating criticism of the racial theory of the Nazis regarding their 'Herrnvolk'. That theory, no doubt, has found its nemesis in Nazi Germany but it appears in a no less dangerous form in a corner of the British Commonwealth of Nations where South Africa, under new opportunists, is determined to treat the coloured races as their perpetual dependants and slaves. A Dutch missionary (who for the sake of safety must remain anonymous) made recently the following observations in the press, in connection with the Dutch massacre of 40 thousand Indonesian civilians in the Southern Celebes: "Any one who knows the mentality of the Dutch, as I do, will agree that their racial arrogance, as applied to the peoples of the East, is far more rabid than that of the Nazis of Hitler's Germany. It is common knowledge to those who have lived in the Dutch colonies that the Dutch have for years mutilated, whipped and tortured the subject races on their colonies. Their hatred and scorn for the Asiatics, bulit on a ridiculous sense of racial superiority, exceeds that of any other European with imperialistic ideas. Field-Marshal Smuts and the other Dutchmen who rule South Africa have given us only a very mild example of their racial arrogance. But do not be misled. They are capable of the same brutality that they have shown in Indonesia and elsewhere; only, being cowards at heart, they are afraid that India might also take up the stick."

Within a few nautical miles from Celebes we find the Malayan cousins of the Indonesians in the Philippines, now functioning as a sovereign republic in South East Asia, thanks

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to the wise transfer of power on the part of U.S.A. But the British Dominions of Australasia have not yet shown the least relaxation in its racial discrimination; it occupies an enormous area slightly bigger than U.S.A., and the Australian immigration department is ready now to welcome thousands of White immigrants. But Australia is still banging its door in the face of all Asian nations by the 'White Australia Policy,' which is as much of an insult as a strategic danger to the external relations of the Asian nations. These facts may give the scientist General Secretary Mr. Julian Huxley some headache; but we hope that he would march with the time and not against it, vindicating thereby the claim of Science to shape human destiny.

Race prejudices, racial migration and such problems of a highly explosive character should no longer be allowed to be arbitrarily decided by interested politicians with a parochial outlook. On the contrary, such questions must be submitted to a body of expert anthropologists and jurists who should form an international commission under the U.N., and ready to collaborate with the jurists and anthropologists from Asia, Africa, Polynesia and the Pacific Zones. Like the African Institute of Race Relations, other zonal institutes should be set up to continue studying and reporting on all major centres of conflict and tension. It is a matter of standing shame to humanity that, in spite of the apparent abolition of slavery over which America fought a civil war, slavery, in a veiled form, continues in different parts of Africa which may still be called a 'slave continent'. Asia had the misfortune of supplying, for over a century, to the plantation of Western Capitalists, generations of "coolie" labourers, living almost under slave conditions. To liquidate these serious problems we want the constant help of a disinterested body of experts guided primarily by scientific and humanitarian principles. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which is financing the African Institute may do likewise in developing an Asian Institute of Race Relations.

To create public interest in these questions we should see that due provisions are made for the setting up of well organized Ethnographic museums, Anthropological galleries, laboratories etc., to demonstrate the common biological foundation of the

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Human Family. We have in different parts of Asia some museums of Art and Archaeology, but few galleries and museums of Anthropology in the modern scientific sense. What we want urgently now, is to start a movement for the Museum of Man in Asia.

I have discussed in detail such questions in my memorandum on cultural problems, submitted to the Asian Conference. Suffice it to say here in brief that, one of the richest fields of study is Folk Culture and Folk Literature of Asia. And yet it is neglected by most of our universities and academies, which are still busy imitating the high-brow institutions of the West or catering only to the needs of a few "high class" people and ignoring the claims of millions of our rural folk, who are carrying on, through ages, amidst utter neglect and destitution, the great traditions of our folk culture, literature and art. Rabindranath, with the vision of a seer, tried to draw our attention to them, about half a century ago.

The Institue of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris deserves congratulation for the publication of two sumptuously illustrated volumes on "Popular Arts"; but in it the Western nations dominate the whole show. Excepting two or three cursory surveys of Japanese and Indonesian popular arts, very few of the Asian nations could be accommodated in those volumes. We must try to save from utter destruction and oblivion the Asian traditions of art and culture, surviving still in our much neglected folk arts and folk literature, written as well as unwritten. Studies along the line of "Unwritten Literature of Hawaii" should be ordered to be compiled and gramophone recordings of folk music, ballads etc., should be arranged as it has been done by the National University of Dublin, under the patronage of the Irish Free State. Folk-dance is another very important branch of study, and their regional variations together with the semi-religious and agricultural festivals, folk-gatherings *(mela)* etc., should be filmed and preserved with a view to developing Folk-theatre movements, as has been done so successfully in the U.S.S.R. The Republics of Soviet Asia, stand as object lessons to many of our modern states; for they have succeeded, within the brief period of 30 years, in liquidating

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mass illiteracy by means of radio, the cinema, the poster-exhibition and the popular press and Peoples' theatre, which have helped in rousing millions of human beings to a new consciousness of unity, responsibility and power. These mighty organs of national awakening should be immediately developed and utilised for the benefit of the Asian villagers and ultimately for their education in World Peace. International festivals, exhibitions of industrial and visual arts, drama, dancing etc., may be organized in different countries of Asia, by rotation, so that the unity of the common man may be realized. Thus, remembering, at first our duty and responsibility to the unlettered (though not uncultured) millions, we may turn our attention gradually to convert our regional universities and academies into laboratories of Internationalism. The U. N. E. S. C. O. have already sketched plans along these lines by recommending (1) establishment of an International Translation Bureau to bring out a collection of World Classics, both ancient and modern ; (2) a World Bibliographical Service, to supply promptly information on important current publications, standard books, reports etc., published by the various nations ; (3) the expansion of Free Public Libraries movement ; (4) International agreements about author's copy-rights and the exchange of cinema films, specially of educational character ; (5) International Scientific Institutes like the center for Mathematical Research, proposed to be established in India.

The U. N. E. S. C. O. is encouraging the creation of an International Theatre Institute, to serve as the clearing house of all matters, relating to drama as an organ of mass education and international understanding. It proposes also to appeal to the Carnegie Endowment, the Rockefeller Foundation and other humanitarian agencies for financial support for the creation of

(a) The Writers' Pool to which writers should be invited to send their important works, so that the small reviews can draw on the works of the writers in the great countries ; and also that the editors in the bigger countries will have the opportunity to consider works of the writers of the smaller countries.

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(b) To create scholarships and prizes for writers, specially those working in isolation and amidst economic and other disadvantages.

Thus a sort of an Asian authors P. E. N. Organization should be set up. I pleaded for such a move ten years ago, while editing *India and the World* and attending the International P. E. N. Congress of Buenos Aires in 1936. I had also the honour of submiting to the public a comprehensive plan of a Cultural Academy on behalf of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal when I served the Society as its General Secretary (1942—46).

I was very glad, therefore, that eminent leaders of India like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Pandit Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and others have recently decided to hold a Conference at New Delhi "to provide a permanent and central meeting ground for literary men of all languages and literatures of India and to establish a central Indian Academy of Literature".

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

ENCYCLOPAEDIA ASIANA

While preparing the memorandum on cultural problems for the Asian Conference, I painfully realized how difficult it was to formulate plans for our cultural reconstruction in the absence of dependable and up-to-date books of reference. How enormous is the field of our survey and alas, how few are our reliable sign-posts and observatories on the cultural horizon of Asia ! Inspite of the terrific ravages of time and history, the devoted orthodox Indian chroniclers and compilers have transmitted to us sectional Cyclopædias devoted to the Vedic and post-vedic literatures grouped under (i) *Samhita-Brahmana*, (ii) *Sutra-Sastra*, (iii) *Itihasa-Purana* and such classes.

The Heterodox schools led, by the Jaina-Buddhistic scholars, have also left us priceless documents on our social economic and ethical life. Although the Buddhist canonical literature of the Northern (Mahayana) and the Southern (Hinayana) schools have been partially made available to us, yet the classics of Jainism and other important sects have not yet been systematically explored. Yet some of the great Jaina-Buddhist scholars were Encyclopædists in their own way ; *Tattva-Sangraha*, *Chaturvarga-Chintamani*, *Samarangana-Sutradhara* etc. are samples of our medieval Cyclopædias. Then, our group of Lexicographers developed special dictionaries (*Kosha*) like, *Amara-kosha*, *Bhubana-Kosha* etc. which carefully compiled and classified the technical terms (*Paribhasa*) and those must be clearly understood before Indian thought can be adequately grasped. That is probably why we have found, in course of the last half-a-century of exploration in Gilgit, Khotan, Kucha, Turfan, Tuen-Huang and other monastic libraries of Central Asia, so many valuable manuscripts in diverse scripts and different tongues, ranging from Iranian, Turko-Mongolian and Sino-Tibetan languages. China and India being the natural leaders in this diffusion of culture among Asian nations, produced the largest number of anthologies, word-books, grammars and polyglot

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dictionaries which are landmarks in the history of Inter-Asian Relations.

The credit of planning and executing Encyclopædias in our modern sense however goes to our learned Chinese cousins. In the 1st century A.D. a monumental survey of China's historical memoirs *Shih. Chi* was given by Ssu-ma Chi'en, the 'Herodotus of China.' In 105 A.D. Ts'ai Lun presented to the Han emperor, his epoch-making discovery—Paper, made of vegetable fibres, which soon replaced the bamboo and wooden slips on which old Chinese manuscripts were written. Buddhism had already been welcomed into China and Indian manuscripts, paintings and images travelled from India to China, just as beautiful silks were coming out of China, along the 'Silk Road', to India and the Roman Orient. While monk Kumarajiva (344-413), son of an Indian princess of Kucha (Central Asia) was helping his Chinese colleagues in translating Indian Buddhist texts, artist Ku K'ai-chi (344-406), perfected the technique of figure-painting by fusing the Indian style with Chinese designs. During the glorious epoch of the T'ang emperors (618-907 A.D.), China enriched her art and literature by means of direct contacts with Iranian and Indian civilizations. The celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang who spent several years in India, was literally a 'moving Encyclopædia.' For after his return, he worked at the head of a commission of scholars, translating seventy-five books in 1335 volumes, creating for the purpose a consistent system for the transcpription of Sanskrit into Chinese. Another commission of this period prepared the first literary Encyclopædia *I Wen Lei Chu.* Emperor Hsuan Tsung (712-756) founded the Academy of Chinese Letters (725), which led to a literary and artistic Renaissance. Some of the best Chinese lyrics were composed by Li Po (705-762) and Tu Fu (712-770). So the most important styles in Chinese landscape painting were created by Li Ssu-hsun (651-750) and Wang Wei (698-759) ; such artistic and literary creations were carefully classified and preserved in Encyclopædic surveys. The first historical Encylopædia, the *T'ung Tien* was compiled (766-801) by Tu U ; and special monographs began to be compiled for economic, political and cultural surveys district by district. In 972 the entire Buddhist canon was printed in

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Szechuan from 130,000 blocks by Imperial order. Two other great Encyclopædias were compiled by Imperial order ; *T'ai P'ing Yu Lan* (977-983) and the *Ts'e Fu Yuan Kuei* (1005-1013). These are no mean achievements in Inter-Asian Relations a thousand years ago ; and we shall be doing bare justice to these great pioneers by publishing, mainly with the collaboration of China and India, a new *Encyclopaedia Asiana* to celebrate the millenary of the Chinese Encyclopaedia.

In the domain of Science, the Chinese discovered the principle of Magnetic Polarity and the Compass which helped enormously Asian sea voyages and discoveries. While defending her civilization against the invasion of the Mongols, the Chinese discovered and used gunpowder ; and many such details of technical development in Asia could be compiled from Chinese Encyclopaedias which were published under the Sung (960-1279) and the Ming (1368-1644) dynasties. Under the patronage of the Ming Emperors the Academy of Letters—Han Lin Yuan, supervised the compilation (1403-1409) in 10.000 manuscript folio volumes the famous Encyclopaedia *Yung Lo Ta Tien*, which gave also a territorial survey of the Empire.

In 1644 the Manchus took Peking by surprise and began the Ch'ing dynasty 1644-1912. In 1677 the College of Inscriptions was founded and affiliated to the Academy of Letters.

We can only barely notice a few important Encyclopaedic surveys of modern China ; a repertory of works on Painting, *P'ei Wen Chai Shu Hua P'u* (1708) ; the Encyclopaedia *Yuan Chien Lei Han* (1710) and also the *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* cyclopaedia in 5020 volumes published in 1726. The best critical edition of the 24 *Standard Histories* was issued by Imperial authorities in 1739-1746. The complete edition of the *Four Treasuries*, embracing 3462 works, in 36,300 volumes. was assembled in 1772-1781 under the order of Emperor Ch'ien Lung (1736-1795). Under him China invaded Tibet (1751) controlling the succession and temporal acts of the Dalai Lama, conquered Kashgaria (1758-'59), invaded Burma (1765-'69) and made the Gurkhas of Nepal recognise the suzerainty of China (1792). Emperor Ch'ien Lung was significantly remembered by Raja Rammohan Roy, the Father of Modern India, while humourously discussing the case

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of the Chinese converts to Baptist Christianity. Thus China and India, although separated by the curtain of temporary oblivion, are predestined to sponsor a new movement in Inter-Asian Relations.

China and India illustrate admirably the history of cultural co-operation through ages. From the Second Century B.C. to the 13th Century A.D, i. e. from the Han to the Yuan dynasty, for over a millennium and a half, India and China have collaborated through exchange of their ideas, their art products, their literature and culture. It would undoubtedly be an unique contribution if we could make available to modern man the knowledge and wisdom stored up in the priceless classics of China and India. Planned studies in this line will reveal a new picture of Man and Society and the data thereof should be collected and compiled into a modern *Encyclopaedia Asiana*. It would supply the necessary corrective to the many falsifications of history and sociology found in Western books on the East; for the West took it for granted that the East was heathen and barbarian while the West was enlightened and civilised. Such a *naive* interpretation of human civilisation should be radically revised. India with China can take the initiative, cultural as well as financial, in the preparation and publication of that Grand Encyclopaedia. We have to-day scholars of outstanding merit who, we are sure, will place humanity above narrow nationalism, inspired by the examples of Rabindranath Tagore, Sun Yat-sen and Mahatma Gandhi. We have in India and China fairly well-organized printing-houses where we can print that Encyclopaedia with polyglot terminology—Sanskrit, Tibetan Chinese, Persian, Arabic etc. Our Chinese collaborators may simplify their types so as to incorporate technical terms from the Eastern languages and literatures.

Thus, placed advantageously by nature in the Middle East, we Indians have the privilege of receiving and assimilating the cultural currents from our cousins of the Middle East to our Western neighbours, and our friends of the Mongolian world to the East. Already we have in India, for ages, schools and academies devoted to the study of Arabic and Persian, two of the major languages of Western Asia extending right upto

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Syria Turkey and the Nile valley. The Jews settled pretty early in India and the Islamic invaders of India were dominantly Turko-Mongolian. We have therefore only to add *Hebrew* representing the ancient Jewish culture, and *Turkish* spoken by the nations of Anatolia whence they developed a vast empire embracing West Asia, North Africa and the whole of Eastern Europe right upto Vienna. The Turkish language, partly modified by Persian and by Russian, still remains the basis of the languages of most of the nations of Asian Russia who also must find their legitimate place in our Encyclopaedia. The Eastern part of Soviet Asia borders on Siberia, Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, Japan and China. Therefore, the languages and literatures (both written and unwritten) of these nations should also be represented in our Asian Encyclopaedia.

South East Asia, made famous by the second World War, will get our special attention, because the proto-Malay and the Malayan races are our cousins, extending from Malay Peninsula to Sumatra, Java and other islands of Indonesia, right up to the Philippines functioning as the spiritual colonies of Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. Our relationship with Malaysia extends over 2000 years, and very valuable data could be collected from those countries.

The Highlanders of Asia, the Sino-Thai and the Tibeto-Burman nations also (Tibet, Bhutan, Burma, Siam, Cambodge, etc.) are very intimately connected with India through religion and culture ; and naturally their records, would find important sections of the Asian Encylopædia. Thus if we could only arrange for the preparation and publication of such a work India will again receive the homage of the entire Asian humanity.

The publication of *Encyclopædia Asiana* will also inaugurate a new chapter in the study of the history and culture of the continent of Asia and of the Afro-Asian nations. So far these subjects have been treated generally by Western scholars as the history and culture of backward non-Christian nations ; and Asian religion and philosophy necessarily have been very undeservedly treated as mere superstitions. Asian art with its glorious tradition and technique has not suffered less in the hand of Western scholars who considered Orientalism as almost synonimous with

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the grotesque and the barbarous. Moreover, even in the modern Encyclopædic surveys, we find that the Western writers on Afro-Asian subjects were either highly prejudiced or very unsatisfactory from the standpoint of the authentic national cultures. Lots of facts no doubt, have been assembled in them but their interpretations are often unfair and incorrect.

It is our duty to provide for the general readers authentic and interesting narratives of the history and culture of the Asian nations. The best possible *illustrations* should be procured to enrich our Encyclopædia ; and Eastern Artists should be in charge of decorating and illustrating the volumes. Printed books appear in the East in the late period. Our richest treasures are ancient manuscripts and portfolios of miniature paintings, These should be fully exploited in order to add to the beauty and reference value of our monographs. The Vedic and the Buddhistic literature have been partially edited and utilised. Jainism, Mithraism, Manichaeism and many other religions of India and the East can still offer valuable manuscript materials which remain to this day unpublished and unnoticed. The big monasteries and private libraries, both in India as well as in China, Tibet and Central Asia and even in the Lamasaries of Siberia and Soviet Asia, may yield invaluable documents relating to the history, art and philosophy of Asia. Co-operation of the National Governments and the National Academies of the Asian countries is indispensable.

Along with the manuscripts we should publish inventories of the *art objects* and archæological specimens from every cultural zone of Asia ; so that the reader, while consulting the article on China, would be made simultaneously conscious of the presence of similar literary and cultural materials on other countries of Asia. In fact, a new branch of comparative art, literature and philosophy of the East would develop gradually as the result of the compilation of the new Asian Encyclopædia.

Technical terms in each of the major languages could be written in Roman script and gradually we may evolve a special Pan-Asian phonetic script and a constituted working language for the whole of Asia. Experiment along these lines have already been started by the Soviet Government through their Oriental

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Institutes embracing the languages and cultures of many Oriental nations. With Russian the Chinese language also have been admitted by the U.N. as a major language of the world ; and if China, Russia and India co-operate, then the work would be satisfactorily accomplished. So far as the nations of Western Asia are concerned, Arabic and Persian, supplemented by Hebrew and Turkish, would serve the basis of literary treatment. Much valuable information could be gathered from the dictionaries already complied in the various Asian languages.

The most difficult problem for us would be to tackle with those ancient peoples who have spoken languages but no script and no written literature of their own ; and yet their myths and legends, songs and stories would be of great value to the sciences of Sociology, Ethnology and Anthropology. The historical and archaeological monuments and sites should be shown with maps and rare photographs to accompany the articles on such subjects. The humbler arts and crafts of the millions of our rural population, the applied and decorative arts and designs, should be assigned their place of importance and the migration of symbols, motives etc., should be carefully traced. In fact, a comparative Dictionary of Oriental Arts and Architecture should be incorporated in this grand Dictionary of Asian Culture. The development of science and industries in India and China, in Iran, Syria, Turkey and other Asian countries should also be traced so as to demonstrate how the East could hold herself against the West through the Middle ages, as we find while reading the history of the Crusades, the campaigns of the Mongol invaders of Europe and of the Turkish Empire extending over Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe.

But while confronting the problems of wars and conflicts in the political history of nations, we should emphasize, not with the one-sided view of theorists but with the conviction of our great Eastern seers like Laotze, Mahavira and Buddha, that *conciliation and not conflict is the basis of normal life and society.* The East has been criticised by the aggressive imperialists of the West as a land of inaction and passivity. The West occasionally offered its patronising appreciation of Eastern doctrines and thought, but in actual life pursued the path of aggressive wars of

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domination and exploitation. Thence followed the devastating world wars of competitive imperialism which now threaten to destroy the entire fabric of human civilisation with atom bomb. That would be a tragic anti-climax to all the pretensions of Western activism and utilitarian philosophy.

The West may yet learn from the East; and we should say this not in a spirit of vaingloriousness but with profound sympathy for our Western cousins who form a valuable member of the human family. The guiding principle of our thought and action should be the immortal truth of *non-violence* which alone can drag mankind out of self-destruction and re-establish us all in the world of Life and Joy. Joy is not a privilege for the few; like light and air, it is the birthright of all sentient beings. Not human groups alone, but the animals also are in need of joy, health and repose; yet how cruel civilized human beings can be towards animals are demonstrated before our eyes from day to day. India is probably the first country where we find mention in the edicts of an emperor (Asoka in 3rd century B. C.) referring to hospitals and treatments of diseased animals *(Pashu-chikitsa)*. How many of such life-saving (not life-destroying) sciences have been developed in India, China and other Eastern countries, should be thoroughly investigated. It is unfortunate, no doubt, that we in the East have not been able to maintain those high standards of ethical living and that we allowed ourselves to be degraded and enslaved. So much so that we could label certain sections of our fellow beings as "backward" and "untouchable," and we have been rightly punished by history.

But we have every hope that with the dawn of freedom, and the diffusion of knowledge through free education, the men and women of New Asia would emerge with a new faith in the divinity of man. Divinity is not a mythical status in some legendary heaven; it is the crowning glory of man's self-realization through self-control and self-sacrifice. All great souls of Asia have invariably preached that to attain supreme wisdom and emancipation, we must be ready for extreme self-sacrifice; for self or ego is the great obstacle to liberation. Emancipation is not a post-mortem affair; it has got to be earned, from day to day, from hour to hour, by *tapasya* or self-discipline. It is here

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that the West has been judged by two World Wars and found wanting. The East, with longer history of suffering and sacrifice, should now come to the rescue of the West. Our two civilisations form a common heritage of humanity. If we only could shake off our respective egotisms and deficiencies we may yet hope to contribute to the general progress of mankind.

The Universal must be made real to us and cease to be a mere logical abstraction. Knowledge must lead to salvation as it was hoped by man from the beginning of history. We are all threatened to-day with extinction if we perversely pursue the path of violence. Warning is coming daily from the master spirits of the East and the West and we must follow them or perish. In India from the age of Mahavira and Buddha to that of Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi, it has been shown that Non-Violence alone leads, to the permanent solution of the troubles of all beings. Let us, with the blessings and the practical examples of our seers, serve steadily and conscientiously the cause of World Peace.

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THE SPREAD OF INDIAN CULTURE

India, like many other oriental countries, has suffered from theorisings and speculations of Western historians, reflecting the mind of dominating powers, who made periodic literary excursions from outside and found it convenient to develop the theory of 'splendid isolation'.

An objective survey of the facts of the migration of Indian culture, leads however to the discarding of the 'Isolation' theory. Long before history came to be recorded in writing, the archæological remains of our Indus Valley Civilization—(C. 3000 to 2000 B. C.)—proved beyond doubt that, the Indian merchants had been moving to and from Mesopotamia; for Indian inscribed seals have been discovered at Kish in Babylonia; and that tradition must have continued down to the age of the Buddha (C. 500 B. C.),when we find Indian traders moving about in the Babylonian market as recorded in the *Baveru Jataka**.

From Babylonia, Indian commodities could have migrated to the Mediterranean World, then dominated by Egyptian culture. And some Egyptian objects have been traced by Earnest Mackay in his report on the later excavations of Mohenjo-daro, In the second millenium B. C., some Egyptian Pharaos married the Aryan Mitanni princesses and we notice striking similarities between the Aryan Vedic hymns to *Surya* and the famous solar hymn of King Akhenaton, (C. 1400 B. C.). In Cappadocia was discovered the first concrete epigraphic document, the Boghaz Keui inscription—which records the conclusion of a treaty between the Mitanni and the Hittite peoples, invoking, as witnesses, the Aryan Vedic gods, *Mithra, Varuna. Indra, Nasatya* etc. When Indian scholars would master the secrets of the Hieroglyphic writings of Egypt and of the Cuneiform scripts of Western Asia, they would reveal the significance of the occurrence of so many apparently Vedic Aryan names among the dated documents of Western Asia, from the period of the Kassites and the

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* *vide* Sylvain Levi ; *Autour de Baveru Jataka*

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Hyksos to those of the Hittites, the Assyrian and the Achemenian rulers.*.

Indian soldiers fought in the contingents of Darius and Xerxes during the Persian War as recorded by Greek historians—(500 to 400 B. C.). Greek writers knew the Indus Valley quite well and they named the Indian cotton or 'tree-wool' as *sindon* or product of Sindh. The Sindh Pottery, both painted and unpainted, displays many similarities with the ceramic forms of the Aegian and Iranian kilns. The study of the glyptic art also with that of the gems, beads and other precious ornaments will prove the migration of Indian art motives *via* Iran, Babylonia, Syria and Egypt to the pre-Homeric Mediterranean world. When Ionia came to be conquered by Darius the great, who also conquered Sindh, the word Ionian came to be naturalized into Sanskrit as *Yavana* as recorded by our earliest grammarian Panini (C. 500 B. C.). Thus, more than two centuries before Alexander of Macedon invaded India, Indians were already famous for their commercial relations and artistic achievements. No wonder then, that the famous Greek and Roman writers.—from Herodotus and Megasthenes to Virgil and Pliny—recorded, no doubt, in an uncritical way, many significant facts of the social, economic and cultural life of India.

Alexander's brutal massacres were ignored by Indian chronicles; but against that context of the national anxiety of intermittant Greek invasions, we are surprised by the note of internationalism emanating from the edicts of Emperor Asoka (C. 270 to 230 B. C.) who sent his cultural missionaries not only to Ceylon and Burma, his friendly neighbours, but also to the Greek enemy-kings like Antiochos Theos of Syria, Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt, Magus of Cyrene, Antigonus of Macedon and Alexander of Epirus. While Greek culture and art were assimilated by the Indians, specially of the Punjab and the North-West, many Greeks were converted to Buddhism as evidenced by a new school of Græco-Buddhist Art. So, a Greek named Heliodorus, in 2nd Cent. B. C., declares himself a convert to

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* *vide* H. K. Deb; '*Vedic India and the Middle East*' J. R. A. S. of Bengal, Vol. XIV of 1948-49.

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Vaishnavism, just as the Greek King Menander appears as a Buddhist in the Buddhistic canonical book *The Questions of Milinda* (C. 150 B. C.)

Our connexion with the Iranian cousins, from the Parthian to the end of the Sassanian period, remained very cordial, and Iranian artists and artisans were drafted into the services of the Indian rulers. Iranian influence on the Central Asian peoples was very great and so we find the Sakas, the Kushanas, the Hunas etc., coming *via* Iran into India, were quickly naturalized as Indians, and emerging as champions of Indian culture, some adopting *Saivism* and some Buddhism, as evidenced by their coins, legends, titles and statuaries. Through Iran and Turkestan, Buddhism migrated *via* Bamiyan, Hadda, Begram and Foundekestan,* into Khotan, Central Asia and China. The whole area was named Serindia by Sri A. Stein very appropriately ; for we find entire Central Asia studded, as it were, with shrines, statues, paintings, manuscripts etc. of Buddhism, together with its contemporary religions like Mithraism Manichæism, Judaism and early Christian creeds.

That reminds us of the fact that while Emperor Asoka's cultural missionaries were visiting the court of Alexandria, the Old Tastament *Septuagint* was being translated there from Hebrew into Greek. During the early centuries of the Christian era, many common traits appear in neo-Platonism Buddhism and Vaishnavism on one side and the early Christian monachism on the other.† The legend of Jesus Christ's visit to India and the synchronism of the visit of St. Thomas during the reign of Indo-Parthian King Gondophares (C. 50 A. D.) have been recorded by sober historians. In 44 A. D. Apollonias of Tyana visited India and met a Parthian King Phrates ruling at Taxila. A nameless Greek mariner from Alexandria left us a valuable log-book of his voyage to India—*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (C. 50 A. D.) which proves beyond doubt that India was carrying on extensive trade with the Græco-Roman world, from the Persian Gulf to Alexandria,

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* *vide* French Archaeological Mission Reports on Afghanistan.

† *vide* Dr. B. N. Seal : Vaishnavism and Christianity—a comparative study.

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which came to be Sanskritized as Alakanda in Kautilya's *Arthasastra*—an early treatise on Hindu Polity. The geography of Ptolemy, written in Alexandria about (150 A. D.) shows wider extension of Indian colonization and commerce from Burma, and Malaya to Indonesia and the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Heaps of Roman coins have been discovered in Western and Southern India ; Indian ivories have been found in the ruins of Vesuvius (1st Century, A. D.) and medallions of the Antonine Emperors recently found in the early Hindu colonies of Indo-China. Along with the Græco-Buddhist art, the Romano-Buddhist art forms have been identified now in the figures and decorative motifs of the Andhra Empire which, stretching from coast to coast, developed the grand art-schools of Bhaja, Karla, Bagh and Ajanta to the west and Khandagiri (Orissa) Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda to the South-East. (100 B. C.—300 A. D.).

By 400 A. D., when the first important Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien came to India to write out his important book of Travels, we notice that Indian cultural colonies have been well established in Khotan, Kucha, Turfan, Tuen Huang (The Grotto of the 1000 Buddhas in Kansu Province) and in the Honan sites in China. This migration by the land routes was paralleled by that along the sea-routes *via* Ceylon and Burma, Malaya and Siam, Champa and Cambodge, as well as in the Malay Archipelago rightly named Insulindia or Island India by the Orientalists.

Island India or Indonesia is referred to in ancient Sanskrit literature, especially in the Ramayana Epic, as Suvarnadvipa or Isles of Gold.* Such a title need not mean actual 'gold-mining' in those regions but may simply mean 'wealth-producing' islands. Skirting the coast of Malay Peninsula, the Hindu mariners easily reached, *via* Singapore (Lion-City), Sumatra and Java (Barley Island) both Sanskrit names found, as early as 2nd Cent. A. D. in Plolemy's geography. Sanskrit inscriptions appear in Borneo and West Java, in 3-4 Cent. A.D., with the names of Hindu Kings like Purna Varman. In that epoch Fa-hien, on his return voyage sailed from Tamralipta (Tamluk) in Bengal and reached Java whence he sailed again for China.

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* *vide* Dr. R. C. Majumdar : *Suvarna-dvipa*, Vols. I & II.

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So other Chinese pilgrims like Hiuen T'sang (650 A. D.) and I-tsing knew well the land-routes, *via* Central Asia as well as the sea-routes to China *via* Indo-China and Indonesia. In both these regions of Malaysia, Buddhism and Brahmanism flourished side by side and Indian monuments are found to spread over one thousand years (400-1400 A. D.)

The earliest inscriptions in West Java and North Borneo were Brahmanical. So, the earliest shrines and sanctuaries in the Dieng Plateau (Norh Java) are dedicated to Brahmanical deities and hero-gods. In the 8th Century A. D. we find in Central Java (Jogjakarata) the Mahayana Buddhist temple of Borobudur, a marvel of Indo-Javanese architecture. The entire life of Buddha is depicted in rare stone carvings and reliefs for the benefit of the majority of worshippers who were not literate. In the 9th Century A. D. we find the grand Brahmanical temple of Prambanan with exquisite stone reliefs from the Ramayana stories of India. This tradition is carried down to the 13th Century when the Panataran group of temples in East Java, also represented scenes from the Ramayana but in the Javanese shadow-figure (Wayang) style. The Mahabharata stories, with Krishna legends, also appear in sculptures, puppet and shadow plays etc., based on the Javanese versions of the Indian Great Epics, which inspire today the mind and soul of the Indonesians even after their conversion to Islam. From the 14th century the Arab-Islamic culture came to invade Java ; and so after mass conversion, a minority migrated to the islands of Bali and Lombok where the people today are dominately Hindu, while the rest of the Indonesian population were converted to Islam. Recent explorations in Borneo have shown that Vedic and later Brahmanical as well as Buddhistic dieties were worshipped there and similar finds have been made in the island of Celebes. From Borneo, Hindu-Buddhistic Culture must have entered, *via* Palawan island, the Visayan group of the Philippine Isles, where we find the basic language *Tagalok* conserving plenty of technical terms and words from Sanskrit and other Indian languages.

So the Indian script and Sanskritic languages form the basis of the language and culture of Malaysia, Indonesia, and

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Indo-China. One of the earliest inscriptions of Vo-Chan (Viet Nam) refer to the Hindu God *Siva* and most of the early brick-temples and inscriptions in the Hindu colony of Champa are Brahmanical. The dancing *Siva* and his consort goddess *Parvati* as well as *Vishnu* and *Buddha* appear in lintels and friezes of the Cham monuments dating from 3rd to 13th Centuries A. D. The civilization of Champa collapsed as the result of invasion from their virile neighbours, the Khmers of Cambodia, Originating, in the First Centuty A. D., in the forest-kingdom of Chinese Fu-nan, the Cambodians built cities and monument after monument proving their extraordinary gift as artists and architects, and their close contact with Indian cultural and artistic traditions. From the early brick-temples of King Indravarman was evolved the stone architecture which reached its *apogee* in the *Vishnu* temple of Angkor Vat—a veritable epic in stone (13 Century A. D.). The next group of Angkor Thom or Bayon betrays the decadence and downfall of Cambodian power and genius. This was due partially to internecine strife and also the invasion of the Sino-Thai (Mongoloid) peoples who got established in the vast Trans-Gangetic Peninsula, from North Burma and the Shan States to Siam or Thailand and Annam or Viet Nam.

A very real and concrete relation links up Ceylon Burma and the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The Southern School of Buddhist Scriptures, written in Pali language, is the common spiritual heritage of the Sinhalese, Burmese, Siamese and Cambodians who even today, belong to the Hinayana or the Southern (as opposed to the Mahayana or Northern Sino-Japanese) Schools. The Buddhist Churches of Ceylon and Burma exchanged learned Elders and their philosophical texts through ages. Siam likewise, was in cultural exchange, now with Burma then with Cambodia, as we can easily find from their architecture, drama, dances and paintings. But as in Java, the Life of Buddha scenes came to be supplemented by the Life of Rama, of the Brahmanical epic of the Ramayana, which is very popular in Siam Camboda and Malaysia.

South Siam boundaries mingle with Malaya where we are discovering implements of palaeolithic and neolithic culture as

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well as the survival of the Negrito and the Proto-Dravidian or Australoid races. Man in the dim Stone Ages, must have migrated from South East India, to South East Asia and beyond. The Malaya Archipelago must have helped racial migrations to Australasia on the one hand and to Melanesia, Micronosia and Polynesia on the other.* Percy Smith of the Polynesian Society, New Zealand, tried to prove that the Polynesians reached Fiji, Tonga and Samoa by 5th Century A. D. He traced the ancestors of the Polynesians, like the Hawaiians and the Maoris, from India. by way of Java, Celebes and New Guinea. Although the American anthropologists generally discount the evidence of the crossing of the Indo-Polynesians to Pre-Columbian America, yet Dr. E. C. Handy, author of the *Polynesian Religion*, frequently refers to the North-East coast, the Gulf States, the Carribbean Middle America and the Andes regions as 'replete with Oceanic traits that probably derived from Malaysia and South Asia.† These Indo-Pacific or Oceanic cultural strains in the Toltec, Aztec and Mayan cultures of the New World, came to transform the later Christian Catholic art and culture of Mexico and South America as it has been ably demonstrated by Prof. F. S. C. Northrop in his paper "The Rich Culture of Mexico.‡ Prof. Northrop was charged to reduce into book form the diverse trends of discussion on the East and the West at the Philosophers' Conference convened by the University of Hawaii in 1939 (as also in 1949). He gave a new orientation to the academic dicussions by analysing the meaning of Eastern civilization and of the traditional cultures of India, China and other Asian nations who had played such important roles in the history of human civilization.

Turning from South-East Asia to Central Asia we find that India together with China, had played a dominant role in redeeming the diverse branches of the Proto-Turanian, Turco-Mongolian and the Sino-Tibetan races from seer barbarism to refinement and culture. The pre-history and proto-history of

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* *vide* Nag : *India and the Pacific World, 1941.*

† *vide* Handy : *The Problem of Polynesian Origines, 1930,*

‡ *vide The meeting of the East and the West, New York 1946.*

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China, Indonesia and India were connected through the linking up of the skeletal remains of Man and associated finds in Trinil Java Man and Chouk'outien (Peking Man).

Coming from the Stone Age to Metal Age culture we find that R. L. Hobson, the British Museum expert on Chinese ceramics, equating the Yang Shao (3 millennium B. C.) potteries of China with red and black patterns—with the pre-Sumerian pottery of Babylon. The Aeneolithic culture of Yang Shao resembles that of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa (2,500 B. C.) Then, as in India so in China, we find a curious lack of materials for comparative study till we reach the Han Dynesty (206 B. C. to 220 A. D.). About 130 B. C. the Chinese Emperor sent Gen. Chang K'ien on the first diplomatic mission to India. After a long and hazardous journey through the land of the savage Hueng-nu (ancestors of the Huns) Chang K'ien managed to reach the north-western frontier of India and carried back some positive information and the correct name *Shen-tu* (Sindhu) for India to the Chinese people. From the beginning of the Christian Era we find the Indo-Scythians and the Kushans settled in North-West India with Purushapura or Peshawar as their capital and Khotan as the bone of contention between India and China. Indian culture and art was carried by the Buddhist missionaries into China, along with some Iranian,* and Romano-Hellenistic influences.† From Khotan which was converted to Buddhism about 83 B.C., Indian culture marched towards China through Khotan, Kucha, Turfan, Touen Huang and other Indo-Buddhistic centres of Serindia.‡ The wonderful discoveries of Indian manuscripts, icons, sculptures, paintings etc. in Serindia or Central Asia, have been ably described by an international group of antiquarians like Grunwedel and Chavannas, Stein and Pelliot, Klementz and Kazalof, Otani and Tachibana—in French, German, English, Russian and Japanese languages. The grotto of the Thousand Buddhas (450 to 1100 A.D.), Yun-Kang, Lung-Men and such other centres of Sino-Indian culture have yielded, in the last 50 years, a wealth of literary, artistic and religious documents of international as well

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* *vide* Laufer: *Sino Iranica.*

† *vide* Hirth: *China and the Roman Orient.*

‡ *vide* Stein: *Ancient Khotan, Serindia and Inner Asia.*

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as Greater Asian significance. For we find therein the free intermingling of the currents of Buddhism, Brahmanism, Mithraism, Manichæism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Confucianism, Taoism and other esoteric sects of Asia. In Pre-Islamic Middle-East the Turco-Mongolian peoples were the best carriers of Indian and Iranian civilization. Many important books on medicine, astronomy and other literary collections were translated into Pehlevi and Persian which went to enrich the early Arabic literature and sciences. Indian influences were more important than Greek on the early Islamic lore.

In 70 A. D. Buddhism was officially welcomed in China and the worship of *Amitabha* (Japanese Amida) the Buddha of the boundless light, was introduced into China by An-Shi-Kao, a Parthian prince who lived (148 to 177 A. D.) at Lo-Yang and who translated the *Paradise Sutra* which came to be the basic text for many schools of philosophers and painters in China and Japan. In the 4th Century we find two eminent Indian Buddhist monks Kumarajiva and Gunavarman spreading Indian thought and art-traditions to China. There were vase-paintings and tomb-decorations and such designs in pre-Buddhistic China. But through Buddhism, Chinese art came to be enriched by the Indian type of frescoes and murals on the walls of the rock-cut shrines (as in Ajanta and Ellora) stucco-paintings, mystical and symbolical designs and subjects paintings (e. g. Life of the Buddha etc.). From early 5th century A. D. Fa-hien and other Chinese pilgrims began visiting India *via* Central Asia : Hiuen Tsang (629-645), I-tsing (671-713) and Wu-Kong (751-90) among others, developed the life of cultural collaboration between China and India which continued through the Middle Ages. Nalanda was a veritable international university till its destruction by the Moslems (12 Cent. A. D.).

In the Pala-Sena Empire (700-1200 A. D.) we find Bengali scholars and artists developing Tibet and the neighbouring countries into strongholds of Buddhist art and culture. Devapala (750 A. D.) provided hospitality to Indonesian scholars at the Nalanda University at the request of the Sailendra King of Sumatra-Java (Sri Vijaya). The Great Bengali-Buddhist scholar Dipankara toured (1050 A. D.) from the Island Empire of Sri Vijaya to the

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now-forbidden land of the Tibetans who worship him. The Buddhist-Mongol dynasty of China under Kublai Khan (1280 A.D.) invited artists from Nepal and India to Peking. Marco Polo's travels throw a flood of light on this cultural exchange. Several Indian missionaries, especially under the Cholas, were sent to Indonesia (Sri Vijaya) and to the Chinese Court in the Middle Ages. Bengal was so well-known to the Chinese of the 14th Cent. A. D. that a regular naval and commercial mission was sent by the Ming Emperor Yong-lo (1403-24 A. D.) to the Bay of Bengal and beyond under an able officer Tcheng-ho who directed a squadron of 62 big ships with 37,000 men and came *via* Malaya, Burma coast and Akyab to the capital of Bengal Sonargaon (1440 A. D.). Their guide was a learned Chinese moslem Ma Huan. Before him several Persian and Arab humanists like Al Beruni, Firdausi and the encyclopædic translator Maqafa of Zoroastrian descent enriched Islamic literature by adaptations from Indian texts.

Amidst the clash and conflict of Islamic invasions (1000 to 1500 A. D.) we find several Indianized kingdoms of South-East Asia, developing vigorously their regional art and culture. King Suryavarman I of Cambodia (1002-1050 A. D.), King Airlanga of Java (1006-1049 A. D.) and King Anoratha of Burma (1044-79 A. D.), among others, inaugurated a new era of creative activity. The Siamese Kingdom of Sukhot'ai (1220-1292 A. D.) was contemporary with the Burmese Kingdom of Pagan (1173-1274 A. D.). In the 13th and 14th centuries A. D. these vigorous offsprings of Indian culture were facing decay for mixed causes difficult to ascertain today. The Cambodian temple city of Angkor was abandoned in 1350 A. D. So Vijaya, the capital of Champa, collapsed in 1471 A. D. The great Mojopahit Empire of Java vanished in 1520 A. D. The Siamese kingdom of Ayuthia (1350-1763 A. D.) alone continued its career. Islam and Arabic code, language and culture generally came to be imposed on that part of the world known today as Indo-China and Indonesia. The final step was marked by the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese (15th Century A. D.) who inaugurated the European phase of modern Asian history.

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Sino-Indian culture flourished in Korea under the Shiragi dynasty (57 B. C. to 935 A. D.) with their capital at Keishu Another dynasty—the Kokoti—is supposed to have sent the first embassy to Japan (297 A. D.) and Japan formally adopted Buddhism in (552 A. D.) coming from the Korean kings of Kudara. Indian Buddhist painters from Khotan, Nanking and Eastern China moved to Korea and thence Indian temple-architecture, sculpture, and designs entered Japan in the Suiko period (552-645 A. D.). The famous Horyu-ji temple (593-607 A. D.) of Nara was decorated by beautiful frescoes in Indian tradition. So Prof. Rene Grousset has observed : 'The paintings of Horyu-ji are derived from Ajanta through the forescoes of Khotan, Kucha. Tun-Huang and also of the Korean tomb of Sammyoria'.

The Japanese capital was shifted from Nara to Kyoto where the art of the Heian period (799-899 A. D.) of pure Indian inspiration flourished. The great Buddhist priest—painter Kobo Daishi founded the famous Koyasan monastery in 816 A. D. Buddhist images came to be carved on the open cliffs in the island of Kyushu and a superb colossal Buddha was erected at Fukade and also later on at Kamakura. But from 10th Century A. D., Japanese genius began to assert its individuality in sculpture, iconography and paintings which conserved the forms of Indian art but impressed it with their native style and character. Indigenous cults were, from time to time, given prominence as Shintoism, the Zen etc. But the dominating influence (1200—1800) on the religion art and culture of Japan was that of Buddhism : Her un-Buddhistic conduct, towards Korea and China, had brought awful retributions, in our days. How Japan, of today and tomorrow, will react and rebuild the shattered fabrics of her religious and cultural life will be watched with interest. The numerous Japanese Buddhist schools, universities and missions may help in that work of cultural rehabilitation, if proper facilities are granted them and if Indian missions could visit Japan regularly.

Thus, from the 3rd Millennium B. C. to 2nd Millennium A. D.—for five thousand years—India, with varying fortunes and frontiers, has been collaborating with her neighbouring

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countries, from the Mediterranean to the Pacific Basin. The ups and downs of her political life have been chronicled by foreign historians who suffer often from special bias and defective angle of vision. But India's contribution, on a truly international plane, to early science and technology, to commerce and culture, to art and literature, to religion and philosophy—in fact her permanent and abiding gifts to humanity—have not yet been adequately explored, analysed and recorded. The history of Indian ideals and institutions, upheld, down to our age, by Tagore and Gandhi, is awaiting the masterly pen of some future historian who will combine the specialist's knowledge of a regional culture with the comparative vision and international outlook of a philosopher. Meanwhile, the work of exploration and thorough documentation should be pushed forward in order to clarify the position of Man in India in the context of Man in Asia and their neighbours in the One World community.

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* Data paper prepared for the delegates to the India-America Conference, New Delhi, 1949.

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DISCOVERY OF ASIA

II

MIDDLE EAST

DEDICATED

TO

MAULANA A. K. AZAD

REMEMBERING

THE PIONEERS OF THE EAST-WEST RENAISSANCE

1453—1953

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INTRODUCTION

UNITY OF ASIA

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

IRAN

POET: I am glad to meet you here today and have this opportunity of discussing with you about some fundamental principles of education which we owe it to the modern generation to establish in our educational institutions. To me the most important issue seems to be the task of widening the mental horizon of the students, of imparting to their studies the background of internationalism which will enable them to realize the true character of our interlinked humanity and the deeper unities of our civilization in the West and the East.

Educator: I express, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, our profound thankfulness to you for reviving in our educational colony the spirit of internationalism which is the spirit of Asia.

This spirit, as you know, Sir, is not foreign to our Persian civilization. In the olden days Shapur's University was a refuge for students of Rome who met with no racial bias from our people when they flocked round our teachers for knowledge. After the invasion of the Arabs, in the Nizamic School we had Jewish, Arab and Syrian students. Our educational traditions have consistently maintained this supernational attitude in its quest of truth. It is because of this tradition which we yet

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[This memorable symposium presents some of the profoundest thoughts of the Poet-Laureate of Asia, which he expressed in his seventy-second year, with rare freshness and spontaneity as the result of his direct contact (1932) with the thought-leaders and poets of Iran and Iraq. The communications were carefully noted down by the Poet's able literary secretary Dr. Amiya Chakravarty. The Poet generously permitted me to reprint it in my journal *India and the World*, July, 1932.]

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carry in our blood that we can accept your great message with an open heart.

POET: I rejoice to hear that you share with me a deep faith in cultural federation between different peoples and races. In India we have offered hospitality to various indigenous and foreign cultures and attempted to evolve our own civilization by assimilating influences from far and wide. It is only now that, in our artificial universities, we have gone in wholly for parrot-like repetition without using our own initiative of mind and courage of judgment. This method of education produces eternal schoolboys who gather information that never ripen into true knowledge and wisdom.

My dream is to offer to students a *continental background* of mind, a background in which have been co-ordinated the experiences of ages, the intellectual and spiritual experiments made in Asia for long generations.

Europe has evolved a continental culture which is like a common coffer to which the different peoples of Europe contribute their best gifts. Owing to this collaboration Europe has become great; she has successfully exploited the rich potentialities of her peoples and come to the forefront in the march of life. Asia too must recognise her scattered cultures by recognizing their affinities and expressing them in literature, arts, science and civic life. Barriers of national segregation must be broken through, superstitions of religious and social incompatibility must be relentlessly fought against, in a daring quest of all that lies deepest in our common humanity. Asia must unite and hold out her hands to the West in friendly co-operation.

Educator: Sir, we are sure, that your hopes will be justified, because a whole civilization expresses its deepest needs, its greatest fulfilment through its men and genius. A prophet is the product of circumstances, appearing at a critical period of a country's history. Now all the great nations of Asia are thingking of their past glories, they are waking up to their responsibility, to their national inheritance. They are seeking a great message which will ignite their dormant consciousness and bring about an illumination of their fullest personality. You

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appear, Sir, as a prophet and spokesman of Asia's great dreams; through you we are beginning to realise the nature of the work which we educationalists have before us. Though we get your message through the unsatisfying medium of translation, your speech brings it very near to our soul.

POET: We must no longer be satisfied with isolated domestic lamps, we must have a festival of light which will express the effulgence of our humanity in Asia and justify us before the modern age. Otherwise we can never hope to be recognized by the world at large, we shall remain obscure; and the bondage of obscurity is the worst from of slavery that can shackle a nation. We must gain freedom, freedom which is a gift of self-expression, not an opportunity for selfish indulgence in material comforts. During our great past our free peoples sent their torch-bearers to different countries to carry the radiant message of love, of great thoughts and deeds, to acquaint their neighbouring peoples with the highest realizations of their seers and sages. Asia in those days had the freedom of soul to bestow and to accept all that she considered great and enduring; it is that highest form of freedom which we must win to-day for our coming generations by opening up, through an education of complete life, the richest potentialities of their character. This education of a complete life involves training to recognise the *kinship of our common humanity* through a correct reading of of Sciences and of the Arts, in the light of man's spiritual truth.

Utilitarian education has its value, but it is deprived of all significance if, in its fragmentary pursuit of narrow immediate ends, it fails to arouse, in the minds of students, the impulse of larger purposes and of aspirations which comprehend the fulness of our personality. In the East we must never forget to link our educational institutions with the fundamental values of our undivided spiritual life; because that has been the great mission of our ancient universities, which, as you have said, inspite of political vicissitudes, never allowed their vision of humanity to be darkened by racial considerations. Asia owes it to humanity to restore her spirit of generous co-operation in culture and heal the suffering peoples of the modern age, now divided by cruel

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politics and materialistic greed which vitiate even the citadels of education. In order to have this intermingling of cultures in Asia, we must rid our minds of all that are dark and against reason, all the aberrations of local history that repel others ; and with a spirit of intellectual detachment seek out the treasures that have universal value.

Educator : Material progress is essential but it must know its limits. You have made wonderfully clear to us today our task as educators to inspire our students with correct sense of values which may be described as the one great purpose of education. Every student of history knows how nations have perished either from dire poverty of material needs or from a surfeit of them. The East and the West, roughly speaking, present before us today a spectacle of these two extreme conditions. Europe by concentrating on material achievements has exploited nature and man at the expense of her soul. She has evolved a unity of civilization because of the urge of a common economic purpose which has permeated her continental life, but that is not enough ; the results are too evident to need explanation. Asia still retains the vision of a synthetic cultural life where the good is the good of our whole nature, of all the peoples ; but as you have made evident to us now, failing to establish her ideals on the basis of a united, self sufficient and humanitarian civilization, Asia has become ineffective.

Sir, you have raised the banner of Asia's self-expression ; your ideas of education are a new revelation to the modern age. We are proud that, through you, our modern Asia offers to all humanity the promise of a new path which will lead us out of the debris of the past and the present, out of all the delusions and oppressions which insult our human nature and bring us into mutual conflict. You can be assured that we shall never forget your message, that our renascent nation will strive its utmost to put your ideas into effective operation.

POET : I thank you for your sympathy and your faith which strengthen my hopes for the future. Our institution in Bengal depends on your co-operation for its success ; we must keep in touch with each other and be guided by the experiences

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we both gain in our efforts to train the minds of the young toward a *fellowship of culture* which will bring humanity together in love and understanding.

THE POET AND A MEMBER OF THE MEJLISS

POET: My time in Persia is coming to an end. I have not been here for long, yet I do not feel like a stranger. It is surprising that though I do not know your language, somehow I have come very close to you and can easily communicate with you and feel the warmth of your friendship. There is not much difference between your people and ours, the general outlook on life and temperament seems to be very much akin.

Dashty: Languages are after all secondary; of primary importance is our psychological make-up which manifests itself directly through the medium of gestures and expressions.

You told me in Bushire that you have come to us in Persia to discover the old Avestan India. Quite true, our real spirit is old Indian; it comes from a Vedic past when we shared a common culture. Even now an inner affinity persists, and it is this that makes you feel at home with us.

POET: Yes, the path was open for me before I was born. As a matter of fact, in our home in Bengal the spirit of Iran was a living influence when I was a child. My revered father and my elder brothers were deeply attached to Persian music, mystical *Sufi* literature and art.

Going further back, one discovers that at one time the Bengali language freely borrowed words from your vocabulary which we use now without knowing their origin. When you find this, you must know that something of your culture flows through our daily life; for words are merely symbols of thoughts and attitudes which they represent. Even before the muslim rule in India there was active cultural interchange between India and Iran; in our classical art and literature direct traces of this are to be discovered.

I do not indeed find your life and habits at all unfamiliar, it is very easy for me to adjust myself to your ways and to realise your spirit.

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Dashty : I hope we have not tired you too much. We all wanted to see you and get the inspiration of your personality. It has not been possible for us to spare you as much as we should have done.

POET : You know, that is what I wanted. I had been longing to meet different groups of your people, to know individuals irrespective of their vocation, their station in life. I confess that sometimes the strain of engagements has told on my health but I have never minded this. It has been a great inspiration for me to meet your people to converse with them on present-day affairs in Persia which are of vital interest to us.

A Gentleman : Have you already started a centre of Persian culture in your university in Bengal ?

POET : Yes, because I have always felt that it is necessary for us both to know each other, not only because of our common ancestry but because there is something in your literature and art which deeply appeals to us. The Persian temperament is poetic, you love music and merry conversation, you share our love for nature's beauty.

If you were rigidly pious 'Mullahs', corresponding to our Hindu priests, we could not have dared to invite you. Unfortunately two of our biggest communities in India have yet too many representatives of this type of bigotry and that is why we cannot come together. I claim the collaboration of your scholars and artists whose influence will unite us culturally and modify our differences which are not really fundamental.

Dashty : How do you like Persian music ?

POET : Very much indeed. Some of your recent innovations I do not fully understand. It seems to me that they have not yet been fully assimilated by the native genius of your music. They are too reminiscent of Europe ; in any case, they do not move me so much as your classical music.

Dashty : We are of the same opinion. We feel that the introduction of harmony is too recent to have successfully enriched our music ; but, may be, gradually we shall evolve a music which will be all the more beautiful because of these innovations.

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POET: It must be so. You have all along had a wonderful gift of assimilating influences from outside and coming out more fully with the expression of your own unique culture. In music too you are sure to gain by European influence. I have always felt sad that European music has not had any direct influence on our own, that great European composers such as Beethoven have, unlike great European poets or philosophers, wielded little or no influence on Eastern cultural movements. For European music is unquestionably great and without doubt our own music will be all the richer if it can absorb, into its living texture, creative influences from European music.

Dashty: I am one of those who believe that Persia should assimilate 100 per cent of American culture. I am not afraid of foreign influence; indeed I believe, that nothing can radically change our temperament; so that we may safely go in for Americanization. We shall then be American in our methods but thoroughly Persian in our culture. I believe you try to follow the same principle in Santiniketan.

POET: The time has come when we must think deeply about human civilization. You must have read Spengler's book on European civilization. It raises searching questions about the destiny of the modern Western civilization and gives us dangerous parallelism from history.

When you speak of hundred per cent Americanization you must remember that America herself is faced today with an imminent crisis and has yet to achieve a stability which will prove the soundness of her social and political machinery.

I was talking to day to a German scientist—Dr. Stratil-Sauer of Leipzig who has come here all the way from Berlin by motor car for geological exploration.; and he was telling me the same thing about Europe. The whole Western civilisation is undergoing severe trial. The reckless mechanization of life which has gone on in the West is already having a drastic reaction.

We in the East must ponder seriously before we go in for hasty imitation of Western life in its totality. There is a profound maladjustment somewhere at the very basis of

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European life. Everywhere there is some material well-being but happiness has vanished. And how could it be otherwise ? Pierce through the veneer of modernity and you find almost primitive barbarism staring at you. What is high-pressure modern life for the multitude but a ceaseless preoccupation with *physical needs*,—a hot pursuit of dress, expensive cars, elaborate food and housing, that is to say, of materials which satisfy the elementary needs of our animal existence ? Such a life has no time for self-realization, for human fellowship, for all that make man's existence significant and precious. Certainly. this is the modern form of barbarism which exhausts all its resources merely to climb up the steep summit of living surrounded by emptiness.

Dashty : Our soul accepts what it may ; we cannot determine consciously how much to receive or reject exactly. The whole process of assimilation is a subconscious one ; so that there is perphaps no fear of only outside influence totally submerging or exterminating the basic character of civilization. If we try to profit by American modes of life and hold them before our people we shall probably adopt only a few of them and that will be all to our benefit. Greek ideals and examples have left their legacy in the great architecture and sculpture of India ; but at the beginning of Greek influence we would probably have feared that India was doing harm to its traditions by accepting Greek motifs and technique to experiment upon. In Persia similarly we have had periods of extraneous influence, but this has only vitalised our Persian genius. We have quickly shaken off the imitative phase and retained something from it which have helped us.

POET : Why then do you emphasize upon American modes of life ; and how can you isolate and specify a particular country when you want the healthy contact of *science*, which is neither American nor Western but universal in its truth ? I am not condemning America in particular ; but am only pointing out that when you say you want to imitate a particular country or people you can only copy things and external facts, you cannot assimilate truths which lie at the foundation of our

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human character. If any nation or a people have been successful in giving shape to ideals that are of perennial value, what we have to learn from them is their capacity to absorb and establish these ideals ; we must not merely copy the results that others have produced. That is my point—I am not against absorbing truths which are of universal value; as a matter of fact, it is our human birthright to claim such truths as our own. But I am against borrowing ready-made models or emphasizing upon the need of imitating isolated external facts which are special to a race or a nation. Let our emphasis be on Truth, not on particular facts which have had their special evolution under inevitable local circumstances.

Dashty : I quite agree. I mentioned America as an example.

POET :—The German scientist told me that Europe is sick of her mechanised high-speed life which adds materials but fails to satisfy the soul. As a result of this, there are many of them who seek out remote spots where they can forget the rush and fever of a purposeless existence ; they go to the South Sea Islands, to Madagascar, Midole, to Africa and so on where they can wash themselves clean of Western ways of living. He told me of a great Leipzig professor who gave up his scientific work and all that he held dear in his life to search for inner peace which he found in a Tibetan monastery. It may be a reaction but it indicates very grave problems which the modern age can no longer ignore. In Darmastadt, after the War, German students with pale emaciated faces used to flock round me and ask : 'Sir, we have lost faith in our teachers, they have misled us. What shall we do with our lives ?' They expected an Eastern poet to give them something which would satisfy their spiritual hunger, some philosophy of life which the Western world needed for its salvation.

Dashty : Yes, we must work to bring the Western spirit of Science and the Eastern philosophy of life together. Materially we must be secure, spiritually we must develop our human wealth of character.

POET : That is what I say. We must get out of the tangle of doctrines and the infatuation of material results in order

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to achieve a balanced Harmony of Life which, as you indicate, takes cognisance of our complete human personality, comprehending the physical as well as the spiritual aspects of our nature. This harmony however, can never be established unless we have sufficient detachment of mind to judge for ourselves, to minister to the essential and reject all that is ephemeral and delusive in building the foundation of our national life. It would be fatal if we surrender our critical faculty to a mood of indiscriminate emulation. We in the East, however poor we may now be materially, must reserve the right of judging what we consider to be beneficial or not for humanity, of selecting for ourselves a path which suits the evolution of our civilization. By exercising this right of judgment we shall not only be serving our own country but do our inescapable duty to the whole world of humanity of which we form a part.

Dashty : We thank you, Sir, for your words of wisdom, which, we assure you, we shall treasure in the depths of our life.

POET'S MESSAGE FROM IRAQ

Let me offer my heartiest thanks to His Majesty King Faisal who has graciously invited me to his kingdom enabling me personally to come in touch with the great and ancient civilisation of Iraq.

It is a real inspiration to me to be present here at this moment when this old nation is being born anew and the ferment of creative life is shaping its culture towards a glorious fulfilment of freedom, rich in the mystery of self-expression. I feel herein the atmosphere of the stimulus of youth which stirs the whole continent of Asia today with the urge of a new age of achievement.

Unfortunately, as you know, my age and health make it difficult for me to cross the barriers of distance and my habits of a sequestered life, and therefore, it is physically impossible for me to fulfil your expectations, to do much in return of your welcome which is so overwhelming in its kindness.

I am told that this invitation today has been extended to me chiefly on behalf of the literary circles of Baghdad. It is

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in the fitness of things that the first public reception should be given me by the Community of Writers to which I am proud to belong. It fills my heart with delight to know that I am already familiar to you through my works, some of which have been translated into your Arabic language, and have won their home in your hearts. This proves once more, that in the realm of literature there is no distinction of races, that our ideas can freely meet and mingle and build together the vision of a perfection which comprehends the good of the Eternal Man.

Human history has been cruel to man. The greed of the strong has spread its meshes over the weaker races, injuring and exploiting them to feed its own unholy appetite. Humanity is torn by suffering and suspicion, by a disharmony which has wrought havoc in the very depths of our life on earth. It is for us, of the Brotherhood of Letters, to rescue humanity from this misery of unnatural relationship, to lift the peoples of different countries to a higher altitude of Being. To whichever land we may belong, this must be our common mission on this plane of united effort, to achieve goodwill between man and man, establish a secure foundation of fellowship which will save humanity from suicidal war and the savagery of fanatical superstitions.

We must usher in the age of reason, of co-operation, of a generous reciprocity of cultures which will reveal the richness of our common humanity.

With this fervent desire, my friends I have come to your midst. Let me unburden my mind of this secret which has been at the bottom of my heart while visiting your country.

I have come to appeal to you, my brothers, to join hands with us in fighting the menace of bigotry, of mutual suspicion, of diplomatic double-dealing which tears out the heart of the common civic life of humanity today. In the most glorious period of your history, Arabia dominated over half the world, East and West, and even now her sway over India is living in our spiritual and intellectual life through the vast population of Mahomedans we have in our midst. Let your voice reach us once again across the Arabian Sea carrying its majesty of a universal ideal ; send us once more your men of faith who will bring together our different communities under the banner

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of Unity, of fellowship, of love which admits no difference of race or religion.

In the name of all that is sacred and eternal in Man, in the name of your great Prophet and for the sake of the reputation of your great Religion, I appeal to you to advocate the cause of human fellowship, the tolerance of different creeds and customs and sympathetic neighbourliness necessary for the civilised life of co-operation. Our religions have assumed a fratricidal ferocity of barbarism rending the heart of India, poisoning her racial memory and thwarting her progress towards freedom. Let your poets and thinkers, whose words soar above all prejudices and passions, bred of dark unreason, help us to bring my unfortunate country to a sober state of life, to sane mentality that knows how to pursue its own path of welfare and save itself from an utter moral devastation.

Let me remind you, my Brothers, that a mere success in fulfilling the political and economic needs of our own immediate surroundings is not enough for the responsibility of natural self-expression; but your voice must transcend the limits of your own time and country so that your judgment for the moral cause of Humanity must find a great utterance when the occasion comes, as has become urgent today in India where your co-worshippers at the shrine of God are waiting for your guidance.

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CHAPTER ONE

IRAN AND INDIA

Iran, the land of the 'Aira' corresponding to the 'Arya', is the land of our first cousins. Our *Vedas* and their *Avesta* are but linguistic variants of the common corpus of a vast literature, only parts of which have survived the ravages of time. In the whole continent of Asia, the Indo-Iranian language areas form the historic zones of the Indo-European linguistic family. Even in remoter proto-historic ages, offering few literary records, we find that the art and archæology of the Indus Valley are linked up with those of Iran—in the 3rd-4th millennium B. C.—through painted and unpainted potteries and other objects discovered recently by Sir Aurel Stein and others in the intervening regions between Sindh-Beluchistan, Khorasan, Fars and Susa.

So, I was thrilled when the Calcutta Art Society invited me to join, as the Cultural Adviser, the first unofficial delegation (1950) from Free India to the Middle East. We could only take with us some pictures in oil and water colours, of the Bengal School of Paintings ; and Pandit M. S. Vats, Director-General of the Archæological Survey, New Delhi, gave us some good photographs of Indian sculpture and architecture. The delegation was privileged also to carry the life-size paintings of Rabindranath Tagore and of Mahatma Gandhi to be presented to Iran through the University of Teheran.

Dr. A. Siassi, the learned Chancellor, extended to us the generous hospitality of his University, where we had the privilege of cultivating personal contacts not only with the representative men of Iranian sciences and arts, but also with the rising generation of students who showed a keen desire to know India and to work, for a while, with our students. Invited to deliver an address on the solemn occasion of the presentation of the two portraits, I could not help reminding the learned gathering that we should find in the portrait of Tagore, the master singer and of Gandhi the master builder of our age—the inspiration and hope

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of renascent Asia. They represent the two indispensable Faculties all universities—the faculty of Beauty and the faculty of Truth, symbolised by Rabindranath and Mahatma Gandhi.

Our Exhibition of Indian Paintings was held in the National Library of Teheran, and Her Royal Highness Velahazrat Shadokhte Shams Pehlavi, the sister of His Imperial Majesty the Shah, not only inaugurated the Exhibition, but examined the works of our outstanding painters with keen personal interest. Privileged to conduct her through the gallery, I reminded her of the grand contribution of her illustrious father, the late Reza Shah Pehlavi, to cementing anew the cultural relations between India and Iran by inviting our national Poet Rabindranath in 1932.

Not only did the Ministers and other dignitaries attend but also the school children and their teachers visited the Exhibition. The noble Minister of Education vied with the Chancellor of the University (a former Minister of Foreign Affairs) in lavishing their kindness on our delegation ; and we were taken to many parts of the country by any conveyance we found useful, including the aeroplane to far-off historical sites like Persepolis and Nakhs-i-Rustam, Shiraz, Ispahan and the Caspian health resorts.

From Korramshahr, the southern port of Iran on the Persian Gulf where we landed, we could see different parts of this vast country, of a total area of 628,000 sqr. miles. Large sectors of the country, appeared to have lapsed to deserts with little traces of irrigation and of any kind of vegetation or greenery.

Human habitations are few and far between, specially in the arid regions which cause headache to most of the Ministers of modern Iran. Pastoral folks move from place to place desperately struggling for survival, under their crude nomad economy and there are 8 million nomads in Iran. Some of these folks, like the Bakhtiaris, although of Persian stock, pursued occasional plundering as their traditional profession ; and to placate them a charming princess of the Bakthiari clan, was chosen to be the Queen of the Shah. Of the unsettled and the disturbing elements in the population we should mention the Kashgais of Turkish origin, the Shah Savans of Azerbaijan (partly annexed by U.S.S.R.) and the Kurds who would loot and even kill the

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travellers and pilgrims while going out of Iran into Iraq on their way to Karbela, the holiest site of the Shia Muslim community. The other religious minorities are the Christian Assyrians, the Armenians, the Jews and some 10,000 Zoroastrians.

By sheer misadventure we strayed away from the "correct path" and were obliged to spend the night in a village inn so-called. The food available was of a most primitive kind and the mud-walls of a cottage were covered with a thatch and a few projecting branches of trees to serve as the canopy on our head. We were pilgrims in the caravansarai of the lonely village ; but we lacked the poetical fervour, in that freezing temperature, to recite the poems of Omar Khayyam. His tomb was far away in Nishapur, near Meshed and we were somewhere in the centre of Iran, north of the historic Susiana. The neglected villages of Iran offered a striking parallel to our deserted villages in India and we could not help meditating on the future of our struggling States, if we fail to solve promptly and adequately the problems of food, clothing and shelter for the common man who has suffered untold miseries through the ages.

Just as in India, 85% of the total Iranian population of seventeen million obtain their living from farming and stockraising. According to Kautilya's economy, *Krishi* (agriculture) and *Pashupalya* (animal husbandry) were the main-stay of the Indo-Iranian economics, while *Vanijya* (export-import trade) occupied, the next important position. Nature has, however, shown to Iran her special favour in oil, which brings the major part of the revenue to the State. Iran is the oldest and the largest oil-producing country in the Middle East ; but the biggest oil concession is held by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. which employs 55,000 workers of whom 50,000 are Iranians. While touching the port of Abadan on our way through the Persian Gulf, we heard that the Oil Company had built up there one of the largest "refineries" of petrolium in the world. The Company has nearly doubled the production of crude oil, from ten million (1937) to over twenty million (1947) in ten years. And their revised "concession" or lease is expected to last until the end of 1993 !

But while oil is supposed to be an antidote in "troubled waters", here in Iran, oil seems to be inviting ever fresh troubles :

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for her Caspian neighbour U.S.S.R. is casting ominous glances on the huge dividends earned by the foreign oil concerns. In November, 1943, as we know, there took place in Teheran the historic meeting of Roosevelt, Churchil and Stalin ; and in their joint declaration, the U.S.A. re-affirmed the conditions of the tripartite alliance between Iran, U.K. and U.S.S.R.

The pro-Soviet Tudeh Party subsequently entered into an agreement (April, 1946) with U.S.S.R. that, subject to the approval of the Majlis, a Russian-Iranian Oil Company might be formed, Russia owning 51% of the shares for 25 years. But soon thereafter the whole situation changed. U.S.A. became pronouncedly hostile to U.S.S.R. and the Majlis voted against ratification, so that, in December. 1947 Premier Quovam S. Sultaneh resigned. His Tudeh Party with their known Communist sympathy was alleged to have been involved in a plot to assassinate the Shah (Feb. 1949). So, during our visit in 1950, we found the political situation confused and uncertain although in a vote of confidence, Premier Razmara (murdered later on) gained a substantial majority for a pro-Anglo-American policy. India also made a treaty of of friendship with Iran.

For social, strategic and economic developments of Iran, the Government initiated a Seven-years Plan, with an estimated cost of 650 million dollars, and foreign technical experts, specially from U.S.A., were invited. Iran was the vital supply line of communication, from the Allies to the U.S.S.R., during the World War II What would be her position in case of outbreak of World War III in which U.S.S.R. might be in the opposite camp ? The Caspian Sea threatens to change its colour and to be converted into a Russian lake ! The jute-growing and fertile Northern Provinces of Iran will be the first to be involved, as we have observed in the case of Azerbaijan. The Northern Provinces are on the highway for the Russians to travel towards Iran and India. The Russian merchant Athanasius Nikitin crossed the Caspian to Mazandaran and thence *via* Ormuz to India (1466-72). The highways from the Caspian to Karakoram, Kashmir and the Himalayas offer many points of strategic importance vital to the defence of Iran and India ; and our students of geo-politics should wake up and explore anew the historic routes of communi-

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cation between Iran and India in the context of recent grouping of powers.

CULTURAL RELATIONS

Iran is the veritable cradle of Asian civilisation and at the same time the great transmitter of cultural currents of the Orient and the Occident. Greek drama first awakened into consciousness in the age of the Persian War in which Aeschylus at the battle of Marathon, (490 B.C.) and Sophocles at Salamis participated. Herodotus and Xenophone studied Persian life and institutions thoroughly and Alexander the Great, as we know, married Persian wives, donned Persian robes and aspired to unify his vast Empire by propagating Græco-Persian culture. Was that due to the penitent mood of Alexander who in a drunken state, set fire to the marvellous Palaces of Darius and Xerxes ? During our visit to the thousand-pillared capital city of Persepolis, we were haunted by its grandeur and specially by the magnificent staircase of the Persepolitan Palace. We could see such superb monuments even today, amidst the ruins, especially the colossal bulls, lions, etc., and the exquisite carvings of the stone figures of the subject-races bringing tributes to the great Achemenian Emperors.

Thus from the 6th. century B.C. to the 4th. century B.C. we find innumerable evidences of the glories of Asian art in Iran. Their samples in stone and bronze, together with other specimens of art and archæology of the classical and mediæval ages of Iran, have been effectively exhibited in the National Museum of Teheran. It was founded in 1938 and in the course of the last twelve years, collection and research work have gone apace under the able direction of Prof. A. Godard and Dr. Bahrami who very kindly received me and interpreted in Persian my lecture on"India and Iran", held at the beautiful auditorium of the National Museum. In the course of our visit to the histories cities of Shiraz and Ispahan we could examine some valuable documents of mediæval Persian Art, reflected in the classic writings of Firdausi, Omar Khayyam, Saadi and Hafiz. We were glad to find the humble village of the poet-philosopher Saadi humming with new life as the rural architects and the artisans under Government

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patronage were completing the Mausoleum of Saadi. Paying our homage to the great poet we came next to the superb Garden Mausoleum of Hafiz and offered our bouquet of flowers to the immortal Poet-mystic. We remembered that Hafiz was invited to visit Bengal in the 14th century, although he could not come ; also that about 20 years ago *Gurudev* Rabindranath stood silently at the same place in Shiraz and opened a page of the *Divan* of Hafiz which (as attested by an Iranian friend still in the land of living) seemed to be a direct address of Hafiz to his brother-poet from India. I still remember the radiant face of Rabindranath when he said, after I had presented the *Golden Book of Tagore* to him in 1931, that he would be flying to Persia. the land of his favourite Hafiz, at the invitation of Reza Shah Pehhavi. The late Shah was not only the maker of modern Iran and the builder of its most health-giving and beautiful capital Teheran, but was also the pioneer in reviving the age-old cultural relations between India and Iran. He accorded a right royal reception to the poet-laureate of Asia. India participated in the millenary of the national poet Firdausi and of the great scholar Al Beruni ; and I was charged by our Iranian friends to organize in India the thousandth Anniversary of the doctor-philosopher of Europæn fame Avicenna, in the early middle age.*

I found the University of Teheran making splendid progress in the line of developing the mind of Iran both in the study of its ancient language, history and literature as also in Arts and Sciences. I was so happy to spend some time with the eminent poet-scholar Prof. Poor-i-Dauood, who worked for a while in Santiniketan and who is the leader of Avestan-Sanskritic studies in Iran. It is through him that Prof. Dr. Kunhan Raja of the University of Madras was invited as the Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Teheran. Our Indian Universities should extend similar courtesies to eminent Iranian scholars to serve as guest-professors in our Universities. I should mention in this connexion names like Dr. Issa Sadiq, an authority on the history

* On the 30th April of 1952 I had the honour of being invited by our friends of the Middle East, to inaugurate the Millenary of Avicenna and help in the formation of the *Indo-Middle East Association* in Calcutta.

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of Education in Asia, Prof. S. Nafici, whose special and voluminous works are on Persian literature and Dr. Bahrami, Professor of Archaelogy.

The University of Teheran has also done pioneer work in another very important direction—in the domain of student-exchange on a truly international basis. During the last 90 years, we in India, have developed, out of the three original Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, about 30 Universities; but in none of them we find as yet any provision—statutory or administrative—for the welcoming of foreign scholars and students; only the Visva-Bharati (Santiniketan) under Dr. Tagore's prophetic lead, invited foreign scholars to stay and work with the Indians. I was glad to find, while enjoying the hospitality of the University of Teheran, that it had made splendid arrangements in this line by offering well-furnished living rooms to scholars and learned guests and also a limited number of stipends to cover partially the expenses of the students. Mr. Ata Karim Burke, a former post-graduate student of the Islamic Culture Dept. of our University of Calcutta, was then a stipendiary (getting about Rs. 300/- per month) who was very happy to work under his Iranian professors and preparing his thesis for a Master's degree. I found also students like him coming from Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Egypt living and working happily together in the University guest house.

In the University lounge, these students very kindly received us at a party where we met a few European students coming to specialise in Iranology; and we found also a talented Turkish lady of the University of Ankara working to prepare a thesis on Persian literature.

Here we met H. E. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, the Ambassador of Pakistan who gave a special party to us at his home where our Indian Ambassador H. E. Ali Zahir was also present. Mr. Zahir cultivated active friendly relations with our Iranian friends; and as he spoke Persian he was especially admired and appreciated. He led our party when we visited the tomb of Reza Shah Pehlevi.

On the eve of our departure from Iran we felt that we were leaving many genuine friends behind us, to mention among others, the learned Chancellor Dr. Ali Akbar Siassi. From his

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work as a Professor of Psychology he rose to be the Minister of Foreign Affairs (like Dr. Kuprulu of Ankara) Dr. Siassi had many lieutenants ; and I must specially mention here Professor Ghooneli who offered us his most friendly services day-to-day like a true brother. Through such kind souls we came back to India convinced that in Iran we have a veritable homeland ; and in creating this feeling a large part was played by our progressive sisters of Iran like Mrs. Bayani, a celebrated painter, who introduced us to many noted women workers and organisations of modern Iran.

India has entered into a Treaty of Friendship with Iran which is but a recent confirmation of our age-old relationship. And so, I hope that our Ministry of Education, our Universities and learned societies will soon extend the hand of friendship and collaboration to the sons and daughters of renascent Iran.

INDIA AND IRAN : A STUDY IN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Ever since the days of the French Orientalist Anquetil Duperron, for about two hundred years (1750-1950), India and Iran have been discussed together, especially through our ancient scriptures the *Vedas* and the *Avesta* (2000-1000 B.C.)

But the uncertainties of linguistic and literary studies have been partially removed by the patient explorations and researches of the archæologists of the last century. The Rosetta Stone was discovered in 1799 during Napoleon's Egyptian campaign and the heiroglypics were deciphered satisfactorily by Champollion (1820-1830). The trilingual inscriptions of Darius the Achemenian helped to decipher many other valuable inscriptions, seals and coins. So the inscriptions of Emperor Asoka the Great (270-230 B.C.) were deciphered at the Asiatic Society of Bengal by James Princep (1840). Within a century from that date, we have a wealth of materials from the Indus Valley, Harappa (Punjab), Mohenjo-Daro, Chanhu-Daro, Amri (Sindh) and Nal (Baluchistan, gateway of Iran). The inscriptions on the Indus Valley seals have not yet been satisfactorily deciphered yet help may come from such seals and inscriptions discovered in

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Iran and Iraq. So our Indian archæological strata, with painted and unpainted vases etc. may be correlated with similar layers and finds in Iran specially in Susa and such other pre-historic sites. Not only the geometrical designs but the *fauna* and *flora* of the Indus Valley seem to resemble those of ancient Iran which must have been connected with regular trade-routes to and from India. To study and explore these ancient routes the late Sir Aurel Stein devoted the last years of his life, from 1932, and he explored Baluchistan, Makran, Kerman, Fars (Susiana), Khozistan, Elam, Luristan, Hamadan, up to Kurdistan and Azerbaijan. His tours have been carefully described by Dr. Bahman Karimi to whom I am grateful for detailed information.

The entire Chalcolithic or Aeneolithic culture of India and Iran must be studied along with similar finds in China (Yang-Shao), Iraq and Egypt. Though some of the beads and potteries permit us (as in Susa) to reach as early a date as the 5th millennium B.C., yet that culture belongs to Metal age and so it cannot be called pre-historic; rather, these represent the protohistoric layers which emerge at the end of the Neolithic age (10,000—5,000 B.C.). Egypt and Iraq now can point to 6,000 B.C., as the beginning of the Metal age culture, represented in Iraq by the newly discovered Hassuna period, when the life of the nomadic tribes came to be settled in huts and villages practising primitive agriculture. From the pre-Sumerian, we can now study the Sumerian chapters of history, so intimately connected with Iran and India (3000—2000 B.C.), on the eve of the Aryan migrations. While Iran was completely Aryanised (in languages and culture) India retained, along with the Vedic-Sanskrit many other pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian languages and cultures, which should be studied by Iranian antiquarians. Then we may hope to get a scientific and objective commentary to our most ancient scriptures—the *Vedas* and the *Avesta* (2000—1000 B.C.). Eminent Iranists like Prof. Pouree Dauood and others have already clarified many obscure points by their researches and now Indian scholars should be encouraged to spend some time in Iran to collaborate with Iranian scholars.

Between 1000 B.C. and 500 B.C. Iran was proud to have the great Prophet Zarathushtra (of golden Camel) of Iran and India

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have sages (honoured as the "Gymnosophists by the Greeks)—like Yajnavalkya, Parasvanatha, Mahavira and the Buddha—each a great reformer in the domain of religion and philosophy, as reflected in our *Upanishads* and in the texts of Jainism and Buddhism. By 500 B.C. Darius the Great built up the first world-Empire (imitated by Alexander), embracing Sindh on the East and Greece (Ionia) on the West. Asoka the Great (270—230 B.C.) must have sent through Gandhara, Ariana, Arachosia and Iran to Syria and Egypt his Ambassadors of Peace and Goodwill ; and in Mauryan art, especially in architecture and sculpture,—we find influences of ancient Iran especially of the Persepolis periods. Then followed the Indo-Parthian (Arsacides), Indo-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian (Kushan) and Indo-Sassanian phases of art and culture down to the Islamic conquest of Iran (640 A.D.). Just as our Buddhism influenced early Christianity, so did in Iran Mithraism and Manichaeism, prevailing from the Roman Empire on the West to Central Asia and China on the East. Along with our Buddhistic sculpture and painting, Iranian art objects and designs travelled (as I have personally seen) through China and Korea to Japan of the Nara epoch (7th century A.D.)

In the mediæval period (700 to 1700 A.D.) also Iran and India collaborated for nearly a thouand years : The military excursions of Sultan Mahmud of Gazni brought the works of Al Beruni, Abu Ali Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Firdausi etc. to the knowledge of Indian poets and scholars and very appropriately we celebrated in India their one thousandth anniversary.

May our universities, learned societies and museums co-operate to form, a permanent organisation for the systematic study of Indo-Iranian history and culture. With that expectation I close my address thanking my friends of Iran for all the courtesy and kindness they have shown to me and my colleagues of the Indian Cultural Delegation, enjoying the hospitality of your enlightened Government, through your Ministry of Education and Fine arts.*

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* The lecture was delivered at the National Museum, Teheran on Nov. 8th, 1950, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education.

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IRAN'S PRE-HISTORIC CIVILIZATION

Just as in India the entire history of our ancient period had to be rewritten after the discovery of the Indus Civilization, so the antiquity of Iran was pushed back, to remote millennia B.C., since the scientific explorations in sites like Susa and Persepolis. The current of Chalcolithic culture might have flown through diverse channels from Sindh and Baluchistan (as Stein and Piggot have tried to demonstrate) to Elam and Sumer—or vice versa.

In 1850—just a century ago—W.K. Loftus identified the ancient city of Susa (3000-2000 B.C.) capital of Biblical Susiana —which I had the pleasure to traverse from one end to the other while passing in a car, from Ahwas—once on the Persian Gulf—to Central Iran, watching the changes in landscape and human physiognomy. In 1897 Jacques Morgan, the French archæologist, began exploring Susiana and publishing reports (1899-1906), following up the work of M. Dieulafoy in 1884.

According to Dr. Hall, the proto-Dravidian Indus Civilization—now linked up with Sumerian—might have left a colony in Elam on the way. The Elamites also spoke an agglutinative language, replaced by Semitic speech when Sargon of Akkad conquered Elam in 2809 B.C. But the Elamites invaded Semitic Babylon in 2280 B.C, and took away the image of Nane from Erech.

The Kassite kings of Babylon captured Elam in 1339 B.C. and the Elamites retaliated in 1220 B.C., by removing the wonderful sculptured Stalae of Naram Sin as well as the Stone pillar recording the famous code of Hammurabi (1950 B.C.) ; and both these rare objects found their place in the National Museum (Louvre) of Paris, which visitors from all parts of the world flock to see.

TEHERAN MUSEUM

The National Museum of Teheran—which I surveyed closely —opens a new window on Western Asian art and archaeology, taking us beyond the Chalcolithic zones from the Indus to the Sumero-Elamite regions. No metal tools but flint and obsidian

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implements have been found, with baked clay potteries, beads etc. Prof. Donald E. McCown (University of Chicago) explored many such ancient sites and objects and wrote a valuable book—"The Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran" (1941). It is now generally admitted that some of the earliest cultures were located in North-Eastern Iran which merges into the western limits of our Indus civilization. Thus, in the very remote pre-Aryan period also, the formula "Indo-Iranian" now assumes a new significance.

Two French archaeologists—Contenau and Grishman—have made valuable contributions and D. H. Frankfort gave a comparative survey in his studies in "Early Pottery of the Near East" (1924) and other essays. Thus Herzfeld's "Iran in the Ancient East" (1941) and his "Archaeological History of Iran"—published in 1934—must now be supplemented by more recent finds from field work done especially by American scholars—among whom, I must mention Prof. G. Cameron who published in 1948 "The Treasury Tablets of Elam" showing how Persian loan-words had entered into the ancient Elamite texts.

Thus when I flew, in the Iranian plane "Ecbatanea" towards Shiraz and thence entered Persepolis, my mind travelled many centuries beyond the medieaval Persian poet Hafez (14 Cen. A.D.) or Darius the Achemenian (6 Cen. B.C.). For the archaeologists have revealed ever so many documents of much greater antiquity ; and Iranian finds must now be studied with constant reference to Iraqi Sumeria on the one hand and Indus Valley on the other. Terracotta objects, with fish and bird motifs, have been found in the fields of Persepolis—going back to 3000-2500 B.C. From there to Damghan, Gurgan and Azerbaijan (North Iran), art-objects are being found and dated (3000-1500 B.C.). Then we notice the vases and bronze objects from Luristan (1500-1000 B.C.) which belong in date to our later Vedic epoch. Our dear old friend Prof. Pouree Daud is training a new generation of the Iranian philologists who, with the co-operation and guidance of Dr. Kunhan Raja, were studying Vedic and Avestan texts with great ardour. But how many of our Indian Universities have awakened to the need of such a comparative study of the cultures of our two countries—close neighbours through ages ?

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Like Susa, another ancient site of Kashan (Type Siyalk) which I traversed—on our way through Qum—has yielded most valuable objects which, with those from other sites, lead to a probable conclusion that in the 2nd mill. B.C, (2000-1000 B.C.) these objects were used by an Indo-European people who migrated from the North-East (Hindu-Kush) regions, and penetrated Iran whence they advanced further westward (via Mesopotamia) towards Asia Minor (Mitanno-Hittite regions) and the Aegio-Egyptian world.

The Aryan language-speaking Hittites and Mitannis (whom I remembered while visiting their Boghaz Koi sites in Anatolia), have also left many art-objects and tools in Iran on the way. The Teheran Museum shows a bronze axe and a gold dagger of 1055-1200 B.C. ; and to that epoch has been assigned the wonderful Hittite Golden Goblet with the figure of "three lions" in repousse work. This "Three Lion" motif will appear later in Achemenian art and finally on Sarnath, the Lion capital of Asoka who gave us our national symbol of Free India.

Many valuable objects in the galleries of Teheran and other museums of Iran reminded me of the prevalence of the Vedic-Avestan rituals, "fire cult" and Sun worship. I paid my silent homage to Rishi Zarathustra (a contemporary of our Sage Yajnavalkya) whose mother's city Rayyi (near Teheran) we visited. So I feel strongly that our Vedic and Zoroastrian scholars of India should raise a special fund to send every year, batches of Indian scholars to explore the historic sites and monuments—all along that East-West route of migration from the Indus Valley via Iran and Iraq to the Nile Valley and the Mediterranean world—so well-known to Asoka in the Third Century B.C.

In Tepe Giyan (Nihavand) and other ancient sites explored in the mountainous regions of Western Persia, bordering on ancient Assur,—objects of Chalcolithic culture have been found ; and in the same area the ancestors of the Indo-European Medes and Persians left traces of their early appearance (2 mill, B.C.). Some scholars are now of opinion that the Indo Iranians or Aryans invaded Iran (2000 B.C.) from the north-east so close to the Indus Valley. The Iranian Plateau—we must remember,—extends from the mountains, east of the Tigris to the Indus

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Valley, and from the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf to the Caspian and the Jaxartes River. Thus Iran again appears to be the link between the Mesopotamian and the Indus Valley cultures.

The great explorer Sir Aurel Stein conducted surveys of diverse sites between Shiraz and Kermansha from Nov. 1935 to Oct. 1936; and I had the privilege of discussing the results of that tour; with Dr. Stein's Persian Secretary—Dr. Bahman Karimi—who has published a big book in Persian on the subject of the "Ancient routes of Iran". Stein, an expert in Indian archæology, attempted, before his death, to link up the ancient cultures of Iran, Sakasthan or Sistan and the Indus Valley.

Prof. Pigott—ten years later—continued that line of research from the Indus Valley, through north and south Baluchistan to Iran—as graphically presented in his 'Prehistoric India.

The pottery sequences of ancient Iran and Iraq compared with their corresponding designs and patterns, have engaged the attention of experts for over half a century, as attested by the monumental French publications of Dieulafoy and Morgan, and by the well-illustrated history of Presian Art by Prof. A. U. Pope and his American colleagues. The terra cotta, bronze and other art-objects from ancient Iran will help us in concretizing the purely literary and somewhat abstract description of Aryan life and Brahmanical civilisation in the Vedic texts (2000-1000 B.C.).

Old Vedic and Sanskrit literatures are being studied in right earnest by the Iranian philologists under the inspiration of Prof. Pouree Daud, and his colleagues of the Teheran University. They have already formed their own ideas about Avesta—the Iranian counterpart of the Vedas; and some "purists" among the Iranian scholars—like Prof. Naficy and Prof. Moghaddam—have compiled glossaries and lexicons to explain anew the formation of Persian words and phrases in terms of the ancient Indo-Iranian authentic texts rather than accepting the theological Islamic interpretations of them from the later Arabic sources. Indian universities and academies should keep in close touch with the scholars of this neo-Iranian school and exchange publications with them.

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They are of opinion that the Indo-Sumerian culture was proto-Aryan and that the Aryans of Iran and India came in due time to absorb and enrich it—just as it has been argued by Prof. Pusalkar in the book, "The Vedic Age" Travelling in different parts of Iran I felt as if I was moving on Vedic fields with the snowy Dimavend range (19,000 ft.) dominating the vast landscape of Nature—just as our Himavat ever flashed through the writings of the Vedic and the Epic poets of India. On my return from Iran, I had the pleasure of receiving a precious gift from my friend Dr. I.J.S. Taraporewala who then published his *magnum opus*, "The Divine Songs of Zarathustra." It will help generations of scholars from India and Iran to prepare themselves for further researches into the religion, philosophy, mythology and linguistics of the Indo-Iranian families professing the Vedic and the Avestan religion and culture.

The Indian and Iranian cousins must have spent together long epochs and got separated (c. 1500 B.C.) into two different countries ; but they had a common frontier and common moral and religious concepts like the Vedic *rita*—Iranian Urta and Asha or the inflexible order of the universe symbolized by the Yama (Yema of Iran) ; the Yajna (Ir. Yasna) or sacrifice, the sacred drink Soma (Haoma) etc., prove a common ancestral tradition. From 9th Cen. B.C. we hear of the Aryan Medes under Assyria ; and the founder of the Median Empire Cyaxeres (525-593 B.C.) destroyed Nineveh and conquered the East-Assyrian territory and Urartu or Armenia.

ZOROASTRIANISM

Cyrus the great (550-530 B.C.) conquered Media, Syria and Babylonia—thus founding the vast Persian Empire, extending from the Indus to the Mediterranian and from the Caucasus to the Indian Ocean. Near about this epoch was born the great founder of Zoroastrianism : Rishi Zarathustra, whom I saluted silently from many places in north-Iran associated with his memory and that of his mother. He liberated a fresh religious zeal, reformed the cruder Median religion of magic and preached monotheism and salvation of all through performance of duty. He waged

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perpetual war against the Evil Spirit, Ahriman or *angromainyu*, for the victory of the Lord of Wisdom, Ahura Mazda. Darius (521-485 B.C.) was definitely Zoroastrian who conquered the whole ancient world from Sindh to Greece, and built royal residences at Susa, Persepolis, Ecbatana (Hamadan) and Babylon.

I watched over his historic inscriptions and rock-cut tombs, along with those of his son Xerxes I (485-465) and grand-son Artaxerxes I (465-429). When in 331 B.C. Darius III (366-30 B.C.) lost the Persian Empire to Alexander, the latter reunited the history of Iran and India in the orbit of known history. I I was awfully shocked to witness the disastrous result of Alexander's incendiarism on the magnificent monuments of Persepolis, which, even in its ruins, will convince any Indian archæologist that one cannot fully understand the Mauryan and early Græco-Buddhist art without reference to Persepolitan art and architecture. The ground plan and ruins of the "Thousad Pillared" Hall, the colossal bulls and lions, the rock-cut shrines and pillar-cult etc. of the Achemenian empire, stimulated similar art-motifs and movements in Buddhist India.

The 'successor' kingdoms of the Selucids (stretching from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf and India), of the Arsacids (Parthia) and of the Bactrians kept India in close contact with the West—from 330 B.C. to 300 A.D.—developing Græco-Buddhist and Romano-Buddhist art-cycles. The neo-Persian empire of the Sassanian linked up the art and culture of the later Roman Empire with those of Arachosia, India, Central Asia and China, brilliantly illustrated by the archæological finds of an international team of explorers, who worked in pre-Islamic Afghanistan, Khotan, Serindia and China.

During the centuries when the Western Roman Empire collapsed under attacks from the Teutonic Barbarians, and when Constantine and his successors developed Constantinople as the new capital of the Eastern (Byzantine) Roman Empire, the great Sassanian emperors (226-651 A.D.) shone brilliantly as champions of Asia, scoring several victories against the Roman emperors. Defeating the last Parthian King, the first Sassanian Emperor Ardashir (226-40) conquered Merv, Balkh (Bactria) and Khiva. He is also supposed to have invaded India and

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levied tributes on the Punjab and received submission not only of the chiefs of Makran and Turan, but also of the Kushan Kings of North-West India. Ardashir gave a strongly centralised government to the Persian nation, supported by the revival of Zoroastrianism and Pehlevi language in which commentaries to the sacred Zend Avesta were composed, edited and collected under Arda Viraf, Ardashir summoned Rome to evacuate Syria and the rest of Asia and then defeated Alexander Severus who concluded peace. Then Shapur I became Emperor (240-71), invaded Kushan India, Roman Syria and annexed Mesopotamia. Peace was concluded when Emperor Gordian was murdered; but Shapur declared his second war against Rome, took Nisibis, Edessa and finally secured Emperor Valerian as his captive.

This historic triumph of Asia over the Roman West was brilliantly sculptured on the lower slopes of the rock of Nakhs-I-Rustam which I visited, after paying my homage to the tombs of Darius I and his successors. I saw emperor Shapur I on his grand charger like a Mahabharata hero, receiving the homage of his vanquished enemy Valerian in bent knees surrendering his arms. Valerian died in captivity (266). Vanquishing the Kushan rulers Shapur founded the city of Nishapur, famous later on through association with Firdausi, Omar Khayyam and other Persian celebrities. Mani (215-213) the founder of Manichaeism, flourished in Shapur's time and this new religion got mixed up with primitive Christianity, Nestorianism and Mahayana Buddhism which penetrated Parthia, Central Asia and China.

Within four centuries from these heydays of Sassanian glory, the Arabs swept the horizon of the Middle East and in 642 the last Sassanian King Yazdagard III was defeated by the Arabs at Nehawad and was murdered (651).

ISLAMIC IRAN

With the advent of Islam, we witness the end of the 'Classical' and emergence of the mediæval period in the history of the East and the West. Islam had its birth in Arabia; but in spite of the fact of 'Arabic' being the sacred language of Islam, it shows two other very important branches of Islamic

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culture : the 'Iranian' or Persian and the 'Turco-Mongolian stretching from the Pacific to the Mediterranean world. As in the case of the Hellenized Romans conquering Greece, so were the conquering Persianized Arabs dominated Iran. The golden age of the Caliphate was marked by the reign of Mamun whose mother as well as wife were Persians. The Acheminian idea of world Empire and the cosmopolitan culture of the Sassanians were the legacies of the Arab pioneers of Islam.

Two other peaks of mediæval culture were reached : one, in the 10-11th centuries, under the Persian Samamid dynasty of Samarkhand, Bokhara and Khorasan, the cradle of modern Persian literature represented by Rudagi, the blind poet bard ; Dakiki, the Zoroastrian epic poet and finally Firdausi, the immortal author of *Shah Nameh* at the court of Sultan Mahmud. The Sultan was the patron of the Persian *savant* Abu Rayhan or Al Beruni who wrote the 'Chronology of the Ancient Nations' and laid all Indian scholars under special obligation by writing his 'Indica' (2 vols.), a monument of comparative study in Indian, Islamic and Hellenic sciences and cultures.

Mahmud also invited to his court Avicenna ; but the latter preferred to work in the humble but more refined court of the Ziariads and produced books on medicine, philosophy and education which were the most consulted text-hooks in European Universities, till the 17th century. India was proud of celebrating the 1000th anniversary of Firdausi and Al Beruni and joined Iran and the scientific world to organize the grand Avicenna Celebration in honour of Master Avicenna, the living encylopaedia of Asian science, philosophy and culture.

The second peak of Persian art and culture was reached under the Safavi dynasty of Ispahan, which, under the Taimurids and the Safavis, was the cultural capital of Western Asia in the 16-17th centuries. I felt the fascination of Ispahan the more as I came there, after a month's stay amidsr the dazzling modernism of Teheran. I found the bazars of Ispahan even superior to the bazars of Cairo or Peking, by way of displaying living samples of indigenous arts and crafts displayed there. Persian painting, like the Chinese, grew out of the art of calligraphy and in Ispahan,

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with its rare manuscripts and inscriptions on the multicoloured mosques, I felt a living communion with the artists.

Almost on the borders of India and Afghanistan, Hussein Mirza (d. 1506) of the Taimurid dynasty founded an academy in Herat (whence Babar Mirza entered India) where flourished Mirkhond the historian, Bihzad the painter and Jami the last of the great classical poets. Shah Ismail, founder of the Safavi dynasty made Shiaism the State religion from his capital in Tabriz where. later on, Humayun was received by Ismail's son Shah Tahmasp I (1524-76) who was followed by Shah Abbas (1587-1629), contemporaries of Akbar, Elizabeth, Charles V and Suleman the Magnificent.

I was fortunate to be the guest of the learned Director of antiquities in Ispahan and he not only showed me the "Humayun-Tahmasp interview" in the wall-paintings but also other valuable things in the historic Palace. He requested me to encourage some learned societies of India to come to make a comparative study of the paintings of Iran and India under the Safavi and the Mughal rulers. He read with me portions of a rare book, *Meatol Boldane Nasserie* (4 vols.) which gives a very graphic description of the grand reception accorded by Shah Tahmasp to the exiled emperor Humayun who took refuge in Iran, four centuries before our visit. Humayun was defeated (May, 1540) and driven out of India by Sher Shah. He spent 15 years of his painful exile in Sindh. Afghanistan and Iran till 1547 when with the help of Shah Tahmasp I, he captured Kandahar and Kabul whence he re-entered India and occupied Lahore (1554) and Delhi (1555, July).

Before his accidental death (July, 1556), Humayun invited some noted artists from Persia and thus laid the foundation of the 'Indo-Persian school' of arts and crafts brilliantly illustrated by the miniature paintings of the renowned "Mughal School". This creative collaboration continued for nearly a century, under the patronage of Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan whose Taj Mahal was completed in 1657.

The next century, terminating with the Battle of Plassey (1757) and of Panipat (1761), saw the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire when Nadir Shah (1736—47) invaded India (1739). The Peacock Throne and the Kohinoor were carried

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away by him to Persia and European experts valued them roughly at £ 119 millions.

Two hundred years after the death of Nadir Shah whose 'souvenirs' I found in different parts of Iran—the first Asian Relations Conference was invited to Delhi (1947) by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru who, by his magnetic personality, lifted the Conference far above mere discussions to the plane of a cultual federation of all Asia, after ages. Maulana Azad, our Minister of Education, soon organized the Indian Council for Cultural Relations—both for the Western and the Eastern Asian nations. During our cultural mission in the Middle East (1950-'51), we found the warmest welcome from the Iranian Ministry of Education, and especially from Dr. Ali Akbar Siassi, the learned Chancellor of the University of Teheran, which conferred Doctorate 'Honoris Causa' to Maulana Azad when he visited the capital of Iran. Free India should take all steps to revive our age-old cultural relations with Iran.

THE TRAIL OF THE ARYAN

India and Iran collaborated in giving birth to the term and concept 'Aryan' derived from Vedic *arya, airya* in Zend-Avesta, both conveying the double idea of (a) good family and (b) nobility of character. A French Catholic missionary, Coeurdoux in 1767 and a Protestant British judge, Sir William Jones in 1786, drew our attention to the fact that the Sanskrit language of the Indian Aryans bore striking resemblances with old Iranian, Greek, Latin, Teutonic and Slavonic—thus embracing, in their linguistic orbit, many races and nations from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic! Thus a new synonym *Indo-European* was coined and used in 1813 by the British Egyptologist-physicist Dr. Thomas Young. A German variant was supplied in the form: *Indo-Germanic* and the first *comparative Grammar* of the Aryan languages was attempted by Franz Bopp, whose academic successors made Indo-European or Aryan philology a dominantly German science.

But alas, a century after Bopp, there appeared Hitler who ruined himself, his nation and its scientific reputation by posing

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as an Avatar of "Aryanism"—a queer confusion of scientific findings, ethnic jargons and race hatred ! Thus the 'Aryan,' the prize-boy of 19th century Orientalism, has, in the 20th century, lost *face*, lost *home* and retains only his linguistic integrity. No one disputes that there is a well-knit, though far-flung texture of languages grouped under the name *Aryan ;* but an Aryan *race* is being treated as a discarded theory. All possible races of the world today speak English, though they are very far from being Englishmen ! This will clarify the modern scientific attitude towards the 'Aryan question.' But it may be profitable, all the same, to pursue the elusive Aryan with the light of scientific archæology. Traversing, as I did the various so-called "cradles" of the Aryan people—specially in Iran and the Middle-East, I venture to re-open the question with a view to drawing the attention of the rising generation of Orientalists and comparative linguisticians.

THE RIGVEDA AND AVESTA

The Rigveda of India is generally considered to be the oldest literary record left by the Indo-Aryan and the Avesta as the later sample of the Indo-Iranian literature. The two Scriptures are supposed to be separated by an interval of, say, one thousand years (2000-1000 B. C.). Both these sacred books are the spiritual foundations of the religion, mythology and culture of the two cousin branches of the Aryan race ; and no ethnologist has taken exception to their family likeness. Before the Veda and the Avesta, we have found, outside India, many fragmentary texts and inscriptions—between 2500-2000 B.C.—but their literary and cultural values are not very great. How then are we to explain the definite occurrence and growth of the vast Indo-Iranian (Sanskritic) language and literature between the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia ? This concentration of Indo-Iranian *races* and *languages* in the Middle East, should be compared with the diffusion of the Aryan speech in Europe from the Eastern Mediterranean and Greece to the Baltic and the Atlantic Ocean marking the territorial limit of the Indo-European languages. A century

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after the eminent Sanskritists Colebrooke and Bopp, we find Prof. P, Giles of Cambridge attempting to locate the original *habitat* of the Aryans, whom he placed in Central *Europe*, somewhere in the Austro-Hungarian and Bohemian zone.

My intuition, on the other hand, prompts me to rescue the Aryan from "Bohemianism", and to correlate his movements with the cultural cross-currents of the Middle East. It is in this zone that recent archæological discoveries have definitely placed on the map concrete evidences of Early man's material culture, marking the transition from the Neolithic to Chalcolithic civilization. In my scattered notes on Iran and Iraq I have tried to show that the copper-bronze using races of the Middle East, had suddenly to confront some militarily more virile but culturally backward races, who might be called proto-Aryans. I provisionally place their homeland in the fields and forests of North Iran and Iraq, where both the pastoral nomads and the wheat-growing agricultural settlers, with their animal herds, could thrive. They lived for centuries, side by side, with the pre-Aryan river valley-city dwellers and imbibed many of their cultural traits ; the pre-Aryans imparted to the Aryans some of their cruder habits of religion and society. That is how the Lord of the beasts (Pasupati-Siva), who appears in our Indus valley, came to be worshipped as Rudra-Siva. The Mother goddess, with her animal entourage, apparently neglected by the patriarchal Vedic sages, established herself in the heart of the teeming millions of rural India. Tree and Serpent worship and the fertility cults of the pre-Aryans were also assimilated into the Aryan myths and legends.

Many such cases go to strengthen the hypothesis of Prof. Pusalkar, who his in, *Vedic Age*, attempted to prove that the Indus Valley people and their culture were largely coeval with the inception (if not actual composition) of Vedic literature, which may now be dated c2500 B.C., just as Jacobi and some other veteran orientalists accepted to be the date of Vedic beginnings. The end of Mohenjo Daro is dated to be in the 17th century B.C. when the pressure of the Kassite Aryans from the north and the west must have been on the increase. There was more of assimilation and mutual reaction. A similar process is

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observed in Iran, where, according to Professors Speiser and Barton, strong Aryan elements came to react upon the three more ancient races: the Proto-Elamites of South Persia, the Sumerians and the Semitic Akkadians of Iraq.

HYKSOS, KASSITES, MITANNIS

About 1750 B.C. Aryan language-speaking Kassites emerged from North-Western Iran and held sway over Babylonia for five centuries (1746-1180 B.C.). Ethnically the Kassites may or may not be Aryans, but there were Indo-European elements in their language. Their chief god was *Suryah*, the sun, another god called *Maruthah*, may be the Vedic Marut, the deity of wind and storm. The word for Kassite god was *Bughas* (equal to Sanskrit Bhagavan ?) Like the old Persian Vindafranna the Kassites gave a name *Indabyghas.**

A century before the Kassites, above 1900 B.C., the Semitic people showed remarkable powers not only by ruling Babylon, but by sending westward one of their cousins, the heroic Hyksos to lead the Asiatic invasion of Egypt. Egypt, as we know, will henceforth be trying to keep good relations with the Hittites and the Mitannis. These centuries of political unrest were marked by some remarkable cultural achievements of the Middle Eastern races, civilised by the contact of the Mediterranean Egypt on the one hand and with India and Iran on the other. The racial affinities of both the Hittites and the Mitannis, who were allies of the Hyksos, flourishing between 1900 to 1200 B.C,—are not yet clarified; but they used definitely Aryan dialects and idioms. The Royal dynasty of the Hittites in Western Asia and that of the Mitannis in Mesopotamia were of Indo-Iranian extraction; and they introduced the two-wheeled horse-drawn war-chariots into Western Asia and Egypt, where it became common from 1600 B.C. A Mitanni expert, called Kikkuli, left a treatise

* *Vide* A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language. By Sturtevant and Hahn: Yale University Press, 1951. In this valuable book we get a long list of *Sanskrit* words found in the Hittite and the Mitanni tablets, texts, seals and inscriptions.

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on horse-training which was discovered in the archives of the Anatolian Hittite capital, Boghaz Koi and it contained many Sanskritic technical terms. King Tusharatha of Mitanni wrote letters to King Amanophis III of Egypt, who married Gilukhipa, daughter of the Mitannian King Sutarma (1410 B.C.).

The Hittite (Nashili) language is now admitted to be Aryan in grammatical structure. Between 1450 and 1350 B.C. the new Hittite kingdom was gaining ascendency ; and once an important treaty was concluded in which both the Hittite King, Subiluliuma and the Mitannian Mattiuaza, about 1380 B.C., invoked the following Aryan Vedic gods as witnesses, by chanting solemnly the following formula or *mantra* : "Mi-it-tra-as-si-il ilani U-ru-w-na-as-si-il-ilu In-da-ra-ilani Na-sa-at-ti-ia-an-na." These are undoubtedly the Vedic gods : Mitra, Varuna, Indra and Nasatya (Asvins). Indra is the god *par excellence* in the Rigveda and his favourite animal is the horse, which animal was introduced into western Asia and Egypt about 2000 B.C., from Greater Iran, where it had been first domesticated.

ARYAN HORSEMAN

The horse replaced the slower animal ass in the chariot and the fame of the Aryan horseman and the charioteer excited the admiration of the proud Egyptian pharaohs. So even from the remote Aegian world sons of the nobles used to come to the Middle East for training in horse-riding and chariot warfare which became the main items in the earliest epics of Asiatic Greece—Illiad and Odyssey of Homeric fame (1200-1000 B.C.). But how the horse-chariot, horse racing etc. were perfected, long before, in Vedic India has been amply demonstrated by Prof. Piggot in his chapter on the 'Aryans and the Rig Veda' (*vide Prehistoric India* pp. 274-282). From Vedic India famous for horse-racing, we turn to Anatolia—where, among the Boghaz Koi documents, we find again not only common names of divinities but also a Mitannian hand-book (in fragments) on chariot-racing. It refers to the class of nobles or military chiefs named *mariannu*, which has been equated with the Sanskrit *marya* or young hero (c.f. *Wiros* of Prof. Giles). These nobles, like our princes of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata used to master

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with care the horse-science (asva-sutra) and chariot technique (ratha-sutra).

In this 14th century B.C. Mitanni manual we find also that one, three, five or seven laps of the horse-chariot race are written as aika-vartanna, tera-vartanna, panza-vartanna and shatta-vartanna (*vartana* or turning). In the Aryan, Vedic and Epic texts as well as in the Homeric Epics, we find elaborate descriptions of such equestrian sports. About 1500 B.C. chariots were exported to Egypt by the Mitannis and it is recorded (c. 1400 B.C.) that young Achaean (Homeric Aryan) princes were occasionally sent to the Hittite capital to be trained in chariotry. From Anatolia, under the Aryan speaking Mitanno-Hittites, the art of chariot-driving and war naturally came to the historic Illium or Troy, invested by the Achaeans of Greece, who destroyed the Cretan capital of Knossus (1500 B.C.) and also Troy in 1200 B.C, and ushered in the Heroic Age of Europe (1000-500 B.C.). Almost in the same epoch, we find the later Vedic texts—the Atharva Veda and the Brahmana texts elaborating the Horse Sacrifice (*asva-medha*) which was practised by many Aryan races—like the Celtic and the Irish nations down to the 12th century A.D. The Sanskrit word for horse *asva* has been equated by philologists with Iranian *aspa*, Greek *Ippos*, Latin *equus*, Tokharian *yakwa* and Lithuanian *aszwa*.

THE ARYAN IN TIME AND SPACE

Comparative philologists have struggled, for over a century, to furnish materials for definitely establishing the homeland of the Aryans. But they have failed so far to convince us. Yet some such significant equations, as in the case of the horse, and in the terms of family relationship, etc., seem to strengthen, as additional evidences, the positive finding of archæology and historical geography. With the help of these, I came to the conviction (and I hope others will be convinced too) that :—

(1) The Pre-Aryan river-valley city-builders, from the Indus to the Tigris and the Euphrates, towards the decline of their culture and political weakening, indirectly invited to their fertile lands, the more virile and

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hungry Aryans and Semitic races from the North and the West.

(2) The Pre-Aryans and the Aryans lived side by side for several centuries from the late third to the mid-second millennium B.C. (2500-1500 B.C.) ; so there was no extermination but general assimilation of the Pre-Aryan and the Aryan Vedic cultures.

(3) The Hyksos, the Kassites and the Mitanno-Hittite races and their movements definitely point to an Aryan drive eastward towards the Persian frontiers and westward towards the Anatolian, to Egyptian and the Trojan empires (1800-1200 B.C.).

(4) A new proto-Aryan culture, cruder and different, began growing in North Iranian sites like Hissar III and Sialk ; Anau III in Turkistan ; Nad-i-Ali in Sistan and the Jhukar and Jhangar phases of the late Indus-cultures (1500-1000 B.C.).

(5) The fighting capacity of the Aryans proved superior to that of the Pre-Aryan city-dwellers ; and thus the Vedic *Indra* and his West Asian counterparts proudly declared themselves as "destroyers of cities" (*puranbhetta*).

(6) With the collapse of the chalcolithic city-civilisations, there were temporary retrogression followed by a revival of culture in the Iron Age, coming after the Bronze-Copper Age (1500-1000 B.C.).

If we accept these broad lines of approach, we may rediscover new meaning in the valuable and bulky *literary* documents and scriptures of India and Iran which may take legitimate pride in having preserved those precious records for archæologically-minded researchers in the Aryan field. The *Vedic Index* compiled by Macdonnel and Keith—published years ago—admirable work as it is—must be supplemented by up-to-date scientific data on ethnology, archæology and cultural anthropology. I came to this firm conviction after visiting the galleries and field-museums of the Middle East and tramping through the vast amphitheatre of ancient cultures extending from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean world.

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Our late lamented colleague Dr. B. K. Ghosh, the brilliant philologist, trained in German and French disciplines, expressed to me, before his paremature death, his conviction that the Hurrian-Hittite languages might soon be accepted as Aryan. Both radiated from their middle position towards the East and the West, just as we have sketched the historic routes of the Aryan path-makers" (*pathikrit*)who worshipped Agni (Lat. Ignis) as their infalliable guide. In 14th century B.C. the Eastern neighbours of the Hittites, *i.e.*, the Mitanni royal family, were in matrimonial relations with the Egyptian pharaoh Amenhotep III who was half an Iranian, being the son of a Mitanni mother. And his son, Amenhotep IV proclained a new religion (1374 B.C.) which is almost Vedic or Indo-Iranian. Discarding the superstitious polytheism of his ancestors he preached pure monotheism under the symbol of the 'Celestial disk' and took a new title Akhenaton or "pleasing to the Sun god." I quote below a few lines from his magnificent hymn to the Sun :—

"*The ships sail upstream and downstream.*
Every road is open because Thou hast dawned.
The fish in the river leap up before Thee,
And Thy rays are in the minds of the great sea.
Thou art He who createst the man child in woman
Who makest seed in man."

This fragment of an Egyptian Veda together with the copious diplomatic tablets, found in Akhaneton's capital Tell-el-Amarna, remind us of the fact that in the 14th century B.C. Indo-Iranian cults and ideas were prevalent all over Western Asia probably reaching as far as the Nile Valley, which was clearly remembered by Emperor Asoka in his famous Edicts.

I wish to finish this discussion on the Aryan Trail with the impression of my visit to the great capital of the Hittites, where, among the numerous cuneiform tablets of Boghaz Koi, the names of the four Vedic gods were clearly read. After finishing my lectures in the University of Ankara I was priviledged to visit Boghaz Koi, with the generous support of the Turkish Government and the friendly escort and other facilities

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from our Indian Ambassador H.E. Sri Chandra Shekar Jha. From Ankara we came to the Yazgat village where we changed the heavy car and took to a military jeep. It was winter and Anatolian hills overlooking the valley were all covered with snow but the Sun was shining bright.

Thanks to the expert knowledge of my guides, I could reach safely the great city of Boghaz Koi, measuring 2200 by 1100 meters: the circuit of the wall encircling the capital was 550 meters with towers at intervals, and the wall built of polygonal masonry. There are sub-terranian corridors which strongly resemble the citadel architecture of Tiryns and Mycenae which I visited years ago. But the Hittite architecture—as I saw here, was several centuries earlier than that of Mycenae of King Agamamnon who started the Trojan war (1200 B.C,). Some of the huge towers enclosed colossal statues of lions and here was actually a Lion Gate which is found also near the ancient village of Oyuk. In Buyukale Acropolis the German explorer, Hugo Winkler discovered the famous cuneiform tablets; and one, among others, featured our Vedic gods Mitra, Varuna, Indra and Nasatya. On the way I visited an open air shrine in a rock shelter, with the usual procession of warriors sculptured on the basement; but when I walked through the corridor I was thrilled to distinguish sculptured semi-divine figures, male as well as female.

Many such sculptures, in the round as well as in relief, have been removed to different museums; but I was glad to see a representative collection of them displayed in the Hittite Museum of Ankara. The curator helped me in identifying another Vedic god of storm, Marut or Rudra with his graceful consort, a dignified female figure. How could we get here, in Anatolia, such samples of male and female deities of quasi-Vedic extraction? How could these divinities, justifying tha canon of Indian iconography be invariably accompanied by their *Vahana* or carrier animals? But I remembered that I was surveying the Hittite monuments of 2nd millennium B. C. when there was no vestige of plastic art in India. The stone image of a priest in Vasilikaya in offering libations in the Vedic style, the relief of a king or a god from Carchemish with semi-Iranian

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long robes and the winged bird (possibly Iranian Ahura Mazda) on his head—constantly reminded me of the hovering presence of our Indo-Iranian ancestors on these colossal ruins of the Hittite empire. When I crossed the vestibule and the anti-chambers coming finally to the central hall of the great Temple (others call it a palace) of Boghaz Koi, I was profoundly impressed by the achievements of the vanished empire whose quasi-Aryan builders linked up India and Iran on the one side and Egypt and Mycenæ on the other.

I felt keenly the need of cooperative research to bring out with greater precision the authentic lines of migration of the ever eluding Aryans. It is a pity that the over-zealous speculations of the philologists on the term *Aryan* has almost made it a linguistic abstraction. Over forty years ago, in 1907, Winckler discovered the name of the Vedic gods in the Boghaz Koi and Prof. Dr. Hrozny and others have worked hard in deciphering the inscriptions and reconstructing the history of the Mitanno-Hittite peoples and their languages. I found hundreds of such precious documents preserved but lying idle in the museums of the Turkish Republic and elsewhere in the Near East.

AFGHANISTAN

While travelling by road from the port of the Persian Gulf to the south Caspian, I noticed on the map, along the North-South line, as it were, names of many ancient nations grouped in the provinces of the Empire of Darius (522-485 B.C.) : (1) Saka (Sakai), (2) Parthava (Parthoi), (3) Bakhtri (Baktria), (4) Hatubatish (Arachosia) and (5) Gandhara right in our Indus Valley. Alexander and Nearchos passed through this area and Alexander's successor the Selucides ruled it till 246 B.C. when we find a new Greek dynasty in Bactria who conquered (C. 200 B.C.) a part of North-Western India. Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Parthian rulers were submerged by the Sakas (C. 100 B.C.) and the Central Asian *Yue-chi* or the Kushans who ruled the countries till the rise of the Sassanians (226 A.D.).

The Indo-Afghans thus bore in their life and arts the impress of Persia, Greece, and of the Scythians, and the Kushans

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mostly influenced by the Graeco-Buddhist art. Colossal statues of Buddha and huge cave temples with sculptures in stone and stucco together with splendid fresco paintings have been recently found by the French Archælogical Missions led by Mon. J. Hackin. They discovered a splendid Surya (sun) image at Kair Kanekh near Kabul and a wonderful variety of art objects and frescoes in Bamiyan, Hadda, Begram and Foundikistan right on the Iranian borders. Possibly along this Indo-Afghan country the Persians operated on Indian cultural life and the Indo-Scythians carried their fovourite Mahayana Buddhism via Parthia an Khotan—Yarkhand to Kucha, Turfan and other Buddhist sites of Central Asia till 650 when Iran and Iraq were conquered by the Muslim Arabs.

By 1060 A.D. Ghazni under Sultan Mahmud became the capital of the Turco-Afghan empire, and by 1200 A.D. the whole of India was overwhelmed by Muslim forces deployed through the strategic passes of Afghanistan. By 1400 Tamarlane built his huge empire with the seat of his government in north Afghanistan, and in 1504 Babur of the line of Taimur, made Kabul his capital whence he conqured India in 1526 and founded the Mughal Empire (1526-1707). Within thirty years from the death of Emperor Aurangzeb, the whole of Kandahar and Kabul came to be conquered by Nadir Shah (1736-47) who, for a short while, became the master of the vast country from Delhi to Khiva.

The British came to be the master of the decaying Mughal Empire and in 1838 the first Anglo-Afghan war broke out. The Afghans were conquered and the British, in order to secure the Afghan gate to India against Russia, determined the Afghan frontries under the Durand Agreement offering British subsidy to King Abdur Rahaman (1893). At the end of the first World War (1919) England recognized Afghanistan as an independent power. But Afghan relations with Russia, as a result of the Russo-Afghan Treaty of 1926—became intriguing and king Amanullah fell a victim to that situation. Returning from his first European tour the king tried to reform overnight his bigotted people along the lines of Turkey under the masterful Ataturk. But revolt broke out against premature westernization

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and the king and the queen went out in permanent exile. I met some members of their family working in Istanbul—one highly cultured Afghan chief as professor in the Istanbul University.

In 1933. Mohammad Zahir Shah became king and he entered into the Saadabad Pact with Turkey, Iran and Iraq. He also saw the Constitution amended in 1937-38. Their great National Assembly consists of the king, the House of the Representatives and the Senate. Afghanistan was a member of the old League of Nations, and she has become a member of the United Nations. The total area is about 250,000 sq. miles with the population of 12 million souls (excluding the 5 million Pashtuns, their kindreds who aspire to establish Paktunistan, defying Pakistan). In the major ethnic-cum-linguistic groups we find 54 p.c. Pushtunis and 36 p.c. Tajiks. So the Afghan Academy is officially called Pushtu-Tolena (1941); but Persian is allowed in schools of the area, west of the river Helmund while Turki is spoken by some Northern tribes. Iran or Persia lies along its west and U. S. S. R. to the north, Pakistan lines up along the whole East and South. Thus its strategic importance is very great. Some of its passes range from 8000 feet. The northern feature is the Hindu Kush range (an offshoot of the Pamirs) ranging from 20 to 25 thousand feet, with immense glaciers and unknown mineral resources. Small scale mining work is conducted to extract salt, coal, copper lead, iron, silver and gold. Best quality turquoises and lapiz lazuli are found at Badakhshan. Petroleum has been found in North Afghanistan. In case petrol comes to be an exportable commodity, the future of Afghanistan like that of Iran will change totally. Now the Government was planning to make the country self-sufficient in sugar, cement, leather, textiles etc, which were imported with tea, coffee, oil, spices and such necessities.

Before World War II the Afghans traded mainly with India and Russia. In 1948 a trade agreement was made with Russia by which Afghanistan agreed to supply wool in exchange for petrol, sugar, kerosene oil and cotton piece goods. India and Pakistan buy raw cotton, wool, fruits and Karakub skins; and three quarters of the trade goes through Pakistan. But while friendly feelings prevail with regard to India, the Afghans are

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embittered by the suppression and oppression of their kinsmen the Pakhtoons of the Frontier Province, now under Pakistan. That endangers the security of the whole area specially vis-a-vis Soviet Russia with her Tajikistan and Kazakastan right to the north of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Kashmir.

Good relations and active co-operation must be made to grow in these regions otherwise the entire defence system of South Asia would be ruined. The situation is actually threatening in Egypt for the Suez Canal, in Iran for the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. on the Persian Gulf and in the Arab-Israel battle-zones on the East Mediterranean. These are the weakest links in the chain of West Asian security.

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CHAPTER TWO

INDIA AND IRAQ

Iraq or Mesopotamia, may rightly be called "The land between the rivers": the Tigris (1,150 miles long) and the Euphrates (1,460 miles long). The two streams meet at Keban-Maaden and cross Turko-Syrian frontier at Jarablus. They finally unite to form a new river-junction, Shatt-al-Arab which ultimately enters the Persian Gulf. Our B. I. S. N. boat 'Dwarka' left the Persian port, Abadan and finally reached its terminus Basrah on the Shatt-al-Arab river which is navigable by large steamers; and its many branches help in growing the beautiful palm gardens on its banks from which the world-famous dates bring golden harvests to Iraq.

Iraq can be justly proud of an excellent road system; the route from Basrah to Baghdad is only 370 miles and displays some of the most ancient cradles of human civilisation at Uruk, Al-Ubaid and Ur of the Chaldeans (who claim the Hebrew Abraham as their country-man). In modest calculation, the antiquities, discovered in these historic sites of South Iraq or Sumeria, will be a thousand years older than those of the Indus Valley Civilisation. According to the recently accepted chronology, the remains of Al-Ubaid are dated 4500-3800 B.C., the Uruk Cultures 3800-3500 B.C. and the Cultures of Ur and Jamdet Nasr 3500-2500 B.C. Our Indus Valley finds at Harappa, Mohenjo Daro, Amri, Nal, Kulli etc. were co-eval with the third phase of the older Iraq civilisation.

The National Museum of Iraq was founded in Baghdad in 1923 and there we had the pleasure of meeting our old friend Dr. Naji-al-Asil, the Director-General of Antiquities, who kindly arranged to show us round the most valuable collections indispensable to every student of Chalcolithic Culture and of the Indus Civilisation. We were introduced to Dr. Taha Baquir, the learned curator of the Museum, who not only explained the system of classification of exhibits from the early times to the Sassanian and Islamic periods, but also personally guided

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us through the pre-historic and proto-historic collections. He kindly took us to the grand ruins of Babylon of King Hammurabi, who reigned in 1950 B.C., as I recounted to my audience of the Baghdad College, where I lectured punctually in 1950 A.D ! I remembered also the great Macedonean Alexander, who died in Babylon in 323 B.C., after his exhausting march of retreat from India *via* Gedrosia, Persepolis, Susa and Ecbatana (Hamadan) to Babylon where he expired.

When we left Teheran, we took to the historic route traversed in mid 16th. century by Emperor Humayun in exile *via* Kasvin-Tabriz to Hamadan, the place where the doctor-philosopher Avicenna had died. Then we reached Kermanshah or Behistun where we spent a night, meditating on the glory and grandeur of the Achaeminean Emperors Darius and Xerxes, whose rock inscriptions in Behistun are famous in history. From that place we came to the border districts of Iran and Iraq where, with poetic justice, the scene had been laid for the dramatic lyric *Laila-Majnu* on the ideal lovers. On leaving the border Custom House we were greeted with the most gorgeous sunset on the desert horizon of Iraq, fascinating us with its haunting display of colours, reminding us of the fact that we were coming out of the land of Persian poetry to that of the *Arabian Nights* with its 1001 variations.

The Vedic-Sanskrit sonority of the Persian language now yielded place to the guttaral tones of the Arabic—a language which now extends from Iraq *via* Syria, Arabia, Jordan and Lebanon to Egypt and North Africa.

The Islamic world is mainly divided into the Persian speaking and the Arabic-speaking countries. In Persia we find the majority of the Muslims of the Shia sect, including the branch known as the Ithna Ashariyyah, who recognised 12 Imams or spiritual successors of the Prophet Mohammad. The tombs of some of the Imams are, no doubt, in Iran, and we had the privilege of visiting some of them, including the grand gold-covered Mausoleum at Qum on our way to Teheran. But the most important place of pilgrimage for Shia Muslims is Karbela, a few miles from Baghdad, the capital of the Sunni State of Iraq. The Iraqi Government makes excellent arrangements for thousands of pilgrims who enter

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Iraq ; and we have seen with our own eyes that the religious passion of the Shia pilgrims to Karbela is as great as that of the Sunni pilgrims to Mecca. The pilgrims—young and old, men, women and children—were ever rushing day and night towards the sacred shrines of Karbela, dedicated to Imam Ali, Hussain Ibn Ali and Abbas Ibn Ali. We were in Iraq towards the end of the holy month of pilgrimage and, therefore, could appreciate the burning zeal of the common people who communicated with each other through Persian or Arabic. Now both these languages are taught in our Indian Colleges and Universities as classical languages like Sanskrit and Pali. But unfortunately, very little provision has so far been made in India, with almost 40 millions of Muslims, to keep them in touch with the modern and living Persian and Arabic literatures. And, therefore, our Indian Muslim scholars visiting Muslim Asia, (as it was reported to me) make themselves understood with difficulty, using as they do the 'bookish' and not the modern conversational Persian and Arabic for which we should invite authors and teachers from the Shia and the Sunni academies of the Middle East. If they are so invited to our Indian Universities, they would gladly collaborate with our own scholars, Hindu as well as Muslim and help us thereby to rediscover and retranslate, from Arabic and Persian, many now-forgotten Indian books of science and philosophy which were translated a thousand years ago in the age of Al-Beruni (1000 A.D.), or even earlier during the age of the early Califs (7th-9th centuries A.D,)

The Baghdad-Teheran road is about 1000 kil. or 620 miles only ; but the change appeared to us striking not only in linguistic tonality but also in landscapes and climates, physical as well as psychological. From Baghdad I penetrated into the heart of the Assyrian Empire, walking over Erbil, one of the oldest cities of the world, the ruins of Nineveh and much earlier archæological sites of Hassuna, Tepe Gawra and Arppa-chiyah (6000-3000 B.C.), where, most probably, will be discovered some definite links between the Chalcolithic and the Neolithic (New Stone Age) Cultures.

Thanks to the expert guidance of my friend, Dr. Taha Baquir, I could also visit the sites where some very ancient

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clay-tablets (3rd mill. B.C.) had been discovered with cuneiform texts, dealing with mathematical tables, scientific lexicons and notations of music, revolutionising our knowledge of science, arts and mathematics in the ancient world.

Our Indian Archæological Survey as well as our leading Universities of India should establish cultural exchange with our neighbouring State of Iraq which generously treated us as State-guests and afforded all facilities for which we are grateful. The learned Minister of Education, a young and progressive soul and a leading journalist of Iraq assured us of his full co-operation, if and when we could send from India scholars and artists to co-operate with their Iraqi friends. We must express our profound gratitude also to H. R. H. the Amir Abdul Illah (maternal uncle of the young King, Faisal II) the Regent and Heir-apparent. He personally visited our Exhibition of Indian Paintings and graciously received us at his Palace where we had the honour of presenting to him an ivory stick, a casket with Indian designs and a sample of the folk-art of Orissa, unfolding the Temple of Jagannath on a painted scroll.

Modern Iraq developed under the paternal care of Emir Faisal who was proclaimed King in August, 1921. He graciously received Gurudev Tagore in Baghdad in 1932; and when I visited the Faisal Memorial, I was thrilled to discover that the authorities had preserved in the hall a big-size photograph, showing King Faisal, Rabindranath, Sm. Pratima Devi and Kedarnath Chatterjee (Editor, 'Modern Review')—among some members of the royal household. The monarchical system of Iraq was instituted, according to Arab tradition and by British support, for the Hashemite family connected also with the royal house of Jordon. The Draft constitution was ratified by the Constituent Assembly in March, 1924, and it has been amended, since then, on many occasions. The Parliament is composed of two Houses—The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, and the members of the representative body are elected, according to the Law of 1946, by secret ballot. In the judicial system of Iraq we notice that, as late as 1930, according to the Anglo-Iraq Treaty, it was stipulated that nine English judges

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were to be employed by the State in order to ensure the just administration of law in the country. Of the three types of courts in Iraq we find (1) civil courts, (2) special courts, (Dewan Khas) dealing with interpretation of Statues and Regulations and (3) religious courts or 'Sharia' courts, both Sunnite or Shite, which deal with the personal status of the Muslims and the administration of the pious foundations (Wakfs). They also deal with cases relating to the minority communities like Christans, Jews etc., as well as to marriage, dowries and divorce.

We felt great admiration for the civil and economic administration of Iraq which, although placed in a desert region, was trying its best to utilise its limited natural resources. As in Iran, so here petroleum and its exploiting companies supply to the State the largest revenue. In 1939 Iraq ranked 8th among the oil-producing countries of the world. But its production was hampered, since 1948, by the closing of the pipe-line from Kirkuk near Mosul to Haifa, the port of Israel on the Mediterranean owing to Arab-Israel conflicts.

Three out of the four petroleum companies pay the Iraq Government a sum of £60.000 gold on the first four million tons and £20,000 gold on each subsequent one million ton.

Iraq's total population, according to the Census of 1947, was 4,816,155; and while 3/5 of the population pursued settled life in cities, villages and agricultural communities, 2/5 were Beduins, Tribesmen and Nomads, who, like the tribal folks in the Indian North-West Frontier Province, ever presented to the Government difficult problem of security and food.

The total area of Iraq is 175,000 square miles (444, 442 sq. KM) or about 1/4 the size of Iran ; only some parts of Iraq are considered to be cultivable. The arable land is divided into two areas : (1) the 'rainfall zone' in the north and (2) the 'Irrigation zone' in the centre and south. New irrigation plans, when completed with the extension of the Habbaniya Reservoir and the construction of the Dams between the Tigris and the Euphrates, will help to reclaim some more lands for crop productions. The principal crops are dates fruits, cotton, tobacco, wheat rice and barley. Tobacco is

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cultivated in the mountainous Kurdish districts ; the main cotton-growing zones are around Baghdad and the canal areas. Nearly 4/5 of the world-production of dates come from Iraq, and its most productive area is the Basrah province. The Government has organised the Date Board for the marketing of dates abroad. In our dinner-table in Baghdad we were agreeably surprised to have a bunch of dates fresh from the tree, served in a tastefully decorated basket.

Baghdad, the capital city, deserves special congratulations for having developed artificially irrigated lawns and gardens, which decorate the approaches to the city, and in the night glisten like a magic carpet, soothing our sand-scorched eyes. From the terrace of our hotel, we watched the river Tigris, with country boats and the pontoon bridge (as in old Howrah) which made us feel homesick. The name of the great Assyrian fighting Queen, the Heroine Semeramis was proudly inscribed on the door-plate of a hotel where we stayed ; and I gathered many stories and legends about Semeramis during my journey from Baghdad to Mosul (270 miles) in Assyria. My friend Harit Krishna Dev has tried, in a paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to identify some Assyrio-Babylonean kings with some personages of the later Vedic period ; and in the Buddhist '*Baveru Jataka*' (as shown by Prof. Sylvain Levi) the name of Babylon was recorded. So it is not impossible that the Assyrian Queen Semeramis or some of her successors would gather sufficient information about India (between 1090-500 B.C.) and that they would have tried to enter or conquer a part of North-West India, as Darius did about 510 B.C.

A large part of present day Iraq formed an integral part of ancient Iran and both the countries were linked up with India from hoary antiquity, by overland trade-routes and caravan-paths, obliterated by the ravages of time ; those paths we should try to rediscover as Sir Aurel Stein did during the closing years of his life. Indian Seals of 3rd Mill. B.C., have been discovered at Kish and other Chalcolithic sites of Iraq. We must remember also that, apart from the land-routes, there were the sea-routes and the coastal belts from the mouth of the Indus, all along the shores of the Persian Gulf right up to Basra at the

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confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates. And very appropriately, therefore, we are discovering strange parallelisms between the artistic and archaeological finds of the Indus Valley with those of the Chalcolithic sites of the Southern Sumerian (Basra) province and of Akkad to the North.

So, I found my trip from Bombay to Basra, right through the Persian Gulf, as interesting from scenic point of view, as it was illuminating for historical revelations. I could not help emphasising this age-old relationship between India and Iraq when I was invited to address the public in the Teachers Training College, Baghdad and also at the Institute of Fine Arts, where we held our Second Exhibition of Indian Paintings. The Institution was founded in 1936 and it offers a model to many countries in the Middle East and even to India. It is a compact wellplanned Academy where boys and girls get practical and theoretical lessons on painting and sculpture, dramatic arts and music—vocal as well as instrumental. The Dean of the Institution, a profound scholar of Arabic and Turkish literatures, discussed many questions with me relating to the migration of cultures in Asia, as he felt deeply interested in my book *India and the Pacific World.* He was of the opinion that Indian scholars could rediscover many revealing facts if they could come to Iraq and study thoroughly the valuable geographical works written by Arabic and other Muslim authors. Baghdad, in the days of the early Califs—whose palaces have been converted into modern Museums—invited many Indian scholars to help translating Indian treatises on Medicine and other sciences into Arabic. So Arab scholars now should come to India and work with their Indian colleagues. When we took leave of our Iraqi friends we were convinced that we had re-discovered our age-old friendly relations and that we should try gradually to build up an Indo-Iraq Institute of Culture under the patronage and support of the Government of Bharat and the Government of Iraq. The Indian Council for Cultural Relations, created by our learned Minister of Education, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad may function here very effectively by arranging exchange of cultural objects, especially the duplicates of our rich archæological and artistic collections. I am sure, the learned Iraqi Minister of

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Education will gladly reciprocate with us (as he suggested to me) and send to our Central Museum some of their rare pottery specimens, tablets, seals, etc. of the Chalcolithic age which will throw a new light on our Indus culture sequences. The Director-Generals of India and Iraq should be requested to examine their respective archæological collections and prepare a list of such friendly gifts of exchange for our mutual benefit. Iraq is the nearest and the best training ground for our Indian archæologists and Indian field-workers who will get their initiation, in proto-historic and pre-historic surveys and explorations, not forgetting the work of mastering the cuneiform script (on metal, bricks and stones) which was a sort of international stenography in the 3rd—2nd millennium B.C. used all over the Middle East from Iran-Iraq to Palestine and Egypt.

Lastly, Arabic being the most wide-spread and useful language of communication over North Africa and that vast area in the Middle East, inhabited by 80 million Arabs, our Indian scholars should spend a part of their holidays or study-leave in Iraq to specialize in 'spoken' and living Arabic in which big-circulation journals and important books are published. Representative Arab authors and publicists also, from Iraq and other Muslim countries of West Asia, may be invited by our Government and by the Indian learned societies.

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CHAPTER THREE

IRAQ AND INDUS CIVILISATION

While completing the first scientific survey of the Early History of India, Vincent Smith complacently opined, in the first decade of the twentith century, that the only sure dates in Indian history referred to the campaigns of Alexander (327-325 B.C.). But in 1912-13 H. R. Hall, the British Museum expert on Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities wrote a book—*The Ancient History of the Near East*—recording an opinion which I quote below :

"It is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an *Indian* race which passed, certainly by land. perhaps also by sea through Persia to the Valley of the Two Rivers. It was in the Indian home (perhaps the Indus Valley) that we suppose for them, that their culture developed. There, their writing may have been invented and progressed from a purely pictorial to a simplified and abbreviated form, which, afterwards in Babylonia, took on its peculiar cuneiform appearance owing to its being written with a square-ended *stilus* on soft clay. On the way they left the seeds of their culture in Elam."

Hall, in his notes, also referred to the legend of Oannes, the man-fish (*mastya-avatar*) who swam accross the Persian Gulf to the earliest Sumerian cities (Eridu, etc.), bringing with him the arts of civilisation. Hall further observes that the *Dravidian element* is present today as the Brahuis in Baluchistan and their kins in Southern Persia ; and that the "non-Aryan Anariakoi peoples of ancient Persia were of the same (Dravidian) race forming a connecting link between Babylonia and India."

INDUS CIVILISATION

Ten years after the publication of Hall's hypothesis, an Indian archæologist, Prof. R. D. Banerjee, unearthed (1922) at Mahenjo-Daro in Sind, the first concrete layers of our Indus Valley Civilisation which now has raised the antiquity of our culture from 300 B.C. to 3000 B.C. As a humble disciple of Prof. R. D. Banerjee. I was called to visit Iran and Mesopotamia *via*

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the pre-historic route of the Persian Gulf ; and I returned more convinced than ever that, with scientific exploration and co-ordination of archæological finds in the Middle East, we shall soon be in a position to rewrite the history of Asian civilisation.

The legend of the Great Deluge is shared by Babylonia and India down to the later Vedic age. After the Flood 'kingship came down from above', as we read—also in later Vedic literature. In the two early dynasties of Kish and Erech (with half a dozen earlier strata), as well as in the third dynasty of Ur, 'after the Flood', the archæologists have found objects which strongly remind us of those of the Indus Valley ; and which synchronized with the 'Golden age' of Sumerian civilisation, so ably presented and described (since 1928) by Sir L. Woolley,—as I found in his special exhibition in the British Museum in 1930 when Sir Arthur Evans was also holding his Aegian exhibition on the 50th anniversary of the British School of Athens.

Like the pre-Homeric Bronze age culture, we too discovered the pre-Vedic Indus civilisation of the Chalcolithic (Copper-Stone) age which must now be studied with reference to similar aneolithic cultures in Egypt, in the Caucasus and Caspian zones, nay beyond, in the Yang Shao area of China (3rd Mill. B. C.) H. Creel, in his *Birth of China*, started the work from the Far East ; Burton-Brown developed the theme in his "Studies in Third Millennium History (1946) ; McCown gave his "Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran (1942) ; Claude Schæffer wrote his "Comparative Stratigraphy and Chronology of Western Asia" (Oxford, 1948). Perkins published his "Comparative Archælogy of Early Mesopotamia" (1949).

Such books and monographs prove beyond doubt that the scholars are now conscious that isolated treatment of loca and regional finds may continue, but an attempt should be made to compare and correlate the data from diverse regions of the Middle East so that we may gain a rational sequence of the dawn, development and decay of civilisations, in this oldest continent of the world. Gordon Childe in his "New Light on the most Ancient East" (1934), and Stuart Piggott in his "Pre-historic India" (1950) have succeeded in placing India definitely on the map of the Ancient world. The significance of

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the general homogenity of the chalcolithic civilisation from the Indus valley to the Nile Valley—will be clear as observed by Prof. C. J. Gadd—that the Mesopotamian culture "corresponds roughly with the rise of the Dynastic civilisation in Egypt and possibly also with that of the recently discovered 'civilisation of North-Western India".

Mr. Piggott, in his "Pre-historic India" has not only given the best *resume* of the reports, articles, books, etc. on the Indus civilisation but has also attempted a correlation of Indian data with those already established in diverse aneolithic zones of the Middle East. But beyond that the copper stone age culture of 3rd. Mill B.C.—with temple-towers or Ziggurrats—archæologists have excavated into and identified the more primitive cultures of man—the hunter, fisher and food-gatherer—who gradually acquired the technique and habit of systematic agriculture and animal husbandry in the late Neolithic age (10000 B. C.—5000 B.C.)

My friends and field-workers in the domain of Mesopotamian archæology advised me, therefore, to go,—beyond the Sumerian (South) and Akkadian (Central) levels,—to North Iraq. There lots of people go to visit Mosul and Kirkuk for oil, little suspecting that the oldest city of the world, Erbil (Alexander's Arbela) is still there in the land of the *Assurs !* So from Mosul I visited Nineveh and Khorasabad (Sargon's city) which were excavated in 1840-43 by the French archæologist, Botta who removed the best sculptures and statuaries to Paris (Louvre Museum), little suspecting, however, that many relics of Stone age culture were lying underneath his Assyrian finds.

On the border of the contiguous Arab States of Iraq and Syria. about 150 miles to the west of Nineveh, crude potteries and other implements have been found in the primitive Stone age agricultural settlement at Tel Hassuna (dated C. 6000-5000 B.C.) in North Iraq, correlated with similar finds in Judeideh (in Syria) and the Cilcian site in Mersin (South Turkey). Then from the Tigris in the East, this culture extended to the west right up to Ras Shamra (near Beirut, Lebenon). In that area we have found the remains of the Tel Halaf-Samara culture (5000-3000 B.C.). Here the Euphrates crosses the Turkish frontier, (as I noticed while

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entering Anatolia by the Tauras Express) ; and the area have yielded painted pottery and bronze objects which link up the culture of Mesopotamia with that of the oldest city of Troy on the Aegian (3000 B.C.). The older black-painted types of pottery in North Iraq showing only one colour soon gave place to polychrome potteries, *e.g.*, in Jamdet Nasr and also in Arpachiyah, between old Nineveh and Tepe Gawra.

Prof. E. A. Speiser described these rare objects in the journal of the American Oriental Society, (December, 1939) and he boldly asked us to revise our theory that all human crafts originated in the Nile Valley. For, possibly centuries before the development of the Nilotic civilisation, many items of socio-economic progress, like the discovery of foodgrains, pottery designs, tools, wheel etc. had been discovered here ; so that Professor Speiser of the American School of Oriental Research, Baghdad, gave priority to Iraq in his book : "The Mesopotamian Origins" (1930).

From North Iraq this culture must have moved southward to Sumer and eastward along the Caspian to Iran. Thus both the Sumerian culture of South Iraq and the socalled 'Indo-Sumerian' objects of Elam and of the Indus Valley should now be studied with reference to this vast background of time and space, exemplified by these North Iraq antiquities so far ignored and unnoticed by average students.

In the rich collection of the Baghdad Museum, I found objects which thrilled me with joy, for some struck me as if coming direct from the Indus Valley with the clay figurines of the Mother Goddess ! Also there are amulates and seals (including an Indian seal found at Kish) beads. etc. of 3rd Mill. B.C. ; and some earlier things like stone and bone tools, and sickles of baked clay and serrated blades of flint and obsedian, which supplied the Neolithic context to our chalcolithic civilisation. Now, in the recent books on Indus civilisation we find a huge mass of materials arbitrarily placed between 1700 and 2500 B.C. ; our friends of the Iraq Museum have worked out a graduated scale of chronology which I give below : (*i*) 5000-4500 B.C. ; Tel Halaf, Tepe Gawra ; (*ii*) Al Ubaid epoch 4500-3800 B.C. ; (*iii*) Ufuk period 3800-3500 B.C. (*iv*) Jamdet Nasr period—3500-3200 B.C.—when some Indus Valley designs possibly migrated from

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India to Iraq as Prof. Frankfort conclusively demonstrated. From hand-made potteries we notice the transition to wheel-made ware : and thus Mesopotamia may be the place of discovery of the earliest *wheel*, potentially the greatest discovery of man after that of fire.

A regular religious ceremony was shown in relief on the charming stone vase from Warka (3500 B.C.), where I found the King, with his priests, carrying offerings to the Goddess Innin ; lion, goat and other animals in attitudes of adoration ; men and women in dance-gestures (*mudra*) : Mother Goddess with black wings of bitumen and tatoo marks on shoulders ; ram's head carrying model of a building or a temple, etc., showing that a school of architecture and pictorial representation must have already developed, showing local trees (Palm groves) and animals on the scene. The painted temple at Uquair contains its wonderful pre-histoiic frescoes.

From 3000 to 2000 B.C. we notice the early dynastic finds from the city of Ur where gold was used in abunpance ; the portrait status of their Kings or priests had their eyes worked in shell or lapis lazuli. Semi-nude females holding mirrors (in Ajanta Style) ; heads of females (queens or slaves ?) found crushed in the "death pits" of the cemetry, but furnished with cosmetic and loaded with gems and ornaments. We find very rare horses in green and bulls in white marble ; animal stories with cows, cattle, etc., and tree-worship on an altar ;—above all—that grand Sumerian harp with gold and jewelled inlay work, the admiration of the world. That reminds me of the fact that Dr. Taha Baquir, the learned curator of the Museum, showed me a few cunieform tablets (recently discovered) which are really books (in brick of course) on music with notations and on geometry with diagrams ! So the prior claims of Euclid and the Greeks are upset, for they came 2000 years after the Chaldeans of Ur.

These treasures of Pre-Semitic Iraq, mostly of Sumerain origin ever haunt me ; and I appeal to my countrymen to arrange regular historic excursions from Bombay to Basra ; from Basra, Ur of the Chaldeans, Al-Ubaid and other Sumerian sites could be easily surveyed. Thence one reaches Kish and finally Babylon (where Alexander died in 323 B.C.) and the remains of the Semitic

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epoch, brilliantly opened by King Hammurabi (1950 B.C.). His famous Code inscribed in stone, is now removed to the Louvre Museum of Paris just as the Sumerian chief Gudea's body was found by me in Baghdad but his head had already been sold out to the Pennsylvania Museum. Thus for over a century, the Middle East, like India and China have been despoiled of most valuable historic and artistic objects which by law are now conserved as "national treasures". A fair exchange may be arranged with foreign museums for our mutual advantage ; but all clandestine sales or removal should be stopped by all means.

The stone pillar containing 282 sections of Hammurabi's Code was removed from Babylon by the Elamite invaders to Susa, where the French came to excavate ; and that explains how the Stele found its way to the National Museum of Paris, which like the British Museum, London, got the lion's share of the antiquities from the Orient, including Egypt, Assyrio-Babylonian sculptures and texts (2000-500 B.C.) are found in most of the important museums of Europe and America and many books thereon have been published. But India, which is now proved to be connected with Mesopotamia in remote ages has not yet opened either its Museums or its Universities to the diverse branches of Mesopotamian art and archæology. Yet we know that with the aid of this new science we may bridge the absurd gulf gaping between our Indus civilisation (3000 B.C.) and the very late Perso-Greek epoch (500-300 B.C.).

From 2000 B.C. when King Hammurabi opened the Semitic period of Babylon to 331 B.C. when Alexander conquered Babylon, after the battle of Guagamela (near Erbil), Mesopotamia passed through violent changes of fortunes and dynasties well recorded in books. The Greco-Roman and the Partho-Sassanian phases are well documented in the museums of Iraq till we come to the Arab conquest in 641 A.D., the murder of Hussain at Karbela (660) and of Hazrat Ali in 661, giving rise to the schism between the Shias of the East and the Sunnis of the West ; as well as the conflict between the Omiyads of Damascus and the Abbasides of Baghdad, the latter surviving through six centuries (641-1258). The Abbaside Califs, like Mansur and Harun-al-Rashid, kept up the Sassanian ideal of tolerance and exchange of

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culture ; so that the Islamic Arab civilisation was enriched by Iranian and Indian, Chinese, Jewish, Greek and Christian religions and culture. Baghdad kept ever bright the lamp of learning in the early Middle Ages—"Dark age" in Europe but not in Asia. Chinese paper manufacture and Hindu Medicine, Sanskrit and Persian literature fertilized the Arab genius in story-telling—the 1001 Nights—enriched world literature. Astronomy, geography, chemistry, physics, mathematics, philosophy, law and constitution—all these departments of culture were well represented.

Thus we found in this Golden age, an Encyclopædist like Mas'udi, a Geographer like Yaquet, a savant like Al Beruni and a doctor-philosopher like Avicenna. The glory of Islamic art, architecture and culture was best represented in the grand Islamic Museum in the actual Abbaside Palace of Baghdad. Every room, that I traversed, fascinated me with its wealth of arts and crafts, showing how the common artisans of Asia were uncommon designers of beauty, growing under the fatherly care of their enlightened patrons. But this glorious regime was ruined by the invasion of Jenghiz Khan (1206-1227) ; then followed for over a century the violent Mongol rule when the Caliphate and Abbaside culture were obliged to take refuge in the Memeluke Empire of Egypt, where I found the Cairo Museum a worthy successor to Baghdad. The glory of Shia Iraq was eclipsed with the domination of the Sunni Turkish Empire (1534-1918) ; and out of the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and Caliphate a new Iraqi nation was developing.

I felt the spirit of the new age, speaking with its leaders and especially with the enlightened and progressive Prince Regent—H.R.H. the Amir Abdul Illah who very kindly received us and afforded all facilities of the State to visit the cultural centres of this land of history. Iraq has opened a new chapter of friendship with India by exchange of goods and foodstuffs.

While the problem of oil in the Middle East was still in a critical stage, Iraq succeeded in extorting favourable terms from the foreign oil companies—British, Dutch, French and American—all accepting jointly at 50/50 basis of profit sharing. This might bring surplus revenue and peace with honour. So we

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hope that in the entire Arab world, this tolerant attitude will initiate new schemes of historical and economic research. India should get ready to participate in them and build up an Indo-Iraq cultural Institute—as I suggested in my lectures in Baghdad, interpreted in Arabic by my learned friend Dr. A. A. Duri, Principal of the Training College. Our Indian Legation in Baghdad should be raised to an Embassy so as to foster cultural and economic exchange of India with the entire Arab world; and for that purpose there cannot be a better centre than Baghdad where I found a large Indian colony installed since the first world war. Our Ministry of Education should give scholarships and encourage promising Iraqi scholars to come to India and work with us.

So we should send our research scholars to Baghdad for specializing in Arabic language and literature and also for gaining the indispensable practical training in field-archæology for which Iraq —as I found—would be the cheapest and the best place for our students. They will get full support of the Government and thorough training under eminent Iraqi archæologists like Dr. Najilal-Asil, Director-General of Antiquities and Dr. Taha Baquir, Curator of the Iraq Museum (foundnd 1923) which has, by its collection and exposition, revealed new chapters in the history of Man and especially in the annals of Asia.

The Indian Department of Archæology with our National Museum, New Delhi, should keep in close touch with the Iraq Govt. Dept. of Antiquities, with the American School of Oriental Research and with the British School of Archæology in Iraq, Baghdad. We should forthwith arrange, on governmental level, the exchange of scholars and of antiquities to the mutual benefit of Iraq and India,

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State Museum,
LUCKNOW.

CHAPTER FOUR

TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

Average man has almost forgotten that the Turkish people are not mere pawns of modern politics but that the Turks once were masters of a large part of Europe, over and above their vast dominions in Asia.

After Finishing my survey of Iran with its State religion, Shia Islam, I felt tempted to study the secular Muslim State of the Turkish Republic, created by Kemal Ataturk the Great. I was very fortunate to be invited by the learned Turkish Ambassador at Teheran, H. E. Yakub Kadri Karaosmanoglu, the novelist who was a close friend of Ataturk and who wrote a book on the Father of New Turkey. Fortified with valuable informations and letters of introductions, I decided to part company with my two friends : Prince Yusuf Mirza and P. Sinha, who went direct from Badhdad to Beyrut.

I took a new route or rather the old Baghdad-Berlin route (planned by the Kaiser) and caught the Taurus Express from Mosul in the North Iraq. I was the only Indian in the train, but several Turkish ladies and gentlemen came forward to talk to me, finding that I could speak French, indispensable (as I found) to all travellers in the Middle East. The Taurus, they told me, meant the "Silver mountain" and valuable minerals formed the potential assets of Turkey ; in fact mining industry originated in Anatolia and much of ancient history lay buried there and would come out as prophesied by Ataturk. I returned from Turkey fully convinced that Ataturk the historian was right. Our corridor train crossed the Iraq-Syrian frontiers and entered Turkey proper. I traversed the whole of the southern base-line of Anatolia from Mosul to Urfa. Thence the line reaches Adana on the North Levant while another branch line goes *via* Malatiya and Sivas to Samsum on the Black Sea. There Kemal the Ataturk secretly landed (1920) from Greece to take lead as the liberator and Generalissimo of the Turkish people against the Greco-British invaders whom he literally flung back to the sea.

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AT ANKARA AND ISTANBUL

The other line skirted the Taurus Mountain and *via* Konya and Kutativa brought me to Ankara. There I was greeted with a message of invitation from our Indian Embassy, where I was taken by my old friend and colleague Sri S. K. Chowdhury. His Excellency Sri Chandra Sekhar Jha, I.C.S. and his telented wife opened their hospitable home to me and with rare insight and promptitude arranged for my valuable contacts with the Turish State officials and scholars. Thus, within a few weeks I could gather much information and could also visit many important places of this great country. The Turks have not only revolutionized the system of printing in the Orient by accepting romanization (1926) but also have reinterpreted their entire history. They show a rare catholicity of outlook and freedom from religious bias ; and thus, like the adepts of Shiaism in Iran, the progressive Turks have creeds different from those of the Sunni Arab world. Generations of Western scholars have worked with the Turkish savant and developed the science of Turkology. So Turkey since 1453, being the successor of the Byzantine Empire, has treasured many valuable things of the Eastern Roman Empire which were studied--I found--under the special branch of Byzantine research.

I gathared from the Ministry of Education that there were fifty to sixty big libraries in different parts of the State, the oldest being the Vahit Pasha Library of Kutaliya (f. 1811). The Library of the People's Party of Ataturk in Ankara owned 60,000 vols. and the University Library of Istanbul had 2 lacs of books. So there were museums for popular education in Antakya, Pergamus, Konya etc. Ankara was developing its museums and the oldest museums were naturally in the historic city of Istanbul, where I visited the Topkapi Serai museum in the Palace, built by Mohammad II. It contained 18,000 mss. paintings, embroideries, sculptures, metal objects, armours, etc. famous all over the world. Some rare illuminated mss. and Turkish tiles, rugs, etc. were in the Museums of Turkish and Islamic art. The museum of Oriental Antiquities was founded in 1917 and it contained Sumerian, Assyrian, Hittite, Phrygian, Parthian and a few Egyptian antiquities. Here I found a good library with plaster casts of coins, seals and medals. Special

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collections of Turkish and Islamic art, the Ethnographic, Greco-Roman and Byzantine antiquities were kept in the National Museum.

The Archæological Museum of Istanbul was started in 1847 by Field Marshal Fethi Ahmed Pasha and it expanded itself by adding the huge galleries of the Classical and the Oriental Antiquities. The growing Museum of Ankara (f. 1923) I found to be most valuable, containing prehistoric Anatolian exhibits together with the archæological finds from the diverse excavation-sites of Boghaz Koi, Alisar, Ahlatlibel, Alaca Huyuk, Karoglan, Bitik and other sites. It has a fine reference library and a special collection of the valuable Hittite "cuneiform tablets". These, when fully deciphered by the experts in Hittitology, would probably revolutionize our entire idea of western Asian history and specially of the migration of the Aryan races and languages in the 2nd mill. B.C. when the Hittites, the Mitannis and the Egyptian and Babylonian empires often clashed and collaborated.

In 1750 B.C. when the proto-Aryan Kassites conquered Babylon, the Hittite King Murshelish removed his capital to Boghaz Koi. A thousand years after, in 700 B.C. the Assyrian King, Sargon was the master of the Hittite city, Carchemish and other sites of Anatolia.

Anatolia has strategic passes like the Cilician Gate and those of the Taurus Range in the South. This country came to be the home-land of the Turks, who were divided into two main families : the Eastern Turks reaching as far as China and the Western Turks who went across the Ægian and Greece to Central Europe. So Turkish history should not be judged from its present territorial frontiers. Many Atlantic Powers used to dance attendance on the Sublime Porte ; and once again by a strange turn in the cycle of history, Turkey is being courted (1957) by Atlantic Powers to join their NATO and the Baghdad Pact. I suggested to the learned Foreign Minister Dr. Fuat Kuprulu in Ankara, as well as to the Rector of the Istanbul University that preparations should be started to celebrate the Fifth Centenary of the Fall of Constantinople, liberating the creative forces of the European Renaissance. Are we on the eve of a total collapse : 'the twilight of the gods' ? Or,

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we are unconsciously preparing for another grand Renaissance through our sweat and tears and blood? Thus I often ruminated, while moving out of ancient Anatolia to the centre of mediæval culture—Istanbul of the Byzantine and the Turkish Emperors.

If the Hiueng-nu were ancestors of the Huns, who were cousins of the Eastern Turks, then Turkish history would go back to 2nd century B.C. as attested by the Chinese Herodotus, Ssuma Chien. From Chinese Turkestan the Tabghaet branch of the Turks founded the royal Wei dynasty in China in 5th century A.D. and while travelling in China, I watched with admiration the architectural works of the Buddhist Turkish rulers in Yung-Kan and Lung-Men. The Eastern Turks had their capital in Orkhon where their oldest inscriptions (7th century) have been found. The Western Turks claimed Issiq-Kul as their centre from which they conquered the whole of Turkestan. The Uigur Turks conquered Mongolia, which they held from A.D. 744 to 800 and imbibed Mahayana Buddhism and also Iranian Nestorian Christianity. They gave us Manichean paintings of Central Asia and also the charming Buddhist frescoes of Turfan and Tuen-Huang.

In the 9-10th centuries, the Turks were largely converted to Islam and the Seljuk Turks occupied Asia Minor and, under Tughril Beg, took Baghdad in 1055. Between 1050 and 1250 A.D. the Turkish chiefs built up a grand empire from Anatolia to India; for we know that the Ghaznivides, the Ghoris and Khaljis were all Turks. The great Chinghis Khan (1167-1227) was a "Shamanist" with Buddhistic leanings; and his descendant Kublai Khan (1259-94) was a great admirer of Buddhist Art from India and Nepal. He left his rural retreat of Karakorum and founded his capital in Peking, which in Turco-Mongol language was called Khanvaliq or Cambalic, visited by Marco Polo and other travellers.

Leaving the eastern Turks, we find that their western cousins, the Seljuk Turks ruled Asia Minor from 981 to 1300 A.D. from their capital Konya (old Iconium). With their decline and fall we notice an eponymous hero Othman (d. 1326), master of the rich Byzantine Province of Bythinia. His son Orkhan (1326-60) expanded his dominion; and finally Sultan Murad I

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(1360-89) consolidated his empire of Turkish Anatolia by conquering Adrionople (1362) and established, for the first time, the Turkish power in Europe. Byazid the Thunderbolt (1389-1402) conquered Serbia, Bulgaria etc. and finally Sultan Mahomet II (1452-81) left his Asian capital Brusa and made a new one by conquering Istanbul, the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire (29th May, 1453). An youth of 22 only, he first built the Castle of Europe (Rumili Hissar) opposite the older Anadole Hissar at the narrow west-point of the Bosphorus which I surveyed with the other historic sites of Istanbul. King Constantine had only 10,000 men at his service while 100/150 thousand tough fighters from the Turkish Army, backed by the heavy artillery made by the Hungarian Urban, led to the collapse of the great city. Santa Sophia Church was converted into a great mosque which is now a museam of Byzantine antiquities. Greeks, Armenians and other religious communities were not only tolerated but encouraged to settle. Mahomet II built up a big fleet and attacked the Venetians, who concluded peace in 1479 and paid 10,000 ducats for Turkish permit to trade in the Black Sea. Mahomet was a man of culture and built up a splendid training centre and administrative system. Selim I defeated the Persians (1514) and the Egyptians (1517); and when he took Cairo the Sherif of Mecca surrendered. Suleman the Magnificent (1520-66) and his Vazir Ibrahim Pasha (1520-36) brought the Turkish Empire to its greatest glory.

But too much dependence on the Vazirs and the mercenary army of the Janissaries slowly sapped the foundation of the empire and decline set in from the reign of Murad III (1574-95). The Turks, through internal corruption, lost many engagements against the Christian Powers—specially Russia, growing formidably under Peter the Great and Queen Catherine, who mnde alliance with Emperor Joseph II and prepared the Greek Scheme (1781) to drive the Turks out of Europe and restore the Byzantine Greek Empire under her grandson Constantine. The tide turned a little better under Selim II (1789-1807) who brought peace and reform with the Treaty of Jassy with Russia (1792). By his Regulations of 1793, Selim III tried to reform the military and the revenue systems ; but the fanatical religious

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leaders and the rebellious Janissaries joined to dethrone him. Under Mahmud II (1808-1830) there were serious risings of the Serbs; and finally came the Greek War of Independence (1821-30) well advertised by the British and their poet Lord Byron. Greece became independent in 1830 but Mahomet Ali of Egypt started trouble and the Turkish fleet surrendered to him (July, 1839). Abdul Majid ruled nominally from 1839 to 1861. At the end of the Russo-Turkish War (1853-56), Turkey was admitted to the concert of Europe by the European Powers, who promised to respect the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire. Under Abdul Aziz (1861-76) there was rapid spread of western influence, liberalism and literary revival under the lead of the Radical dramatist Namik Kamal who translated Rousseau, Montesque etc. and who also wrote a history of the Ottoman Turks. Education and arts came to be encouraged with the reorganization on modern lines of the schools and museums of the University of Istanbul (1869).

In the region of Abdul Hamid (1876-1909), the first Liberal Constitution was promulgated under the lead of Midhat Pasha (1822-84), the great Turkish reformer, who dreamed of a "secular" Turkish State, including the Christians in the new Turkish nationality. But he was banished (1877). The French occupied Tunis (1881), the British took Egypt (1882), and owing to rebellions in Rumelia, Crete and Armenia, the Turkish empire was on the verge of collapse. To prevent that, the young Turks started the National Movement (1896-1908) under the lead of great patriots like Enver Bey, Kemal Pasha and his generation. The Sultan was deposed (April, 1909) and his brother Mahomet V (1909-18), the last of the Sultans, lived through the Balkan war, the Turko-Italian War and the First World War in which Turkey went against the Allies and, after three centuries of gradual decline, Turkey was practically liquidated. Mahomet VI was the nominal Sultan (1918-22) and he saw the collapse of the Turkish army, the domination of Istanbul by the Allies, and the landing of the Greeks at Smyrna (May, 1919).

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Turkish power reached the very nadir of its decline when suddenly nay, miraculously, there appeared the Saviour Mustapha Kemal Pasha (1880-1938). In the first world war Kemal, the soldier-patriot made his name as hero of the battle of the Dardanelles and of the compaign of Syria (May, 1919). He left Europe and organized resistance to the dismemberment of Turkey by calling in Anatolia the Nationalist Congress in Sivas. But Mahomet VI outlawed Kemal. He was, however, elected President of the Nationalist Government (20th April, 1920) at Ankara and concluded a military agreement with Soviet Russia.

The Greeks with the support of the Allies, especially England, tried to destroy the Nationalist power at Ankara and the Græco-Turkish war continued (1921-22). But General Inonu scored a great victory (1921). In November, 1922, Kemal proclaimed the abolition of the Caliph Sultanate; and in 1923 (July 24) the war was terminated by the Treaty of Lausanne concluding a separate Græco-Turkish Pact, with "compulsory exchange of population" to solve the tragic "Minority and Refugee" problems (as later on in partitioned India of 1947). The Allies left Istanbul which, with Eastern Thrace etc., remained with Turkey. The Turks would pay no reparation but agreed to demilitarize the Straits. Formal Proclamation of the Turkish Republic was made on October 29, 1923 and the Fundamental Laws of the Constitution were adopted on April 20, 1924. From that date till his death (10th Nov. 1938) Ataturk, as the Father of the Nation, built up the "Secular progressive State of the Turks" which inspired millions of men and women of Asia. Polygamy was abolished, divorce was allowed, and women were given in 1934 equal civic rights with men. The civil, criminal and commercial codes were reframed on modern lines; and the opposition of the bigotted Muslims were crushed with the suppression of the Religious Orders (Sep. 1925) and abolition of the Article of the Constitution declaring Islam as the State religion (April, 1928).

The 1925 Treaty with Soviet Russia was extended but communist propaganda was suppressed (June 1929). Conflict with Greece was terminated by the Treaty of Ankara (Oct, 1930) and Turkey attended the first Balkan Conference at Athens

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(1930). In July, 1932, Turkey joined the League of Nations and signed a non-aggression Pact for ten years with Greece (Sept. 1933). Ataturk continued to live for five years more and in Dec. 1934 he gave vote for women to sit in the Parliament and women M.Ps. were elected in 1935. The Straits were returned to Turkey (July 1936) and in July, 1937, a non-aggression Pact was signed between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. In October, 1937, Kemal's friend Ismet Inonu resigned as Prime Minister (acting since 1925) and he was succeeded by Jalal Bayar, an expert economist who began developing the vast industrial and agricultural plans of the Republic. In September, 1938, Turkey absorbed Hatay or Alexandretta and Ataturk expired (Nov. 10. 1938)—bringing General Ismet Inonu, who continued as the second President till the year of my visit (1950) when Jalal Bayar, leader of the new Democratic Party, defeated him and as the third President began a new regime with a new constructive programme. President Bayar (b. 1884) was a follower of Ataturk during the war of independence and was Deputy for Smyrna (1923). He was Minister of National Economy (1932), Prime Minister (1937-39) and led important missions to the U.K., France, Greece, Iran, etc. But he resigned in 1939 and formed the Democratic Party in opposition to the Republican Peoples' Party. The Democrats swept the Election of May, 1950 and thus the veteran leader Bayar came to be the third President of the Turkish Republic.

Ataturk was the life-long champion of the Anatolian peasants who helped him in liberating Turkey from foreign invaders ; and so he was ever mindful of the welfare of the rural folk. That is why I could bring out a vivid comparison between Ataturk and Mahatma Gandhi in my lectures at the Universities of Ankara and Istanbul. Following Ataturk's lead President Inonu passed the Land Reform Bill of 1946 under which (1) every Turkish peasant would receive sufficient land to maintain his family ; (2) the landless peasants would be transferred from the over-populated to the sparsely inhabited area and (3) the turbulent nomad tribes in the Eastern provinces would be rehabilitated and resettled to make good citizens of them.

The solvency of Turkey was proved when in 1946 she offered to the U. S. A. Government to liquidate her entire financial

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obligations ; and in May, 1947, U. S. A. agreed to provide financial aid of 100,000,000 dollars for improving Turkey's defences vis-a-vis the U.S.S.R. In 1945 the Soviet Government denounced the 20-year-old Treaty of Turco-Russian Neutrality and in 1947 a treaty of financial assistance to come from U. S. A. was signed at Ankara. In Sept. 1949, Turkey was invited to the Council of Europe which met at Strasbourg and from 1951 Turkey with Greece held the main defence line in East Europe and West Asia, as *de facto* members of the Atlantic Pact Council expanded into the Baghdad Pact of 1955.

Modern Turkey, under the great Ataturk's inspiration, has thus built up solidly the foundation of their secular State ; and by their hard work and honesty of purpose the Turks have made the Western Powers look upon Turkey as a worthy and dependable ally. It is a pity that the history and the constitution of modern Turkey are not studied in India, which I am sure, will find many striking parallelisms in the recent history of our liberation. Turkey of Ataturk will, for years, serve as the guiding light to many of the exploited and dominated nations still groping in tragic darkness. Kemal's Turkey was the vanguard of Asian Independence ; and the glorious annals of Turkey should be studied by all serious students and statesmen of Asia. I found the Turkish scholars most eager to help their Asian colleagues. They have printed their books and periodicals in the international phonetic script (Roman) which may be picked up very easily by us. The multilingual sub-continent of India should take this lesson from Turkey and venture right now (as I suggested before, in the Asian Relations Conference, 1947) to arrange for the publication, in Roman script, of the first *Encyclopaedia Asiana.* The difficulty of printing would thus be considerably reduced and a fraternity of scholars from the East and the West would thus profitably collaborate with one another.

Turkey was literally the bridge (geographical and cultural) between the Orient and the Occident ; and so we hope that Turkey will join hands with India to bring about a general renaissance of Asian life and culture.. Credal religions of Asia have been the stumbling blocks to the progress of Asian nations—specially of

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the Muslim East. Turkey was the first to rise above the doctrinal and ritualistic differences and to affirm the urgent need of a liberal secular attitude toward religions. Our Indian Republic, under the lead of Pandit Nehru, also follows those liberal principles. Thus, with so many points common between us, India and Turkey should come closer to each other ; and a very hopeful beginning has been made by our Minister of Education concluding a Treaty of Friendship and Cultural collaboration signed at Ankara by him and Dr. Fuat Kuprulu (June 1951). Both Governments propose to make efforts to promote cultural and intellectual exchange in different fields including literary, artistic, scientific and industrial developments.

But Turkey appears to be drifting more to the West than to the East by entering into military pacts with U.K., U.S.A. and their allies in the Middle East like Iraq, Iran, Pakistan forming the Baghdad Pact (1955), antagonizing U.S.S.R. and China.

TURKEY AND NEW ASIA

Outside India, Turkey was the most significant symbol of transformation of the Ancient East into New Asia. The process of that transformation, it is needless to say, is not yet complete. But Turkey of Kemal Ataturk,—like India of Mahatma Gandhi—took the boldest plunge in the current of social, economic and cultural transfiguration, under a rare revolutionary urge. By a strange historical coincidence, both Gandhi and Ataturk started their momentous movements in 1919-20 and what a marvellous change do we see in the short span of 30 years ! Driven out of Europe with the total disintegration of the Turkish Empire, Ataturk took his last determined stand on the 'morale' of his peasant comrades of Anatolia. Mahatma Gandhi also relied on the soul-force of the humble village-folks of India, who solidly stood by him, while he transformed completely the Indian National Congress, defied the biggest military power of the British in occupation and, primarily by his technique of non-violent warfare, made the British power quit India and to enter into an altogether new relationship which is taking shape from year to year. These revolutionary experiments with Truth have their repercussions everywhere and specially in Asia, as I

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felt from my direct personal contact with the leaders of modern Turkey.

The Minister of Education of Turkey humorously reminded me that he could not pretend to be an educationist for he was only an irrigational engineer ; and I retorted that His Excellency had well irrigated the Turkish fields—economic as well as educational. So I found in His Excellency Dr. F. Kuprulu, the Foreign Minister and the master historian of Turkey, a veritable symbol of the progressive thought of Turkey and new Asia. He very kindly presented me with an autographed copy of his paper on Turkey and many other publications (in Turkish language but in Latin character) which I received gratefully. The *secular* state idea, equally championed by the Turkish (since 1928), and our Indian Republic—will continue to bring our two nations together and our joint success might inspire our sister nations of Asia to transcend the narrow bounds of race and creed and reach the higher plane of cooperative humanism passionately preached by Master Tagore and Gandhi, whose works, in a popular form or in anthologies, are eagerly requisitioned by our Turkish friends. Alas, very few of such documents—books, pamphlets, photographs, pictures etc.—from India have reached so far our close neighbours of Asia, who should on no account be neglected. The rare Gandhian technique of reaching the heart of even those who hold opposite views to us, must be learnt anew, specially by our officers of the External Affairs Department, operating through the Legations and Embassies of Free India.

PARTY AND POLITICS

Like many of the newly created States of the Middle East since the First World War, Turkey has tried to stabilise her Goverment by building up one strong monolithic party. Ataturk, the maker of modern Turkey could naturally form his own team which shaped the destiny of the nation for full 25 years. Ataturk died in 1938 and his right hand man Ismet Inonu ruled Turkey as the next President and signed the Pact of Ankara in which France. U. K. and Turkey jointly guaranteed that France and U.K. would help Turkey if attacked, just as Turkey would assist France and U.K. if they were attacked in the Mediterranean. This

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pact, with necessary modifications due to the Second World War, reappeared in a new form because a new rival emerged on the Mediterranean horizon ; and the U.S.A. vitally interested to build up a Middle East Defence against Soviet penetration, was helping Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia which had the courage to defend themselves against the U.S.S.R.

In the international setting, we find Turkey welcomed to co-operate with the prime movers in the West European Defence Plan which aims at integrating, into one scheme, Yugoslavia (cutting off Sovietised Albania), Greece (blocking the satellite Soviet group of Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary) and Turkey holding the line all along the Sea of Marmara, Dardanelles-Bosphorus, Black Sea and Eastern Anatolia—where the frontiers of Irag, Iran, Russia and Turkey meet. I could easily visualise the situation while I traversed the whole southern frontier of Turkey, by travelling in the Taurus Express from Mosul to Aleppo and Ankara to Istanbul.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

It was my rare good fortune to get much positive information through the kindness and courtesy of two outstanding leaders of modern Turkey, the Foreign Minister, H. E. Dr. Fuat Kuprulu, internationally renowned as a historian, and H. E. Avni Bashnan, Minister of Education and also an expert planner. While I entered the office of the Minister of Education I found the marvellous words of Ataturk engraved on a marble tablet saying that 'the stability and well-being of the State depends on the education and prosperity of the Turkish peasantry, who were the mainstay of national resistance in the historic fight against foreign forces'. The percentage of literacy was very low and Ataturk gave top priority, like Mahatma Gandhi, to a sort of a basic education with vocational bias. The boys received instructions in farming and food production, house-building, carpentry, metal work etc., while the Turkish village-girls were taught nursing, house-wifery, domestic science and sewing, mothercraft etc. The Ministry of Education worked the scheme of giving 'one year course' to actual farmers enabling them to become instructors themselves for 40,000 villages. This

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should be compared with our 700,000 villages in India, who were remembered only by Mahatma Gandhi and not by any Indian educational organisation before him. In 1928, Turkey under the inspiration of Ataturk ordered the *Koran* to be recited in Turkish and replaced the Arab script and abopted Roman character which effectively linked up the printing and publication business of Turkey with the rest of the Western world ; while in India we are still quarrelling over our baffling varieties of scripts, even in the five major zones of India. In addition to the village schools, Turkish Rural Institutes have been built in the major agricultural districts giving five years' special training to selected boys and girls who have already completed the five-year course at a village school. Co-education is the order of the day and boys and girls return to their villages (without crowding the cities) with a thorough knowledge of agriculture and handicrafts. Adult educations also made much headway with the help of the Roman alphabet ; and by 1944 over 200,000 citizens attended the People's Schools which gave instructions in reading, writing, arithmetic, hygiene, citizenship etc.

The learned Minister of Education expressed to me a most generous appreciation of the great rural education movement initiated by Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi whose names were cherished all over Turkey. So I felt it my bounden duty to remind my countrymen—officials as well as non-officials —that the life and works of Tagore and Gandhi should be made available for the common people of the Middle East through Turkish, Persian and Arabic adaptations of the books of our illustrious pioneers.

In the modernisation of Turkey, specially in the emancipation of Asian womanhood, Ataturk's contribution was unique. And many women have become distinguished members of Parliament, among whom I had the privilege to salute again in Ankara Begum Halide Edib whom I first greeted in Calcutta when she addressed a mammoth meeting at the Ashutosh Building quadrangle. She was glad to hear from me that her Indian sisters were marching ahead, thanks to the inspiration of Tagore and Gandhi, the great protogonists of woman's emancipation. A young Turkish lady admirably interpreted

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my lecture at the University of Ankara ; and among my audience of the University of Istanbul, I found a large gathering of ladies and girl students who asked me searching questions on the social, economic and cultural life of Republican India.

The higher school of Fine Arts was reorganised in 1926 as the Turkish Academy of Fine Arts, where men and women work together and specialise in architecture, painting and Turkish decorative arts. Many Turkish women are now taking to professional and technical education. In Ankara and Istanbul there are several journals edited by women. In Istanbul I was glad to visit its up-to-date Technical University which invited me to lecture ; and one of its professors of Mathematics surprised me by asking if any new thesis had been published on the history of Hindu Sciences, specially on the mathematical systems of Brahma Gupta and Bhaskaracharya. The Ankara University is a magnificent institution founded in 1946 and its President is an authority on Agricultural Science who is familar with most of the works of Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose. The Istanbul University is one of the oldest in Europe ; and if we accept its traditional Byzantine date of foundation 950 A. D., then, as I remarked to its learned President, Prof. Omer Ceal Sarc, a commemoration volume on the completion of its thousandth anniversary was due to be brought out. While students of the Ankara University numbered 6,336, those of the Istambul University were 10,184. The modern wing of the Istanbul University was developed in 1896 and re-organised in 1927 and 1933 ; it has a splendid Library of 200,000 volumes. As in Beyrut, the Americans established at Istanbul the Robert College in 1863 and the Faculties of Arts, Science and Engineering etc. The famous Archæological Museum of Istanbul was founded in 1869 and it displays its wonderful collection of Ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian as well as Græco-Roman antiquities and art objects of rare value.

Turkey must develop better irrigation, agriculture, roads and transports, hydro- electric schemes as well as her mineral resources, specially coal, lignite chrome, iron, copper, zinc, lead, mercury. silver, gold, sulphur, borax,cement and asbestos. A British firm has built blast-furnaces (like those of our Tatanagar) at Karabuk where new deposits of iron ore have

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been found, near the valley of the Sakaria river. Thus Turkey, now a member of the Bsghdad Pact with about 20 million population and once primarily agricultural in its economy, is striving to develop into an industrial state in the Middle East with American aid.

VEDIC GODS IN ANATOLIA

From Istanbul so near to the ancient city of Troy, I could study again the topography of the Homeric sites of the Trojan War and earlier pre-Homeric remains whose Greek counterparts I had seen during my previous pilgrimages through Delphi, Athens and Sparta, Argos, Tyrins and Mycenae. But the profoundest impression in Turkey was created by my visit to the rocky citadel of Boghaz Koi, the ancient capital of the Hittite Empire (B.C. 1800-1200) which often clashed with their Aryan cousins, the Mitannis or the Hurrians. In Boghaz Koi, for the first time, the earliest, so far traced, archæological evidence of our Vedic civilisation was discovered, as I told before, by Hugo Winckler, the German archæologist as early as 1908; and since then scholars have been studying the problems of Vedic origins and of the migrations of the Aryans, both within and without India. In the grand panorama of the amphitheatre of the hills of Boghaz Koi, I was amazed to think of the colossal strength of the Hittites who could build up their capital city at such an altitude! In a rocky corridor, outside the fortified city, I was thrilled to watch the sculptured procession of men and women towards the inner sanctum where (as in Ellora) superb sculptures of the Mother Goddess and her consort were carved in the middle of the 2nd millennium B. C. Were those the prototypes of *Parvati* and *Siva* as we found in Mohenjo Daro? From the Boghaz Koi site have also been discovered the massive stone images of the Wind God and his consort, and thus the Vedic *Marut* or *Vayu* was also represented in the Aryan Hittite Pantheon. In the *cuneiform* tablet-inscription of Boghaz Koi—of the 14th century B.C.—scholars have clearly read the names of *Mitra*, *Varuna*, *Indra*, *Nasatya* (*Aswini-Kumaras*) of Vedic antiquity. So, after my pilgrimage to Boghaz Koi, I expressed my profound gratitude to all the officers of the enlightened Turkish Government for the facilities they had offered me.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE INLAND ARAB NATIONS

Emerging out of the desert regions of the Middle East, chiefly peopled by the Arab-speaking races and coming to the beautiful Lebanese harbour of Beyrut, I could not help meditating on the future of the nations of the Mediterranean, so long dominated by the Europeans and later by the Americans. We have already seen that the oil wealth of Iran and Iraq depends on safely maintaining their pipeline (in fact their lifeline) to the Mediterranean. So the dominantly Arab-speaking races of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Egypt—all depend for their vital supplies and international exchange, on the balancing of Powers on the Mediterranean. The Levant, or the eastern flank of the Mediterranean has the *maritime* states of Egypt to the south and Turkey to the north, but tending to allign with opposite power-blocks. To the East lie the *inland* Muslim States and their non-Muslim neighbours.

SAUDI ARABIA

Two of the leading places of Muslim pilgrimage—Mecca and Medina—are in the vast kingdom of Saudi Arabia, developed by H. M. King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud (1880-1953). He ascended the throne in 1926 and promulgated the first Constitution (Aug. 1926) which, with subsequent amendments, was regulating the life of the people, from Riyadh (Pop. 100,000), the seat of the Government. The city of Medina is the terminus of the Hejaz Railway and is 820 miles from the Syrian capital, Damascus, where I could gather much information. In the desert kingdom of Saudi Arabia, there are five (including Riyadh) big municipalities : Mecca (150,000). Medina (50,000), Hufuf (100,000) and Jedda (120,000). Jedda is the principal port of the kingdom, where pilgrims from India and Pakistan land within 10 days (by steamers). The total population of Saudi Arabia was 6,000,000 occupying an area of 927,000 square miles, mostly a vast waterless desert. But, as I gathered

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from my Arab friends of Damascus, an irrigation project with a model farm had come into being at Al Kharj. The gold-mining work was started under a joint syndicate of Saudi Arabia, U. K., Canada and U. S. A. But the richest potential wealth was in the newly discovered oilfields ; for Saudi Arabia was considered to be the *fifth* largest oil-producing country in the world, which yielded from 8 million metric tons in 1946 to 19 million in 1948. From 1944 the foreign company changed its name to the Arabian-American Company which held a long term concession from the Government, covering about 500,000 sqr. miles, or more than half of the entire realm, from which oil was extracted from 71 wells. The chief source of the country's wealth was from oil here as well as in other countries of the Middle East which earned dollar dividends in millions. But, there is an additional income for Saudi Arabia from regular influx of Muslim pilgrims administered by the Viceroy of the Hejaz. Three high grade colleges were started, I came to know, together with the Library of Alharam and the Arab Archæological Society both located in Mecca, the spiritual centre of the entire Islamic world. During the Suez crisis (Nov. 1956) Saudi Arabia broke off diplomatic relations with Britain and since then American influence has been increasing.

In the circumnavigation of Arabia, most of the travellers have got to pass through the Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Aden to the Red Sea and the Mediterranean ; they always touch the port of Aden, which, with the Aden Protectorate, is inhabited by about 7 lac of people. It was the first new territory to be added to the British Empire (1839) under Queen Victoria. But up to the 18th century, the Aden Protectorate was in the hands of the Imam of Sana, the capital of the Arab State of Yemen which had been the seat of the Minacan kingdom (1200-650 B.C.). Yemen entered into a treaty of friendship with the British in 1934, renouncing all title to Aden. As a port, the importance of Aden in Arabia began to increase with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. It also occupies a strategic position in the line of communication between India and Europe.

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JORDAN AND ARAB PALESTINE

Another important Arab State is the kingdom of Jordan which was first mentioned at the time of the Moses of the Exodus (C. 1450 B.C.) when the Jews passed out of Egypt, through Jordan to Palestine under Moses, who was buried in South Jordan. Jordan is bounded on the north by Syria, on the north-east by Iraq, on the south by Saudi Arabia and on the west by the river Jordan and Dead Sea. The ruling dynasty traces its descent from Hashem, great-grand-father of the Prophet Mohammad and is, therefore, entitled "Hashemite Kingdom" closely related to the Royal House of Iraq. King Abdullah Ibn Hussain was selected by the British as Emir. And on May 25, 1946 Emir Abdullah was proclaimed king of Jordan, who entered into a treaty of alliance with England which recognised Jordan as an independent State. In March, 1945, Jordan signed the covenant of the League of Arab States from which, however, it retired and joined other members of the Arab League, who started war in Palestine, following the termination of the British Mandate there and proclamation of the State of Israel (May, 1948). Arab Palestine came to be administered by Jordan which finally annexed it in April, 1950. Nearly 150,000 Muslim Arabs came to Israel and still the refugee problem was serious in Jordan

So arriving, as we did, in that area within six months of that incident, we found the tension between the Arab League and the newly established Jewish state so acute that we were advised not to try to enter Israel, not even to visit its historical sites : the Hebrew University and the archæological and industrial collections, which would ever throw new lights on the history of the Ancient East as well as on the later transformations in the Mediterranean world. The result of the violent partition of Arab Palestine from the Jewish Israel was very serious, entailing enormous loss of life and property, just as in the case of India and Pakistan. The marking of frontiers went to absurd lengths (just as in East Bengal) when the Israeli-Arab Palestine-Jordan borders were made to pass through the middle of the Dead Sea ! (1,286 ft, below sea-level). Jordan extended its western frontier by annexing the big area of Arab Palestine and was then assuming (with Turkey, Iraq and Iran)

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a more pro-western attitude. On the contrary, the other Arab States : Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen have formed a separate bloc of violent opposition. The total area of Jordan is 34,740 sqr. miles of which only 20% is habitable. The population was about 1,500,000 in 1955-56, slightly increased by the influx of the Arab refugees, but nearly 50,000 were Christians. Population of the Capital city Amman (ancient Philadelphia), was 72,000 in 1949 and Indian merchants from Damascus established their business firms there. The 820 miles railway line from Damascus to Medina passes through Jordan. The pumping of Iraq petroleum through Jordan to the Israeli port of Haifa was temporarily suspended. But the biggest problem was that of the refugees, just as it was after the partition of India. An agency has been set up by the U.N.O. to co-ordinate the activities of the different Arab States like Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt etc. to administer relief to about a million Arab refugees, with "pilot projects" of public works. The Gaza strip of Arab Palestine, attacked by Israel in the Suez crisis, was again under Egyptian occupation ; but how many families have been rendered homeless and their sufferings could only be imagined. Partition here, as in India, was a drastic political solution which created many serious and new problems, not the least being psychological ; for the feelings were embittered and it would probably take years to heal up the wounds. Both Muslim and Christian Arabs used to earn their living by working with the more progressive Jewish labour. But Arab boycott of everything Jewish has assumed serious proportion, stultifying progress everywhere. A Karachi-Basra high road and railway were under plan and many other problems were discussed in the Pan-Islamic Congress in Karachi (1957) where the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem posed for press photographers after violent speeches had been delivered. The old King of Jordan was murdered and under the new King, we should watch the reactions of the main promoters of Palestine partition—U.K. and U.S.A.—together with the repercussions on the domestic economy of the Arab States and of Israel.

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SYRIA, LEBANON AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

Finishing our work in Iraq we found that two alternative routes were open to us: (1) *via* Syrian deserts and Beyrut to Cairo (which was taken by my colleagues, Prince Yusuf Mirza and Sri Pranabesh Sinha) and (2) *via* Turkey and Asian-Greece to Egypt by the Taurus Express, originally known as the Berlin-Baghdad Railway. I preferred the latter; but I stopped on the way, in different important centres of Arab History and culture, remembering the importance of the Arab peoples and their language which extended from Pakistan and Arabia to Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt and the Arab-speaking nations of Africa. Especially Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia had approached the Arab League to help the Sultan of Morocco to emerge as the revived Caliph of Islam. The French politicians would naturally look askance at such *demarches* of the Muslim Nations still under France. But there is little doubt that Islam in Africa will be a problem to many European colonial Powers, especially because the resourceful Egyptian leaders of the Arab League made Egypt the base and Cairo the headquarters of the Arab Federation with most of the Arab speaking States of the Middle East. The circulation of the Arab daily paper *Al Ahram* has probably the largest circulation in Asia and Africa; and, therefore, our Indian Republic should think of cultivating good relations with the Muslim and Christian Arab groups, by furnishing them with materials, in *Arabic*, for the leading journals and cultural centres of the Muslim countries. Most of the publicists and journalists of the Middle East whom I met complained that they did not get regular supply of official or non-official documents, articles, books etc., from India. Yet when I met the intellectual leaders of the formerly joined (1920-41) but later separated countries,—Syria and Lebanon, I felt that they seriously tried to follow the political and economic developments of India and Pakistan.

SYRIA-LEBANON

The Republic of Syria is bounded on the north by Turkey, on the east by Iraq, on the south by Jordan and Israel, and on the west by the Republic of Lebanon and the Mediterranean. The total area of Syria was estimated at 72,234 square miles. The river

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Euphrates flows through the north-east of Syria and enters Iraq. Though a Mediterranean State, through which the pipeline for oil passed, Syria did not develop any good port excepting Latakia. So, Syrian merchants still depended on the ports of Tripoli and Beyrut (both of which I visited), belonging to the neighbouring Republic of Lebanon which covered only an area of 3,977 square miles or nearly 1/18th of Syria in dimension. The river Orontes (of the classical writers) which I crossed takes a northward course from the Lebanon range and runs to the historic city of Antioch, famous in our Asokan inscriptions, as well as in the history of early Christianity. The port of Tripoli was imoprtant as the terminus of one branch of the pipeline from the Kirkuk oilfields in Iraq. The harbour of Beyrut was the finest in the Levant where mail steamers and big ships called regularly. It was also the principal port for transmission of goods from the West to Iraq, Iran and other countries of Inner Asia. Syria and Lebanon are the seats of very ancient peoples and cultures, unfortunately not remembered today ; both are essentially agricultural countries which were famous as "Granneries of the Roman Empire". Both are trying to introduce modern system of irrigation, but finances are their great handicaps. For many centuries, however, the waters of the rivers, Barada and Awaj, have been used for irrigating the Damascus oasis,which features in so many stories and legends in Arabic.

The population of Syria was about 3,721,000 out of which merely 7,00,000 were nomadic Beduins. The population of Lebanon was estimated at 1,186,000 and the majority of the inhabitants of the two Republics were Sunni Mussalmans. In Lebanon, however, the majority were Maronite Christians (3,37,734) and the President of the Lebanon Republic was an enlightened Christian who was held in great esteem by all communities : Muslims, Christians, Jews etc. In both the Republics we found tendencies towards a Pan-Arab movement and federation. In Syria it was known as the Party of Arab Revival and in Lebanon as the party of Arab Nationalism. The Opposition Party in Syria was known as the Peoples' Party founded in 1946 under the leadership of Roushdy Al-Kikhia. The leader of the Constitutional Party of Lebanon was the President himself, H. E. Sheikh Beshara El-Khoury. Both Syria and Lebanon were under French mandate (1920—41) and

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naturally their legal systems were based partly upon the French codes. Not English but French still continued to be the principal language of communication, of the cultural "natives". with the foreigners. In 1946 the French were served with "Quit Syria" slogan, as my friends of Damascus told me, remembering the "Quit India" slogan of Mahatma Gandhi. The French could not develop satisfactorily the cultural life of the Syrians and preferred to finance, more thoroughly, the French schools in Lebanon which they found more congenial. But some very important archaeolgical discoveries have been made by the French in Syria. The Museums of Damascus and Beyrut contained very valuable and interesting exhibits and the French scholars published admirable monographs and cheap illustrated tracts like the booklet on the oasis of Palmyra of Queen Zenobia who had conquered Egypt and held it till 272 A.D.

Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie (1853-1942), the nonagenarian archaeologist considered Syria and Palestine (with remains of the Fossil-man in Mount Carmel) to be the depository of some of the earliest relics of human civilisation, being on the highway (now obliterated by the desert sand) for commerce—economic as well as cultural—between the Orient and the Occident. The late Neolithic and early Chalcolithic Cultures, discovered at Hassuna and Tel-Halaf (6000-4000. B.C.). on the borders of Iraq, Turkey and Syria, must have their ramifications towards the Mediterranean Sea, the carrier of civilisation of the ancient world. In the Middle Bronze age (3000-2000 B.C.), corresponding to the Patriarchal age of the Old Testament, the Hebrew Father Abraham and his family migrated (2000 B.C.) from Mesopotamia to Palestine ; and, a little later, Jewish Jacob took refuge in Egypt. Unfortunately, there was a total disruption—as I noticed regretfully—in the age-old cultural and economic exchange between the Jews and the Arabs—both Semitic nations—with the establishment of the Westernized State of Israel,

Education in Syria has been under State control ever since the inauguration of the new Constitution hammered out by the Constituent Assembly (as in India), elected on November, 1949, which abolished the French-made Constitution of 1930. I

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had the pleasure of visiting Syria just one year after the historic meeting of the Assembly and I was glad to find that the citizens of the New Republic—men and women—were working hard to spread education, cultural as well as technical. Elementary education was *free* at the State schools and *compulsory* from the age of seven, so the parents and guardians were liable to be punished for absence of their children. Training colleges for men and women, both for elementary and secondary education, were established, and 10% of the University students received scholarships and the refugee (Arab) students from Palestine were admitted *free*. The State University of Damascus, founded in 1924, was thoroughly reorganised under the guidance of its learned Director., Dr. Constantine Zerik. I found the laboratories and the lecture-rooms of the University well planned and the University occupying the historic site of Damascus, with the ancient mosques, designed by the great Turkish architect Sinan on one side, and the National Museum on the other. The University conferred Honours degrees in different subjects and the students wishing to work for a Doctorate or higher degrees, generally used to go out to study abroad. The University had five Faculties of Arts, Law, Engineering, Medicine and Sciences. The National Library of Damascus was founded in 1880. It contained about 50,000 volumes and 10,000 very rare manuscripts. Another important collection of 40,000 books and 3,000 manuscripts were to be found in the Arab Academy of Damascus (founded in 1919).

Privileged to meet some of the young writers and journalists of Beyrut, Damascus and Aleppo, I was glad to note that they were eager to follow the development of our Indian Republic, specially in its economic and cultural planning. While we were in Teheran, we got invitation to hold the Exhibition of our Indian Paintings in Aleppo, but as my friend Pranabesh Sinha took the other route leading direct to Beyrut, he preferred to hold the third Exhibition in the American University of Beyrut. I left Baghdad, surveyed the archaeological sites of North Iraq and came, by the Taurus Express, to Aleppo, famous in the history of the Arabs as well as of early Christian civilisation. After Suez crisis (1956—57), Syria broke diplomatic relations with U.K. and U.S.A. and opened a Consulate in Aleppo where the British

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had the oldest Asian Consulate of 1600! From Aleppo again I could easily enter the Lebanon Republic, crossing on the way the Classical river, Orontes and visited the famous historic cities of Homs (pop. 1,00,142) and Hama (pop. 1,34,204) where flourished some of the great Arab poets. Aleppo was a progressive city (pop. 3,37,777) the second seat of the National Library of Syria and there was a Technical College managed by the Americans who, as through their University of Beyrut, helped expanding the outlook of the Arab youths.

FOREIGN INSTITUTIONS

The biggest American educational institution in the Middle East was undoubtedly the University of Beyrut, founded as early as 1866. Its learned President Prof. B. L. Penrose very kindly received me and explained in details the working of the American University which had trained some of the outstanding educationists, technicians and political leaders of the Middle East. There were about a dozen professors in the joint Faculty of Arts and Sciences, attending to Chemistry, Engineering, Mathematics, Philosophy, History, Economics, English and Arabic languages and Culture. There was a special Faculty of Pharmacy to train students in the manufacture of medicines and the most useful and progressive department of the University was the Faculty of Medicine which was responsible for training thousands of doctors and nurses indispensable for the health and well-being of the people of this rather neglected region of Western Asia. Following the American pattern, the Medical Faculty not only taught Anatomy and Surgery, but also Biochemistry, Pharmacology, Padiatrics etc. The Beyrut University, moreover, developed its own historical museum where the curator was Mrs, Dorothy Mackay, widow of Dr. Mackay, the former Field-expert whom I had met in Mohenjo-Daro. With its superb sea-beach panorama, and play-grounds and swimming club the American University of Beyrut could justly claim to be the best placed University in Asia.

The French people also established in 1881 the University of St. Joseph with its Faculty of Divinity (founded in 1846), Law, Engineering and Medicine. The professors of this University, in

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co-operation with the Arab scholars of Syria and Lebanon. were running the admirable Oriental Institute which was reorganised in 1933, growing out of the Oriental Faculty of 1902-1914. Its Library contained 90,002 volumes with about 3,000 rare manuscripts. 250 European and Arabic periodicals were housed in this Library to develop interest in Semitic philosophy, history and archaeology of the Middle East. The famous Arab author Fuad Boustany discussed here the history of Arab literature and civilisation, Prof. H. Charles lectured on the ethnology of the Nomadic Arabs, Prof. C. Mondesert lectured on Oriental Hellenism etc. French Archæologists satisfactorily explored Duro-Europa and other ancient sites of Syria. The French also developed the Lebanese Academy of Fine Arts (founded in 1942) with its special department of Architecture, Painting and Sculpture, Dramatic Arts and Music. The East and West and Syria, clashed in Palestine, but happily collaborated in Lebanon, where I was glad to find a new School of Poetry under the inspiration of the Lebanese poet, Khalil Gibran whose works were widely circulated in America.

DAMASCUS

Lebanon occupies the site of ancient Phœnica, the mother of Carthage ; and the National Museum of the Lebanon Republic (founded in 1942) was developing rapidly under the able direction of its curator, Emir Maurice Chehab. Specimens of some of the earliest sculptures, potteries and alphabetical inscriptions, from the 13th century B.C. to the Hellenistic epoch, were systematically arranged and displayed in the Museum. The Semitic storm god Baal, corresponding to the Vedic and Hittite *Marut*, found his ancient temples in Palmyra, and in the ancient city of Baalbeck with its magnificent columns—now in ruins—which are visited by many tourists. So the Romano-Syrian kingdom of Palmyra, of Queen Zenobia, half Arab and half Greek, is the seat of an Empire which once stretched from Persia to Egypt and the Mediterranean world.

I was glad to spend a few days in Damascus—one of the most ancient cities in the world, continually inhabited from the 19th-20th centuries B.C. (Book of Genesis) to the 20th century

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A.D. Damascus was the seat of the early Syrian Christian Cathedrals and also of the Omayyid mosque which ranks in sanctity with the mosques of Mecca and Medina. Many historic castles of the Crusades, now in ruins, are found in Syria-Lebanon. The *beau ideal* of Islamic chivalry was Salah-el-Din or Saladin who, by a striking Islamic victory over the Christians in 1187, forced the Third Crusade, led by Richard the Lion Heart, King Philip of France and Frederick Barbarossa of Germany ; but they jointly could do nothing till Saladin's death (1193). I remembered him through Scott's *Talisman*, and visited the Kurd hero Saladin's architectural remains in Damascus. But all its glories were devastated by Tamarlane, who invaded Syria in 1400. In Damascus I was very glad to enjoy the hospitality of my Indian friends who were running big shops and departmental stores both in Beyrut and in Damascus. The Sindhi merchants spoke Arabic fluently ; and, long before the establishment of our Indian Embassies and Trade Commissioners' offices, helped in their own way, the cause of Indian freedom and cheerfully offered friendly co-operation to any Indian who passed through Syria and Lebanon, Jordon or Saudi Arabia. With the Sindhis, I found the Syrio-Lebanese merchants in U. S. A., Brazil and Argentina, and also in the important ports of Africa and Europe.

It wss an established convention in Lebanon that its President should be a Christian, the Prime Minister a Muslim and the Cabinet must contain both Muslims and Christians of different denominations.

ISLAMIC EAST

In our survey of the Middle East and especially of the Islamic world, we have discussed the historical perspective and the cultural problems of the Iranian, the Aryan and the Turanian races. Persia and Turkey have made quite substantial and original contributions to Asian history through ages. Now, before plunging into the *Semitic* East, I wish to clarify the issues by offering to the readers some tentative figures relating to the population and area of the Islamic communities in West Asia ;

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	Population	Area in Sqr. miles
Saudi Arabia	.. 6,000,000	927,000
Iraq	.. 4,816,185	175,000
Syria	.. 3,700,000	72,234
Lebanon	.. 1,180,000	3,977
Jordan	.. 1,500,000	34,740
Egypt	.. 19,087,304	386,198
Sudan	.. 8,000,000	967,495

This gives a rough total of 45 to 50 million souls—mostly Muslims, speaking *Arabic* language and connected somehow or other with the *Arab League* now disrupted by the Baghdad Poet.

Turkey is a secular State with 18 to 20 million population, belonging, culturally and strategically, as much to Europe as to Asia and now strongly backed by U.S.A. joining the Baghdad Poet.

Lastly, we should remember the close neighbours of India : Afghanistan with 12 million and Iran with 17 to 18 million, altogether 30 million souls sharing Iranian language and culture.

Thus if we take the old Saadabad Pact (1937) members—Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey together, we get about 50 million ; and the rest of the Arab League members would come up to the same figure : 45/50 million—giving us thereby about 100 million Muslims in Asia and Egypt, whom we are called to observe with special care. Outside them, we know there are millions of *converted* Muslims in China, Malaya, Indonesia and Africa.

Arabia is the homeland of Islam, and naturally the Arabs will take special pride in their religion and special precautions to safeguard their material and cultural interests. Thus the Arab League, as a political confideracy, individual Arab nations and their leaders had often come to clash with vested interests of the non-Asian Jewpery and the Christian *political-cum-commercial* organizations of Europe and America. So also the Arabs have violently clashed with their remote Semitic cousins, the Hebrews, organized since 1948, into a tiny State with only a little over $1\frac{1}{4}$ million population, occupying about 7,000 sqr. miles of the coastal strip on the Eastern Mediterranean.

At the end of my tour through Turkey, I was privileged to make aerial survey of the historic sites fo the Eastern Mediter-

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ranean : Istanbul to Bursa, Troy and Smyrna (Izmir), Ephesus Pergamon, Halicarnessus, Mersin, Tarsus, Antioch and so many other places vividly associated with the Homeric Epic, Classical Greece and early Christian missions. Our plane also stopped at Nicosia in the lovely island of Cyprus now a British naval base and where serious anti-British strife occurred in 1957.

CYPRUS

The islanders of Cyprus are mainly divided into two groups ; about 4 lacs orthodox Greeks, and one lac Turkish Muslims. But Cypriot culture goes as far back as the Creto-Mycenean Bronze ages (3000-1000 B.C.). The Semitic Phœnicians formed a stronghold in Cyprus which loyally served the Achemenian rulers of Iran, when the Greeks started the Ionic Revolt in 500 B. C. and Cyprus, an oriental sea-power, supplied them 150 battleships to assist the expedition of Xerxes against Greece (480 B. C.). So close is Cyprus to the Christian Holy Land that we understand how Barnabes, the Jew of Cyprus brought St. Paul there. For three centuries (1571-1878) Cyprus was under Turkish rule and since 1878 it has been under the British Crown.

Premier Sophocles Venezelos of Greece expressed openly his regret that England was manoeuvring to keep Cyprus under her domination, while the majority of the Greek population of Cyprus desired to return politically to Greece, their mother country. That reminds us of the fact that, in spite of the ravages of the recent civil war, large sections of the Greeks-scattered in different parts of the Mediterranean world,—as in Cyprus, (U. K.) in the Dodecanese (once Italian) and in Egypt,—think strongly but vaguely about a neo-Greek hegemony with a revival of their Greek orthodox Christianity. Privileged to visit the lovely island of Cyprus and its capital Nicosia, I met some Greek friends who told me that while the Moslems had 208 schools with 11,482 pupils, the Greek orthodox group had 481 schools with 48,970 pupils. From Nicosia, one can reach, by the State railway, Famagusta famous for its massive fortifications (29 feet thick walls) with "Othello's Tower" known to the lovers of Shakespeare. From the port of Famagusta the ships ply to Greece, Turkey, Egypt and other parts of the Mediterranean. If

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not so rich as Crete in antiquities, Cyprus, in its Museum, offers important pottery specimens from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic epochs to the Roman times. Gold ornaments and jewelleries of the Mycenean period—1400-1200 B. C. attest to the fact that in the age of the author of the Iliad (if not of the Odyssey for there were two Homers) the Cypriots,—like the Phœnicians violently abused by Homer—might have taken active part in the Trojan wars whose relics are found in many places of Turkey and the Levant. The Cyprus museum, with its library, was founded in 1883 and thus has been functioning for nearly 70 years, under the Department of Antiquities with valuable collections of terra-cotta, bronze, glass, alabaster, gems etc.

Cyprus buys mainly from U. K. which supplies about one-third of her imports. The area of the island is 3,584 sq. miles with a population of 457,000 (1948) excluding 7,482 Germans and Jews in camps. The Greeks of Cyprus and the neighbouring islands with those of Alexandria and other parts of Egypt, must have a mixed feeling towards Greece which with Turkey will be called to hold the shield against Soviet penetration. The Anglo-American experts are already busy building up a defensive arc with the latest war machines and lavish financial aids. The whole Mediterranean may thus again be involved and force thereby the development of vigorous offensives and counter-offensives as in the days of the first World War. Both Turkey and Greece are now drawn into the Atlantic Pact expanded into the Baghdad Pact. Thus I found, amidst the superb landscapes and sea-scape of the Eastern Mediterranean, sombre shadows of the political horizon.

Just opposite to Cyprus is the neutral State of Lebanon with its peaceful harbour Beyrut only 230 miles from Port Said. Alexandria is about 530 miles from the Greek Port Piraeus. and Istanbul 730 nautical miles. Thus Greece and Phœnicia, Turkey and Egypt have been collaborating (even through occasional conflicts) economically and culturally. The feelings have been morbidly roused and hearts hardened by the modern setting up of nationalistic States, each suspecting the other as a potential enemy. I lamented this deterioration in human relations, while discussing now with the Arabs then with the Jews—both passing

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through a war of nerves and actual clashes upsetting the balance of economy in this vital zone of Asia. Just as, after the First World War, and collapse of the Austrian Empire there were Successor States in Central Europe (now mostly beyond the Iron Curtain), so after the fall of the Turkish Empire a series of small States emerged including the smallest Israeli, a major problem in the Middle East.

Iraq is small in area but in 1939 ranked *eighth* among the oil-producing countries of the world; and experts who had been working there for long years, are of opinion that Iraqi oil-fields could provide much more. Naturally, we find here, as in different parts of the middle East, keen competition between the Western Powers for 'spheres of influence' and capital investment. Liberation from Turkey led to the domination of the West. King Faisal I (1921-1933) tried manfully to tide over these troubles and I felt the impress of his personality while visiting the various development projects. His grandson, King Faisal II (b. 1931) was under the veteran Prince Regent, his uncle H. R. H. the Amir Abdul Illah who took full advantage of the Anglo-Iranian oil crisis and secured the best terms from the Anglo-Iraq Petroleum Co. which had obtained an oil concession in 1925, expecting it to last for 75 years!

Jordan is a small Arab State, related to the Iraqi Royal House by family ties and both the ruling families trace their descent from Hashem, the great grand-father of the Prophet Mohammad. Emir Abdullah entered into a treaty with U.K. (1922) but he was not allowed to proclaim himself a king till May, 1946 when Jordan was recognized as a fully independent State. But the dispossessed and exploited Arab mass remembered the significant words of Jaafar Pasha (who led the Arab revolt) that "independence is never given, it is always taken." That is the keynote of the entire movement in the Middle East; but just before his violent death Emir Abdullah took advantage of Israel-Arab clash and annexed Arab Palestine to Jordan. Emir Abdullah was brutally murdered in 1951. Under his son, Jordan, in 1947, came to be the cockpit of U. S. A. versus U. S. S. R. tussel resulting from the "Eisenhower doctrine".

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CHAPTER SIX

ARAB WORLD AND AFRICA

If Arabic Islam was the advance-guard of the Asian-African people for about a thousand years (600-1600 A. D.), Africa came to be a partitioned property of the European Powers who reached India by the Cape of Good Hope, a name of symbolic import indeed. But hope for the Christian Whites and no hope for the coloured non-Christians. From the 13th century human beings from Africa were freely captured and sold. Barcelona, with Jewish money and Italian traders began an extensive Slave trade with Moorish (north African) prisoners ; slave-raiding and trading were first forbidden by the Portuguese Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460) who was the grandson (through his mother) of the English John of Gaunt. He hoped to discover a sea route to Ethiopia and thence to India. The Portuguese Empire (1500-1600) was mainly based on Slave trade which became a thriving profession for the American plantation works. Columbus discovered America in 1492 and by 1501 Negro Slavery was established in America because the Conquistadors were rapidly wiping out the unfortunate Red Indians by warfare, disease and enslavement. So Africa was the supply-base of Slave trade and Negro slavery was extensive (1500-1600) in the West Indies and in South America. Mixed Whites and Indians called mestizos, numbered over $7\frac{1}{2}$ million, while mixed Negroes and Indians or mulattoes went on increasing till at the end of the colonial period, we find about three million whites, 5 million mestizos, 7 million Red Indians and about one million Negroes in the Latin American domain. Now the coloured population of the two Americas will run to several millions giving plenty of headache to the White administrators.

Between 1795 and 1805 (when he was drowned) the great Explorer Mungo Park explored the Gambia and the Niger. The British Government abolished the Slave trade (1807-11) and other countries like France (1815), Spain, Portugal etc. followed suit

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under the Liberation Crusade started by the British philanthropists like Wilberforce, a friend and contemporary of our Rammohun Roy (1772-1833).

EGYPT

But the founder of Modern Egypt Mahomet Ali (1799-1849) conquered the Sudan (1820-22) for he found plenty of money in gold, supplies and slaves. His son Mahomet Said (1854-63) was an enlightened ruler who took steps to suppress slavery and permitted the floating of the first foreign loan of £3,000,000 by British bankers. In 1854 he granted concession to the French engineer Lesseps for the Suez Canal, which was completed after ten years (1859-69). Khedive Ismail (1863-79) tried to complete the "modernisation" of Egypt by expanding education and public works so that Egypt came to be the spearhead of nationalism in the Near East—a little before the foundation of the Indian National Congress (1885). Sir Samuel Baker in Egyptian service (1863-73) completed the conquest of the upper Nile region and effectively suppressed the Slave trade "which seriously depopulated the country." Its chief town Khartoum was founded in 1823; and in 1853-56 Livingstone crossed the African continent and discovered the Victoria Falls and the source of the great Nile River was definitely traced to Victoria Nayanza Lake by Richard Burton (1858). After keen search for Livingstone (who died in 1871), Henry Stanley circumnavigated the Victoria Nayanza (1874-77), descended to the Congo and reached the Atlantic. So Stanley was pressed into the services of King Leopold of Belgium (1879-84) who founded the "International Association for the Exploration and Civilization of Africa" (1876).

What this body in the last eighty years has done for the civilization of Africa is still a very debatable point; but it is clear as day light that explorations and exploitation of the vast continent on an international scale was started by Portugal and Belgium and the third Catholic power France soon joined company.

France, next to England is one of the bigger landowners of Africa. And next to them are the makers of Belgian Congo

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much bigger than Belgium and of Portuguese Africa so much larger than tiny Portugal of our days. The treatment of the native Africans in these early European zemindaries and in later South Africa, is certainly very far from humanitarian.

In 1858 the French group promoted the Suez Canal Co., raising a loan of 200 million francs; and in 1875, the Khedive, in financial stringency, was obliged to sell his 176,00 profit-earning shares to the British Government (under the Jewish Premier Disraeli) for 100 million francs. To manage the business well and specially to manage the Egyptian Debt service, two big shareholders—the British and the French—appointed controllers, starting thereby the Anglo-French Condominium (1876). But the European "controllers" began controlling with such deadly effect that the whole country was aflame. From 1871-81 the famous Muslim preacher Jamal-ud-Din el Afghani urged resistance to the foreign exploiters, and a vigorous national movement started in 1881 with Ahmed Arabi. Then from 1883 to 1894 there followed the great war of independence led by Mahdi M. Ahmed who killed (1885) General Gordon—Governor General of the Sudan (1874) and took Khartoum. Mahdi and his successor the Khalifa were killed in 1899 by General Wingate and the British and the Egyptian Governments then signed a convention to rule the Sudan as a "Condominium". The area, south of the 22nd Parallel came to be governed by a Governor-General to be appointed by Egypt with the assent of Great Britain. This was reaffirmed in the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 But when the British Governor-General of the Sudan formed his Legislative Assembly and ordered the first election, the Independence Front demanding self-government for the Sudanese got the majority and the national front which favoured union with Egypt totally boycotted the election. Sudan gained freedom and in 1953—54 began self-Government through her own Parliament.

SUDAN

The area of the Sudan is about 967,500 square miles from Egypt to Uganda and Belgian Congo. Its population is over 8 million souls divided into Arabianized Muslims in the northern

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provinces and in the south (Upper Nile, Equatoria, Bahrel-Ghazal) the peoples are Negroid and Nilotic. Its forests which line the Blue Nile extend to the frontiers of Abyssinia and contain valuable plants giving Arabic gum and mahogany trees, papyrus of the White Nile, ivory and gold. The Sudanese gold-mines are worked at Gebiet and other places in the Red Sea Hills. Port Sudan is a big and up-to-date port on the African side of the Red Sea ; there are salt pans which supply the whole country with salt ; mother of pearl, shells and ivory also are found in plenty. Free Sudan now will develops this very rich and promising country. While our Scindia Steamer "Jala Rajendra" sailed away from the Asian harbour of the Aden Protectorate and berthed in Port Sudan, the first important African harbour, our English Captain Mr. Stone unfurled our National Flag of India with the flags of U. K. and he showed us in a glass-boat the submarine life, coral and fishes of wonderful colour and diversity.

The Captain gave me many interesting hints and Admiralty Guides, namely Red Sea and Gulf of Aden pilot, which I was glad to utilize for my notes on the Red Sea ports on the Arabian and the African sides. The former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was broadly divided into three zones (a) from the 22nd degree N. to 16th degree North is a continuation of the Sahara desert and French Sudan (b) from the Red Sea to the great Nile lies the Nubian desert with scanty vegetation (c) the Southern region traversed from south to north by the Nile well watered and densely wooded with rich timber trees, mahogany etc. The Blue Nile comes out of the frontiers of Abyssinia and yield forest-wealth of timber, fibres and tanning materials. The White Nile, further up, also is rich in forest products, hides and the finest gum Arabic from the forest in Kordapan, Gezira and Kassala. A railway runs from Port Sudan to Sennar, passing through Kassala near the frontiers of Eritrea. A railway also runs from the Sudan's capital Khartoum via Halfer to Cairo. Thus from Egypt in the north to Uganda and Belgian Congo in the south extends the vast country of the Sudan valuable for the best cotton and gold. To the east of the Sudan and north of Abyssinia lies the former Italian colony of Eritrea—about 45,000 square miles in area with a population of 6·17 lakhs.

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Its only port is Wassana with pearl-fisheries and its capital city is Asmara where some gold is produced.

Further south we passed the Somaliland partitioned into British, French and (formerly) Italian Somaliland. The people are mostly nomadic pagans and Muslims struggling to live in a barren country where the European Powers built their harbours to guard their ships towards the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea well-known from the age of the Bible to that of the Koran.

Thus covering the African side of the Red Sea to the west we are shown on the map its eastern or the vast Arabian side from Aden in the south to Aquaba and Suez in the north. Arabia is roughly 1,000,000 square miles in area with about 10,000,000 population mostly nomadic Beduin of the desert country, breeding camels, sheep and goats, exporting these animals with their *ghee*. But some parts of Arabia are fertile like the valley of the Hadhramut with agriculture, fishing, cattle-breeding, and trade. So, to the north-east of the Hudhramut lies the Sultanate of Oman with over 1500,000 Arabs with infusion of Negro blood. Their trade is chiefly with India managed by Indian merchants, as I saw while going from Bombay-Karachi and Muscat to Kuwait, Bahrain and Basra. The mountains of Oman rise 10,000 feet ; so in the Imamet of Yemen some mountains are 7,000 to 9,000 feet with deep ravines and fertile valleys producing wheat, millet and good coffee. Its capital Saria holds 40,000 and the British protectorate Yemen's total population is 4 millions.

Lastly appears Saudi Arabia (area about 200,000 square miles, population 2 to 3 million souls), once neglected as a backward country but now attracting many American and European companies to exploit its rich oil and other resources. It may soon outstrip Egypt which now takes pride as the leader of the nationalist Arab movement in Afro-Asian Zone where we find millions of Arab muslims in Lybia, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. The Nile waters and the Suez Canal may bring complications to Egypt ; but the oil wealth of Saudi Arabia will yield greater and surer dividends and royalties. Moreover, King Ibn Saud can always count upon the untold revenues from the countless Muslim pilgrims to Mecca and Medina hallowed as ever by the sacred memories of the Founder of the world religion of Islam.

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In the Red Sea the chief port is Jedda leading to Mecca (with 200,000) just as the port Yanubu leads to Medina (50.000) from which city one can reach, by rail-cum-bus routes. Amman the capital of the Hashemite kingdom of Jordon and thence to Damascus in Syria or to Baghdad in Iraq. The Red Sea with the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf giving easy access to the Arabian Sea and India—are life-lines of our defence and commerce. How the Muslim Arab nations would react to Communist Russia and how they will adjust their political religious and economic relations with a Shiah State like Iran and a secular democracy like Turkey now grouped into the Baghdad Pact—these are some of the burning problems of the day.

IMPORTANCE OF THE NILE VALLEY

In 1799 when Napoleon was facing the Pyramid, the famous Rosetta Stone was discovered by a French soldier and the trilingual inscription on that stone later (1830) enabled the French scholar Champollion to decipher the picture-writings of Egypt. But, long before that, we find Sir William Jones, as President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal showing interest in Egypt and the source of the river Nile on which some papers and notes were published in the *Asiatique Researches* founded by Jones in 1789.

David Livingstone—between 1849-56—crossed the African continent from the Zembesi to Loanda and discovered the Victoria Falls. In 1858-59 Richard Burton and John Speke discovered Lake Tanganyika and Victoria Nayanza, the latter identified as the real source of the White Nile which from Uganda, enters Sudan. The Blue Nile came out of Ethiopia where, at Lake Tsana, a Dam is proposed to be built to increase the flow of water for Sudan and Egypt. The White and the Blue Niles join at Khartoum ("Elephants Trunk"), the capital of Sudan. From Uganda to Egypt the White and the main Niles run for 2144 river-miles, through Sudan. So the Egyptian Government—which now gets the lion's share of the Nile waters—came forward to safeguard its interests lest some new dams be built in Sudan or elsewhere—which would restrict Egypt's life-flood the Nile. Egypt has decided to contribute £2 million towards the total cost the Owen Falls Dam in Uganda.

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Mahomet Ali, Governor of Egypt under the Turkish Sultan (since 1805) managed to conquer Sudan in 1820/22 and Khartoum was founded in 1823. But the oppressive treatment of Sudan (1821-1884) by the Egyptians, caused the revolt of the Mahdi who overthrew the Anglo-Egyptian Govt. and invaded Egypt, after massacring General Gordon (Jany. 1885), when, in India, the Indian National Congress was holding its first session. The Mahdi died in June 1885, but his *dervishes* occupied the whole of the Sudan and continued fighting for ten years (1886-96). In 1896-98 General Kitchener took the lead with victories at Dongola, Omdurman and Atbara. In Jany. 1899 the Anglo-Egyptian condominium was established in the Sudan.

In the *north*, a desert zone, the people are brown and Arabic speaking Muslims. But in the South the races are Negroid with *pagan* traditions and speaking African languages. The tribes of the South are resettled and are pursuing improved methods of agriculture, bringing good income from cotton and oil-seeds, which I saw loaded into our ship, as precious cargoes. Sudan is the original home of Egyptian cotton ; and American long-staple type of cotton is also grown on irrigated lands. To increase production of their cash-crop, the Sudan Gezira scheme was launched costing over £14,000,000. Their profit-sharing scheme was carried on, since 1925, when the plan began functioning : 40% of profit, on sale of cottons, going to the public revenue, 40% to the tenants and 20% to the management, a commercial syndicate which terminated their concession (July 1950) and the scheme has been "nationalized". The Gezira tenant enjoys a higher standard of living and greater land security than any other small-holder in the Middle East. The big and greedy land-owners have thus been eliminated for the benefit of peasant proprietors. The Gezira cotton crops, in 1951, realized £54,000,000 and of it the tenants' share came to about £17,500,00 pounds distributed among 26,000 tenants with an average income of £650 per year.

The next big crop is *Gum Arabic*—tapped like rubber—which made total exports of about £3,000,000 ; 80% of this gum is used in sweets, medicines, textiles, etc. ; and seven-eighth, of the world's supply of gum Arabic is shipped from Port Sudan (pop. 56,000), the best port on the Red Sea, with lovely garden-parks

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attractive shops of many Indians, and with a nice climate. The Port authorities gave us a glass-bottomed boat, from whose transparent panels we could see the sub-marine world of oysters, fishes of all colours and designs, and corals of wonderful shades and patterns which baffle description ! Some quantity of gold, ivory and ostrich-feathers are also sent out but no petrolium has so far been traced.

The total population is about 8,000,000, and the new University College of Khartoum was started (1951) incorporating the old Gordon Memorial College and the Kitchener School of Medicine. The University of Khartoum provides for higher training (after London University pattern) in Science, Arts, Law, Agriculture and Medicine.

But with education, comes agitation for full or partial self-Government and the formation of parties mostly centering round two muslim leaders : (1) Syed Abdul Rahman of the Ukram party with its motto : "Sudan for the Sudanese". (2) Sir Ali Mirgham Pasha's influence was in the North and East—forming the Ashigga party—or the National Front who want "dominion status with Egypt." But they suddenly (Oct. 1951) declared—without consulting the Sudanese—Sudan to be an integral part of Egypt. So the third Sudan Party wanted an independent Sudanese Republic which is a reality today. I found them a gentle folk of divers grades of cultures, languages and races ; and even in those trying days of fasting in Ramzan, they came to do the loading of the cargo in our ship. The pagan races, with their wooly hair, are nick-named "Fuzzy—Weezzy" with a bamboo comb ! The Muslims—Arab or non-Arab—offer their prayers regularly. The Christian Greeks go to their Greek Church, the Italians to the Catholic shrines and the Copts to their Coptic Christian Church. Such prayers should develop harmony of spirit and thought. But alas, political and economic factors, even in this half-forgotten corner of the globe—came to create strifes. The Red Sea seemed to be ominously "red", as we entered the gulf of Suez and the historic Suez Canal, serving international shipping during the last 80 years (1870-1950).

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CHAPTER SEVEN

EGYPT—OLD AND NEW

The Arab League of Asia has its headquarters in Cairo and the astute Egyptian leader Abdul Rahaman Azzam Pahsa was its Secretary-General.

Leaders of Asia and Africa (specially Muslim North Africa) are making their presence felt and the United Nations has granted independence to Lybia (formerly under Italy). The Muslims of Tunisia, and Morocco—Arab or Berber—are free ; Algeria is fighting for freedom from French colonial domination. So when I spent some time in Egypt. I felt that after the expulsion of king Farouk the Egyptians of today, as a young and dynamic nation, are moving on the buried ruins of a very ancient world. Mediterranean has ceased to be a European monopoly as it is no longer a mere Roman Lake.

ANCIENT ANNALS

From the very modern history of Egypt, my memory delved deep into its very ancient annals not written on papers or papyrus, but on tools of the early metal age or even of the pre-metal stone ages. The Government guide invited me to enter (after many years) the tombs of the Pyramid of Gizeh. I remember my visits from 1920 to 1936 and I marvelled, at the colossal capacity of the ancient Egyptians, to erect monuments which almost defy death. But we know now that the latest discoveries of the Natufian and other cultures, found in the desert, take us centuries beyond the dynastic civilisation of Egypt (4 millennium B. C.). Man is now known to have existed in the Nile Valley in the remote stone ages and in the Mesolithic epochs, as attested by the stone tools of the Natufian the Sabelian and Badarian cultures, growing out of the fusion of African and Asian influences. Some elements may have come from Mesopotamia and some from Palestine (where the oldest fossil man has been discovered in mount Carmel). The Amratian.

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Gerzeian, and Semainian phases of Afro-Asian pre-dynastic cultures, are being studied, and we reach the first dynasty (3200-3000 B.C.) uniting the upper and the lower Egypt. I was thrilled to observe so many new discoveries made in Memphis and Sakkara in the pre-dynastic epochs and also in the reigns of early king like Menes, Narmer, Gheops and Chephren building pyramids varying in height from 280 ft. to 481 ft. (*Vide* Edwards: *The Pyramids of Egypt*). The early Pyramid period (2780-2270 B. C.), saw a great development in agriculture, arts and crafts, together with the computation of a Calendar and a Solar year of 365 days. Horus or the sun was the god of upper Egypt, as Set was of lower Egypt. The kings were defied in life and in death as exemplified by the *Book of the Dead*, and those mummies were hidden (and plundered) in the Pyramids or rock chambers. Food, drink, furniture, stationery and even paintings were found and preserved to this day across 6000 years! Their writings (oldest in the world) passed from pictographic, symbolic, syllabic to the alphabetic stages. The Middle Kingdom rulers ruled (2066-1788 B. C.) from their Capital at Thebes and Memphis and developed their 'Classical' literature and art which show contacts with and influences from the Aegian and the Syrio-Mesopotamian cultures. Then Egypt came under the domination of the Asian Hyksos (1680-1580 B. C.) a mixed horde of the Semites and the Aryan Mitannis from Syria Palestine and Anatolia.

Thutmosis III (1501-1447 B.C.) the Egyptian Napoleon, led 17 campaigns in 19 years to Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria as far as Aleppo and Carchemish. Amenhotep III (1411-1375 B. C.) and Amenhotep IV (1375-1388 B.C.) tried to preserve their Asian empire, married Asian wives and definitely introduced a new Surya (Sun) worship in the very century when the sun with other Vedic Gods were invoked by the proto-Aryan Mitannis and the Hittites at Boghaz Koi in Turkey. From 1350-955 B.C. we find the 19th to 21st dynasties ruling Egypt weakly from Thebes. Finally Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. and Egypt remained a Persian Colony, till Alexander conqured it in 332 B.C. and his tomb was erected there. His general Ptolemy's dynasty ruled from 323 to 30 B. C., bringing out a strange fusion of

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very ancient Mediterranean culture with those of Palestine, Egypt, Iraq and Iran.

We should remember here that our Emperor Asoka the Great, sent his ambassador to Plolemy of Philadelphos (285-246 B.C.) as well as to his half brother Magas of Cyrenaica and to Antiochos Soter of Syria. That was the epoch, when in Alexandria there was a large Jewish population ; and so a Greek translation was made of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint—supervised by 70 elders. Buddhism too was introduced to them from India, and the name Alexandria was transcribed as Alakanda in the *Artha Shastra* of Kautilya ascribed to the Maurya period (as I showed in my French thesis "The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India," Paris, 1923). The neo-Platonic philosophy, which developed in the school of Alexandria, was the result of fusion of Hindu and Hellenistic thought and culture which fraternised for ages (300 B.C.—300 A.D.). The antiquities of this pre-Christian and early Christian epochs are shown in the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria. It was founded in 1892 and valuable exhibits, Greek, Roman and Coptic manuscripts and art-objects, with a library of 5000 vols. are treasured there. The Coptic Museum of Cairo (from 1908) houses, ivory, pottery, glass-objects as well as architectural and sculptural specimens, relating to Coptic Christianity which incorporated in its pantheon, Hariti, the Buddhist Madonna, as shown by Prof. Foucher in his *Beginnings of Buddhist Art.*

EGYPTIAN ART

But the greatest and the grandest collection of old Egyptian Art is under the Department of Egyptian Antiquities (from 1835), which has been working for over a century under French experts like Gaston Maspero and Rev. Drioton, the last foreign Director. One can visit the new Egyptian Museum (from 1900) of Cairo where like a book, one may read, chapter after chapter, of the wonderful annals of Egyptian art and culture, from the pre-historic times until the Islamic conquest in the 7th century A. D. Flinders Petrie who spent years in excavation work here, wrote a valuable book on the Arts and Crafts of Egypt. Since then we have seen Lord Carnarvon and Carter's Discovery of the tombs of

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Tutenkhamon with his sacrophagus of pure gold (weighing more than 400 kgm) and also gold masks, jewelleries, gems etc. These funerary equipments coming from the 14th century B.C. or pre-Homeric epochs, appear to depict the very life of the Egyptians and Afro-Asians 3000 years ago ! Then the excavations of Prof. Montet at Tanis, on behalf of the Strasbourg University, revealed wonderful gold and silver vases, jewels, etc. from the 8th to 2nd century B.C. So the British Museum, the Louvre of Paris, the Berlin Museum, etc. of Europe and the American Museums have dug up and carried away heaps of wonderful objects of Egyptian art and culture.

Islamic Egypt and its art is treasured in the Arab Art Museum in Cairo, where one can study the grand evolution of Islamic Art from 642 when General Amir Ibu conquered Egypt and built its first mosque. The work was continued under the Tulunid dynasty (868-904) and the Tatunid dynasty (969-1171). Then the great Syrian hero Salah el Din (Saladin of Scott's *Talisman*) and his successors of the Ayyubit dynasty (1171-1250) built many citadels and mosques which reached their best developments under the two Mamaluke dynasties (1250-1517). The Turkish conquest of Egypt was effected in 1517 under Sultan Selim, who took Egyptian architects to Istanbul making a new mixed style, which left traces on Turko-Egyptian art (1517-1798).

During the French revolutionary wars, Napoleon ordered Captain Fouchard to rebuild the fort of Quatbay in Rosetta where he discovered the now-famous Rosetta Stone, which served as the key unfolding the secrets of the Egyptian hieroglyphs. A century and a half have elapsed since then unfolding so many branches of Orientalism, as I recorded while editing the Volume on the Bi-centenary of Sir William Jones (Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1746-1946) :

"Napoleon rendered an unconscious service to Orientalism by taking with him, on his expedition to Egypt, some of the leading scientists and savants ; and they brought to Europe the famous Rosetta Stone . . . . This trilingual inscription helped F. Champollion (1790-1832) to decipher fully the hieroglyphs. We have the satisfaction, this year (1949) to felicitate the members of the XXI International Congress of Orientalists in Paris, on

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their meeting at the 150th. Anniversary of the discovery of the Rosetta Stone (1799) which linked up—as we find today—the civilisation of the Nile Valley and that of the Indus Valley".

EGYPTOLOGY

Thus we are indebted to Egypt for giving us not only the new science of Egyptology, which served as the measuring rod of antiquity but also to help evolving the technique of Museology by exhibiting the handicrafts of ancient people, with clear reference to time and space as if in an Illuminated Manuscript on Art and Culture. Auguste Mariette, a Frenchman under instructions of the Viceroy Said Pasha, opened the first Egyptian Museum of Antiquities in 1821. It was enriched by the collections from the excavations in diverse sites : at Bulag in 1858 and at the Palace of Giza in 1890. By that time the Palermo Stone, the Turin papyrus etc. were discovered and we saw eminent French scholars working in Egypt : Gaston Maspero (in 1881-1899), E. Grebaut (1886), J. de Morgan (1892), Lovet (1897), Lacan (1914) and Rev. Drioton (1936), the last foreign director. The first chair of Egyptology was held by Prof. Champollion in the College de France. National Museum of Louvre gives opportunities to study thoroughly the history and art of Egypt. The work was then taken up by the German, the British and the Italian scholars too ; for in Italy is treasured the 'Turin Papyrus' whence the allied science of Papyrology has developed. The Royal Museum of Art and History, Brussels created the foundation of Egyptology, which publishes for the last 30 years their *Chronique d' Egypt* in French giving exhaustive surveys of all important publications on explorations in Egypt. Inspired by the devoted workers in the field of Egyptology, there has grown progressively other Oriental sciences like Assyriology, Sumerology Hittitology, Palestinology etc. which are sister-disciplines of our Indology—the earliest of all, being founded in 1784 by Sir William Jones (1746-1794).

But alas ! how few of our Indian Universities and cultured folks have bothered so far to order books pictures and catalogues on such important subjects ? They have yet to find their due place in

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the syllabus of our Universities overloaded with topics and text-books on Europe and America, while our common Mother Asia appears to be neglected and half forgotten ! Yet Mackay in his excavations at Mohenjo Daro and other archeologists have tried to trace the relations of our Indus culture with the Nilotic civilisation and with the Cretan and other zones of the ancient Mediterranean, which was the hub of ancient Chalcolithic culture. This I felt long ago while surveying the Egypto-Babylonian antiquities in the Museums of England and France, Germany and Italy, Greece and in the Near Eastern countries. But after my tour through the Near and the Middle East and after inspecting the recent finds arranged in the Museums of Teheran and Baghdad, Ankara and Istanbul, Beyrut and Damascus, I returned home more convinced than ever that the pre-metal and metal age cultures of Man can be satisfactorily studied only if we could arrange to co-ordinate the exploration and research works over the entire area from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean.

It is high time that free India and Pakistan should jointly come forward to co-operate with our colleagues working in the Soviet Asia and the Middle East. Our learned Minister of Education Maulana Azad was educated at Al-Azhar, the greatest University of Asia in the middle ages. It grew up round the mosque erected after the conquest in 969 of Egypt by the Fatimide Caliph and it was announced to be an University in 988. It would be a fine thing if our Minister of Education could invite a conference of the Universities of India and of the countries of the Middle East so that we may work out a common plan of work. Our problems—cultural as well as economic—are common in many ways, especially in view of our final adjustment of claims vis-a-vis the colonial or imperial powers of the West.

Egypt and China have taken a momentous stand in the history of modern Asia ; and India of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru cannot stand aloof and indifferent ; for in and through the politico-economic conflicts we notice that a new spirit of nationalism and regard for Asian idealism and culture have emerged to transform the entire life and economy of the Asian nations. So the Ministry of Education of India has a

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very important role to play ; and we may make a happy beginning by establishing through our Indian Council for Cultural Relations—a regular exchange of scholars and students who would bring India nearer to our friends of the Middle East and make them progressively conscious of the value of the cultural heritage of Asia which played a dominant role in the evolution of the human civilisation through ages.

I left Egypt with a sigh, for I had the premonition of troubles from Israel and the Suez Canal, while I saw from the ship British Barracks challenging Egyptian nationhood. I was also sorry that—as in the good old days—I was not permitted to take a train from Cairo via Kantara to Jerusalem which I visited in the early years of the foundation of the Hebrew University.

EGYPT AND THE ARAB LEAGUE

Egypt occupies a very significant position between Asia on the one hand and Europe on the other, with a few European Powers partitioning, among themselves, the entire continent of Africa. Linguistically speaking, the largest circulation Arab journals and newspapers are published from Egypt which occupies the central position, uniting and focussing as it were, the cultural trends of the Arab-speaking nations of Asia and of Africa,—especially of North Africa, across Lybia, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. Modern Egypt, for over a century, was exploited, nay victimised by the clashing vested interest of the European Powers, England occupying here as in India, the dominant position. Naturally, therefore, the nationalist movement in Egypt follows strangely parallel lines to that of Indian nationalism. My esteemed friend Prof. H. Hassan of the University of Cairo was agreeably surprised when I pointed out to him some interesting lines of historical convergences and similarities. I told him something about our pioneer Rammohun Roy and his junior colleague in the political field. Prince Dwarkanath Tagore (1794-1846), grandfather of poet Rabindranath. In the "Diary" of Dwarkanath we get clear references to his meeting with the maker of modern Egypt, Mabomet Ali the great Khedive. Dwarkanath was going to visit Europe for the second time, and in course of transhipment from the Red Sea to the Medi-

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terranean, he crossed the Suez in overland transport in 1845, *i.e.*, 25 years before the opening of the Suez Canal. Dwarkanath stayed in the famous Shepherd's Hotel which I visited 105 years after Dwarkanath's visit. This major hotel of Egypt was blown up by the Egyptian patriots (1952). Dwarkanath—a pioneer of Indian commerce and industry (shipping included) discussed many points of common interest with Mahomet Ali and even urged the Khedive to open a railway through the Suez to expedite the transport of goods from India to Egypt and beyond. From political discontent, the tempo of progress went on increasing in India and in Egypt ; but I found Egypt growing friendly to India amidst European tension and instability.

Arab nationalism, born about the middle of the 19th century, naturally developed into the modern movement for Arab unity, under the leadership of Egypt ; and the *League of the Arab States* came into existence at the conclusion of the Cairo Conference (March, 1945). It has no permanent President but a very active Secretariat in Cairo. It is difficult to unify the Arab States big and small, though temporarily they presented some sort of a united front against the West-sponsored Jewish State of Israel. The Arab League functions through a Committee whose chairmanship is held in rotation by the representatives of the member States : Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Yemen, but Jordon recently has dropped out. The League so far appears to be obsessed with the limited regional problem of the Jewish State, and has not succeeded in developing an all-round plan for establishing social security for the common man and peace and stability in an area considered to be one of the most important, strategic and commercial centres of the world. With the termination of the British Mandate for Palestine, the Arab League went to war against the new State of Israel in May, 1948. But the military achievements of the League were not brilliant, although its economic blockade continues to harass the new-born Jewish State. The Jewish population of the neighbouring Muslim States, right up to Iraq, were coming out in utter panic and confusion, just as a large number of Palestine Arabs were getting scattered dislocating economic life everywhere and creating a very serious "refugee"

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problem. So wherever I went I was oppressed by the sense of mutual recrimination, bitterness and frustration although a handful of politicians, *pashas* and businessmen seemed to have earned big dividends out of the suffering of the common man, irrespective of race or creed.

The population of Egypt has grown from nine million in 1897 to over 19 million in 1947. The capital city, Cairo is inhabited by about two million souls and Alexandria by about one million. In other cities we find the population strength to be from one lakh downwards. The total area is 386,198 square miles of which only 13,000 square miles (3·5 per cent) are cultivated and settled. For the deserts extend on both sides and cultivation can only thrive if cheap and easy supply of water could be provided for. About five million acres are under "perennial irrigation" and one million under "basin irrigation"—which I surveyed from air, while flying in the Egyptian plane from Cyprus, right across the deltaic Egypt, to Cairo. On the way I was shown the Rosetta village, at the mouth of the Nile, where, a century and a half ago the trilingual Rosetta stone was discovered (1799), supplying the key to the six-thousand years old hieroglyphic writings of ancient Egypt which have unlocked the mysteries of many civilisations of the Near and the Middle East.

Due mainly to the well-planned irrigation system, the Egyptian cultivators now get three crops instead of one a year. The most valuable product of Egypt is cotton, famous all over the world for its fineness, strength and length of staple. In quantity Egypt stands fifth among the world producers of cotton and suppliers of about 6 per cent of the total output. But nearly 50 per cent of the world's staple cotton come from Egypt. Thanks to the careful researches of the Ministry of Agriculture. Egypt in this age of scarcity of food crops is proud to show some surplus, specially in *onion* crop and in *rice* which have almost doubled in production between 1938 and 1947. India is thankful to receive some food crop from Egypt and I hope our Indian irrigation and agricultural experts should be sent to Egypt to learn some lesson from her desert economy. As spoilt children of Nature we Indians have fatalistically counted on her prodigalities and we have often been justly punished.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

ISRAEL AND PALESTINOLOGY

Modern politics of partition has not only generated terrible suffering among the human folks but has also created awful confusions in History. To general readers we may only request them to survey in vertical line the Sea of Galilee, on the north, and the River Jordon flowing into the Dead Sea. To the right of this line lay two Arab countries Syria and Jordan ; and to the left, along the sea board, run parallel the boundaries of Lebanon and Israeli. Syria, Labanon Jordon etc., are old familiar names but *Israeli* is a new creation of post-war politics.

But the people of Israel or the Jews are well known in history ; and the land of Palestine is not only very old but through ancient excavation and discoveries have supplied, next to Egypt, the most important aids to the understanding of the East-West migration of races. In 1928 was discovered the first remains of Stone Age Man in two caves above the sea of Galilee. In 1928-34 we find Miss Dorothy Garrod of Cambridge excavating the caves under the joint auspices of the British school of Archeology in Jerusalem and the American school of Prehistoric Research. She discovered about a dozen human skeletons (150,000-100,000 B.C.) of the Paleolithic Epoch. The bones of this Mount Carmel Man already prove that he or she belonged to a *mixed* (not pure !) race intermediate between the Neanderthal and *Homo Sapiens* type, as it may be expected from Palestine, the inter-continental bridge between Asia, Africa and Europe. Thus there is no purism or racial pride of un-adulterated stock in Science. The eminent anthropologist Dr. Franz Weidenreisch (who made great studies on the Peking Man) expressed his scientific opinion that the Homo Sapiens (the first so-callel *wise* human type) came from the East via Palestine, to North Europe. His scientific talk was interrupted by a walk-out of the German scholars from the hall of Copenhagen where the Prehistoric conference was held ! From very old

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handaxe culture to megalithic and microlithic tools, we find many phases of Stone-age culture in Palestine which shows their transition to (a) pre-pottery and (b) pottery-age objects of the Neolithic period (6000-4800 B.C.). In 1947 Prof. Garstang discovered megalithic houses in the post-Pottery neolithic caves of Mersin in Cilicia (South Turkey). Then followed the age of metals the so-called Chalcolithic and early Brozne ages of the fifth millennium B.C. These remains have been correlated with the Aneolithic phase of Egypt, the Halafian of Syria, Iraq and the Obeidian culture of Mesopotamia. On the ancient brick walls of Ghassul have been found polychrome frescoes with elaborate geometrical designs and an eight-pointed Star with stylized dragons etc.

The early Bronze age of Palestine dates from 3200 B. C. and well stratified sequences have been found in Magiddo, Beth-shan and Jericho ; correlated with Jamdet Nasr (and our Harappa culture) period of Iraq (3300-3200 B.C.), corresponding to the age of the Pyramid builders in Egypt. Thus in this epoch (3500-3000 B. C.) we find a great diffusion of culture in the Near East and the Middle East, via Syria and Palestine, "streaming into Egypt in the period just before the First Dynasty". Mesopotamia may thus get priority over Egypt ; and from that country again Abraham of Ur migrated with his Jewish flock to Palestine (C. 1900 B. C.). Then the Semitic Hyksos conquered Egypt (1700-1550) and ruled the vast area from the Euphrates to Southern Nubia, The Semitic Hyksos were in friendly alliance with the Aryan Hurrians or Mitannis, who were experts in horse training. With the Kassites showing Aryan names, definite Indo-Aryan races were marching from East to the West in the early 17th. century B. C. and they must have swept through Palestine into Egypt in their swift chariots. This has been clearly brought out by the eminent Palestinologist Dr. W. G. Albright, author of the *Archaeology of Palestine* (1949). Many cuneiform tablets of the 15-14 century B. C. have been discovered in Palestine ; and, carefully analysing the personal names, the experts have found that while two-thirds of the non-Egyptain names are Semitic, about one-third can be identified without hesitation as *Indo-Aryan*. These Indo-Aryans (of Palestine) were part of the great southward migration, which brought the Vedic Aryans south-east into the

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Punjab and south-west into northern Mesopotamia, the precursors of the Mitannis ; many personal names belonging to them have been found in cuneiform tablets from Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine—all dating between B. C. 1600 and 1250. As P. E. Dumont has shown, perhaps "a fourth of, these names like *Indaruta* (Amarna Tablet) are identical with names in the Vedas and other early Sanskrit literature."

These names provide evidence that such Indic deities as *Indra* (the Storm god), *Yamin* and *Surya*, were once worshipped in Palestine. A few Mitanni or Hurrian names appear in the cuneiform tablets of the Late Bronze Age from Palestine. The Hurrians were first identified (1889) by reference to a letter written in Hurrian by Tushratha, king of Mitanni to the Fgyptian Pharaoh of the Amarna period. In 1915 the very name *Hurrian* was discovered in a Boghaz Koi tablet ; and since then we notice a rapid progress in the reading of the Hurrian and Hittite documents. The Hittite inscription make no ethnic distinction between the two elements in the Hurrian partnership : the Indo-Aryan chieftains and their Hurrian vassals who worshipped the goddess *Kheba* giving name to Abdu-Kheba, a prince of Jerusalem in the Amarna apoch.

If some doubts still linger in identifying the quasi-Aryan language of the Hittites with their *ethnicatly* Aryan context, that relation has been established in the case of the Mitannis or Hurrians (the Horites of the Hebrew Bible) ; the study of their language has been placed on scientific footing by Prof. E. A. Speiser, who showed in his Hurrian Grammar that it was an agglutinative language resembling Sumerian or Turkish but not related to them. The Hurrians were broad-headed mountaineers, serving as one of the principal intemediaries between the Sumero-Accadian culture of Mesopotamia and of Egypt and the western Mediterranean zones. These Hurrian-Mitannis played a major part in the history of Western Asia for more than one thousand years (2300-1200 B.C.). They left to the students of Indo-European language and culture, proper names etc., in the Tell-el-Amarna archives and in the famous Vedic inscription of Boghaz Koi. Then with their Hittite compariots they apparently vanished or—should we say—got assimilated with the more aggressive Aryans of India

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and Iran on the East and the Phrygians and the Achaean Greeks who monopolised the attention of the writers of Epic Poetry led by proto-Homer and Homer (1300-900 B.C.).

The Epic kernel of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, like those of the two Indian epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*,—found elaboration at the end of the Greek Brozne age and at the close of the later Vedic epoch (1000-500 B. C.). Without risking any imaginary comparison between the Hellenic and the Hindu Epics, we may safely affirm today, that in both we find ample evidences of the parallel growth of the late Brozne and early Iron age culture, from the Indian Ocean to the Eastern Mediterranean basin. And both Greece and India borrowed from the scripts of the Phoenicians who (as we know) were the most audacious mariners and merchants of that epoch circumnavigating Africa. Naturally Indian objects like the *peacock* and the *ape* (among others) found them installed in Hebrew texts, as pointed out by Prof. Sylvain Levi in his study on the "Baveru Jataka", an early Buddhist text which faithfully transcribed the name Babylon from *Babirus*, the province of the Empire of Darius (522-485) who remembered how the crafty Phoenician merchant sailors were superseded by the Ionian Greek mariners, who became his subjects. The name *Ionian* came to be transcribed by our old Sanskrit grammarians as *Yavanas* or foreigners who left another term *Yavanika*, or the curtain of the Theatre, well-known to the Hindu dramatists. Thus by the dawn of the first millennium B.C. (C. 1000 B.C.) the linguistic, cultural and may we venture to say —ethnic relationship of Ionia and Greece, with India and Iran, was well established. The so-called Vedic blank of the 2nd. millennium B.C. (2000-1000 B.C.) have now—luckily through the expert aid of Archaeology—been filled up by proto-Aryan or quasi Indo-European folks like the Hyksos, Kassite, Mitannis and Hittites of Western Asia.

We should try to verify these findings with reference to our late Indus cultures and middle Vedic texts. With the collapse of the Hyksos, Egypt again dominated over Palestine ; and Cannanite art, in Syria and Phoenicia, is thus found strongly influenced by Egyptian models *e. g.*, on ivory and bone inlay-work or on carved metal objects. In the mound of Beit Mirsim we find running

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fawns on inlay and Minoan *Manasa*, the Serpent goddess in stelae (1900 B.C). Her sister another Minoan Manasa, is found in Crete before the destruction of Knossus (1500 B.C.) by the Aryan pre-homeric Achaeans who inaugurated the late Bronze and early Iron ages of Greece and the Mediterranean. On a seal cylinder (*Circa* 1300 B.C.) the goddess Astarte appears from Bethal site where nobles' homes with plastered floor and stone-lined drains have been found. Potteries and jars, etc., of Mycenian pattern (C. 1400 1200 B.C.) prove imported culture from Greece as also from Cyprus. In this late Bronze age, the Cannanites were using 4 or 5 systems of writing.--(1) Accadian cuneiform, (2) Egyptian hieroglyps, (3) a linear alphabet like proto-European script (4) Ugarit cuneiform (5) the syllabic script of Byblus. These prove very brisk and prosperous trade relations and foreign contacts.

From 1887 onwards hundreds of cuneiform tablets have been found in the Egyptian archives of Tell-el-Amarna which throw a flood of light on the politics and social life of that epoch. In the fourth millennium sites of Jericho shrines were discovered with animal figures and *linga* (phallus) symbols which thus was a cult-object in Palestine. So in the Cannanite art of 2nd. millennium B.C., we find figures of the nude goddess *Asherch*, with arms upraised and grasping stalks of lily or the serpent. So there was a common material and religious culture in the 13th. century B.C. (1300-1200 B.C.), when the peoples of the Sea or the Phoenicians or the Philistines settled in North Israel or Phoenicia-Lebanon. With the extension of contacts the Israelites began infiltrating into the land which, in a truncated form, emerged as *Israeli* of today.

The Egyptians called Iron, the 'metal of Heaven *i.e.*, made from *meteorites*. Iron came into Palestine in the 14th. century B.C. when the Hittites used iron as their monopoly product (1400-1200 B.C.). The Philistines also made iron their monopoly for it gave the most effective weapon which (as in the case of the Dorian invaders of Greece) made short work of the softer bronze weapons. The Philistines conquered and absorbed the Cannanites and also vanquished the Israelities, who could throw off their foreign yoke under king Saul (C. 1020 B.C.). Then came King David, author of the *Psalms* (950 B.C.), who stabilized the Jewish State which was famous all over the Middle East in

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the reign of king Solomon the Just (950 B.C.). But as compared with the imported culture from Greece, Cyprus and Rhodes, we find a decline in the material arts of life when the later Israelites began their career. King Hiram (969-936 B.C.) of Sidon and Tyre was a friend of David and Solomon. And he took full advantage of the collapse of the Philistine Empire to extend the commercial Empire of Sidon right up to West Mediterranen where, as in South West Spain, Phoenician ivory objects have been found. King Solomon's reign (reflected in the *Ecclesiastes* and in the *Song of Songs*) was most prosperous and several specimens of art and architecture (royal stables etc.) have been found (1929-1938) at Magiddo and elsewhere. The oldest Jewish inscription is found on soft limestone which contains some songs written as it were on a school boy's slate and called the *Gazer Calendar* (C. 925 B.C.) which, as in Hesiod or in our Indian Khana's counsels (or Baramasya), give the order of the chief agricultural operations in the year. Israelite masonary works are found at Samaria (900 B.C.) and amulet figurines of the Mother-goddess (700 B.C.), from Tell Beit Mirsim. In 900 B.C. Egypt invaded Israel and sacked Jerusalem : but it was freed by Asa of Judiah in 895 B.C. Then followed the conquest by Nebuchadnezzar who deported the Jews. Their temple fell in 586 B.C. and the Jews emigrated under prophet Jeremiah ; and, with Babylonian captivity the name Israelite was changed into the *Jews*. Cyrus allowed the Jews to return and they came back under Prophet Ezra and built their second temple, in 516 B.C., where Alexander offered sacrifices sparing Jerusalem. In 63 B.C. Pompey took Jerusalem and its temple but left the altars and its treasures untouched. After a formidable Jewish revolt the Jews were totally dispersed, their temple was destroyed (70 A.D.) and only the "wailing walls" now stand as a pathetic memorial and a bone of contention between the Jews and the Arabs. The Muslim Arabs claimed Palestine as a gift to them by Allah and after Mecca and Medina, Jerusalem is the third holy city of Islam. The Muslim history of Palestine forms the chapter of mediaeval chronicle in which the Muslims and the Christians clashed for centuries, while the Jews were wandering homeless all over the world.

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But with a phenomenal devotion and tenacity they conserved their religion and culture and contributed substantially to the material and cultural progress of the diverse countries of their adoption. Jewish scholars, artists and scientists, from Spinoza to Einstein, enriched their native culture and also illumined the thoughts of mankind.

THE FIRST JEWISH STATE

In my previous tour in undivided Palestine, under British Mandate (ever since 1920), I could move from place to place by trains or buses oblivious of the possibility of violent explosions, racial as well as religious, in the Holy land—sacred not only to the Jews but to the Christians and Muslims as well. When I visited the splendid Library, the Museum and other departments of the Hebrew University (Founded in 1918—inaugurated in 1925), I naturally hoped that through that institution not only political reconciliation but economic collaboration and even cultural synthesis of the Hebrew, the Christian and the Muslim—the three major elements, could be effected.

In the middle of the 19th century some German and Russian Jews, through their writings started the movement of Zionism or the idea of settling the homeless wandering Jews in Palestine. A Jewish journalist of Vienna, Theodor Herzl published a significant paper. *The Jewish State* from Paris in 1895 ; and the Zionist Congress met in Basel in 1897 with the aim of "establishing for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine". The 20th century opened with the creation of the Jewish National Fund (1901). In both the First and the Second World Wars, the Jews closely co-operated with the Anglo-American bloc which supported the plan of creating an independent Jewish State, if an agreement could be reached at between the Jews and the Arabs.

But the Arabs strongly objected, proposing instead, an independent Palestine, *free from* foreign interference, with the *de facto* Arab majority. The Arabs re-emphasised their point that "no proposal which involved any form of *partition* or Jewish immigration would be acceptable as a basis for the solution of the problem." In April, 1947, on the eve of our Indian independence (with the

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heavy price of partition) the Britisht Government requested the United Nations to finalise the settlement of Palestine under the Article X of the U.N. Charter. In November, 1947, the General Assembly passed a resolution recommending a scheme of partition which the Jews accepted, but the Arab States decided to resist at any cost. Serious destruction of life and property naturally followed, although the State of Israeli came into being on May 14, 1948. In January, 1949, the first General Election took place and Dr. Chaim Weizmann was elected the first President of the Republic of Israel which soon came to be recognised as the 59th Member of U.N.O (May, 1949), just one year after the termination of the British Mandate. In Dec. 1952 Itzhak Ben-Fvi was elected President for five years and in that period the population figures doubled to about two million. But the intensity of Arab hostility to the Jews became very serious. Jordon forcibly took possession of the important Pilgrimage sites of old Jerusalem, and the final explosion came in the autumn of 1956 when Israel joined England and France to attack Egypt, the leader of the Arab League which (as we have shown) emerged with signs of serious disruption. But the future of Israel looks no less gloomy.

Thus while we were moving, along the fringe of Palestine and other States of the Middle East we were very sorry to gather distressing news from our friends of Lebanon and elsewhere. I noticed signs of deterioration in human and economic relations everywhere—just at a time when the new Middle East was striving to be reorganised and self-sufficient. Communalism and religious bigotry must give way to enlightened self-interest which may gradually reveal itself not only to the Arabs and the Jews but also to all sincere believers in the future of modern Democracy. Hebrew monotheism, Christian socialism and Islamic equality should stand united for the welfare of the suffering millions of Asia in particular and for World Peace in general.

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CHAPTER NINE

MUSEUM OF MAN IN ASIA

If we want to make the cause of Asian culture a matter of universal appeal and not of mere academic interest, we must at once decide to design and build a central museum of Asian Art and Culture in India. Such a museum, if adequately equipped from the point of view of the modern science of Museology, will probably exert greater influence on our teeming millions of common men, women and children, than that of many of our learned societies, academies and universities which cater mainly to the needs of the "higher" classes, while ignoring the pressing claims of direct *visual education* of our masses surging with a new consciousness of self-respect and self-expression.

LACK OF PLANNING

Most of the museums of India are regional in their jurisdiction and parochial in their outlook. There is however the Central Asian Museum in Delhi ; but even that collection was made quite accidentally, and not out of a definite planning. The India Government, which financed largely the explorations of Sir Aurel Stein, demanded that some portions of the archæological finds of those expeditions must be kept in India. The Central Asian antiquities, mostly shipped to England were only partially represented in the Stein collection in Delhi, which has got to be supplemented by duplicates or replicas to be collected by arrangement with the other Central Asian expeditions, sponsored and financed by the French, German, Russian and Japanese governments and learned societies. So in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, we find a few fragments of stones, sculptures and other antiquities from Indonesia, Indo-China etc., which possibly came to the Museum from the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the oldest scientific society in India, to establish cultural exchange with other Asian countries.

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But, while tremendous progress has been made in the exploration and conservation of antiquities and art-objects from Greater India under the direction of the French, the German and the Dutch scientists and archaeologists, no systemetic attempt so far has been made by the Indian Depatment of Archaeology to establish regular exchange even of photographic documents, what to speak of concrete specimens, from our neighbouring Asian zones of art and archaeology with which our own history is intimately, and organically, connected. A similar neglect, and a most lamentable one, could be detected, if we examine the numismatic collections of India, official as well as non-official. While plenty of rare coins have been surreptitiously removed from India no systematic attempt has been made to complete, so far as possible, our national cabinet of coins, seals and medals, as the French Government have done long ago by building up its admirable collection of "Coins and Medals". History of our seals goes back to 3rd millennium B.C., thanks to the discovery of the Indus Valley civilization. But our actual coins, the pre-Greek "punch-marked" and the Greek types, date from about the epoch of Alexander the Great, (4th century B.C.). How unprepared we all were, when representative men and women from the various countries of Asia came to attend the first Asian Conference, was amply demonstrated by the hopelessly inadequate presentation at the Delhi Exhibition, of the plastic and pictorial arts of India, against the grand traditions of Asian Art. The Department of Archaeology fared slightly better by organizing an Exhibition of Asiatic Art and Archaeology ; but alas, the gaps and lacunae were so serious that it was not possible to hide the patent fact that our modern Department of Archaeology, in its career of over half a century, could not make up its mind as to the urgency of supplying the indispensable parallels from Asian Art to the samples of India Art and Archaeology. A hurriedly improvised collection of Asian antiquities will do justice neither to Asian nor to Indian Art ; for their organic relations have got to be worked out and integrated into a scheme and planning of the National Museum of India, with its living international context of Asian Art and Culture.

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Not knowing whether the Education Ministries of the two new States of Free India and Pakistan would undertake the planning of such a museum, I would like all the same, to present to the public my modest blueprint of the museum of Man in Asia.

EARLY MAN IN ASIA

The problem of the antiquity of Man in Asia has assumed a new importance ever since the discovery of the Java Man (Pithecanthropus Erectus) over half a century ago. The next sensational discovery was that of the Peking Man (Sinanthropus Pekinansis) about thirty years ago. Meanwhile, from East Asia our attention was diverted to the home-land of the Mount Carmel Man, in Palestine which is probably the land-mark in the migration of man from Asia to Europe where we already noticed different types of the "Fossil Man," of the Palaeolithic epochs.

Asia can make a substantial contribution to the study of Early Man and his culture in the Old Stone Age, if we could develop in India an Institute of Human Palaeontology, just as the French *savants* have established in Paris. The study of the *flora* and *fauna*, associated with the Java Man has already convinced the Dutch scientists that the Indonesian *fauna*, of those remote Stone Ages, could be correlated with those of the Tatrot region of the Siwalik Range of North India. This early Siva-Malayan *fauna* was followed, in Indonesia, by another series, the Sino-Malayan ; and the Peking Man is now accepted to be a cousin of the Jave Man, both using *rice* as their foodstuff. Thus intensive research and exploration in India may lead to the identification of the Himalayan Man (prognosticated by the Sivapithecus) and his culture.

The first gallery of our National Museum should, therefore, be dedicated to Early Man in Asia, exhibiting, from the standpoint of comparative anatomy and human palaeontology, all available materials relating to Fossil Man and his cultures, indicating the possible lines of migration in a map of the Palaeolithic epoch. The Cenozoic Institute of China has already done splendid work in that line ; and India should not lose a single

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day in building up her own Institute of Human Palaeontology, utilizing all the rich materials, collected so far by her Botanical and Geological Survey, during the last century. The De Terra mission, from U. S. A., have unearthed and correlated heaps of Palaeolithic materials, especially of hand-axe culture, from the Soan River Valley (Rawalpindi Glacier) and, the Nurbudda Valley, down to Chingelput and Madras. The Ice Age cycles, together with the sequence of the Palaeolithic, the Mesolithic and the Neolithic cultures of India and of Asia, should be demonstrated with reference to tools and implements dating from beyond one million years to about 10,000 B.C., when definite Neolithic agriculture settlements were growing in the valley of the historic rivers like the Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates, the Indus and the Huang-Ho in the Middle and the Far East. With the help of the latest method of Radio--carbon readings scholars have taken the antiquity of human occupation levels in Jericho (Jordon) as far back as 6250 B.C. and also of Hassunah (Assyria) aneolithic village of the same epoch.

Thus long before the Pyramid builder's of Egypt and the Sumerian cities of Uruk and Ur of the river-valley culture, man in the East built settlements for his family and domesticated animals on old oasis-sites with perennial springs like Jericho and in other old places where we find ruins of stone walls built by shaftless stone-hammers.

PROTO-HISTORIC GALLERIES

The Pre-historic Gallery of the Museum should lead naturally to the Proto-historic collections, representing the transition from the Stone to the Metal Age, admirably exemplified by our Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa cultures of the Third millennium B.C. But the atlas of Mesolithic, Megalithic, Microlithic cultures in the context of Neolithic India, with its continental background and cultural distributions, still remain to be prepared. Neolithic implements and cave painting, bone and bead objects, sun-baked and fire-baked bricks, wheel-made potteries, and their designs. typology, their texture and sequences, should be fully exhibited, covering the gap between the *circa* 10.000 B.C.—3000 B C. when the Stone Age culture definitely yielded place to the Metal

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Age, through the transitional Copper-Stone (Chalcolithic) culture of the Indus Valley which should be compared with the Mesopotamian finds and the Yang-Shao chalcolithic culture of China.

Our concrete archaeological remains, however, will suddenly become very scarce in the transition from the Copper Age to the Iron Age (3000—1000 B.C.), when very important migrations were taking place. The Negritos ; the Austric or Proto-Australoids, the Pre-Dravidians, the Dravidians and the Aryans came to occupy the stage of India and the Middle East. The galleries would naturally be filled up with the valuable ethnographic and anthropological materials which would richly supplement the meagre data of our monumental and textual archaeology of the Vedic and the Avestan literature.

ETHNOGRAPHY & ANTHROPOLOGY

From the numerically small yet ethnographically significant races like the Negritos, the Veddas, the Todas, the Brahuis etc. of South and Western India, to the Santals, the Mundas, the Oraons, the Kharias, the Gonds etc. of Central and Eastern India, we may display a grand gallery of human types and races. They showed the fusion and formation of the Pre-Dravidian, the Dravidian and the Megalithic culture groups (with their huge stone pillars, dolmens, petroglyphs, stone and earthen pots), and the Nordic or Aryan families of Man in India and Asia.

A leading authority on the race problem of India, Dr. B. S. Guha, formerly of the Anthropological Survey of India, has, in his scientific studies, divided the multitudinous ethnic types of India into the following six main groups :—

(1) The Negritos, inviting parallelism from the vast ethnological collections of Africa which, as we know, was connected with India in the remote Geological pre-historic epoch (Gondwana land).

(2) The proto-Australoids, including the Veddas of Ceylon, the Todas of Nilgiri and other Pre-Dravidian races who are now accepted to be the progenitors of the people who reached far-off Australia where about 3 lakhs of them were isolated as aboriginals. The tree-dwelling, the boomerang and

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corroboree dance etc., of the Australian aborigines should be exhibited side by side with the ethnographic collection of Pre-Dravidian South India, Ceylon and of South Africa.

(3) The four major Dravidian language-speaking races—the Tamil, the Telugu, the Canarese and the Malayalam,—have been classified as Mediterranean ; and thus Oceanic contacts and migration of races from the ancient Mediterranean world to the Indian Ocean, should be demonstrated by suitable exhibits from the Ethnographic collections of the Western world. From the West or through Western Asia there entered two very important racial streams which are now characterized as,

(4) The Western Brachycephals, consisting of the Alpinoid, the Dinaric and the Armenoid races. While most of the early human types were long-headed, the broad-heads of the group are later members of the human family having some correlation with the highlands. It has been surmised, therefore, that, such racial mutations have taken place in mountainous countries, probably somewhere near the Central Asian mountain-axis, where conditions favourable to the growth of the head in the *transverse* rather than in the *longitudinal* direction existed. These "broad-headed" races appear, along with other types, in the Indus Valley, during the Chalcolithic time (3000 B.C.), and later in the Megalithic and Iron Age sites of Hyderabad and Tinnevelly (C. 1000 B.C.).

(5) Another great race with Western affinities were the Vedic Aryans, who are cousins of the Greco-Romans and who, therefore, belonged to the Indo-European family of language and culture. They possibly came from the Northern Steppe zones, between South-Eastern Russia and South Western Siberia. They were proud of their white skin and are termed Nordic by ethnologists. They characterized all the pre-Aryan races conquered by them as "black and noseless" fellows ! They migrated with the Hittites, the Mitannies, the Kassites etc., through the Iranian plateau and occupied India somewhere in the 3rd-2nd millennium B.C. They developed a regional Indo-Iranian culture with their Vedas and they expanded their

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economic and cultural relations in that historical region, extending from the Land of the Two Rivers (Mesopotamia) to the Land of the Five Rivers (Sind-Punjab). Here, for the first time, the archaeological evidences came to be richly supplemented by some of the earliest and noblest of human literary creations : the Vedas, the Avesta and the Great Epics of India of Greece and of Iran.

These Aryans with their Western neighbours, the Semitic (also a Mediterranean race) and Turanian races, will fill up the history from 2000 B.C. to 1000 A.D., and most of our books and museums are full of materials collected from the culture history of these races.

(6) Lastly, we must remember the teeming millions of the Mongoloid races, who are scattered all along our Northern and Eastern frontiers : the peoples of Ladak and Tibet to our North and the Sino-Tibetans, the Tibeto-Burmans the Chinese and others who for thousands of years, have infiltrated through the East, into our sub-continent and acted also as the carriers of our religion and culture into the heart of Central Asia, China, Korea, Siberia, Japan and other nations of the Pacific world including America. So, this section of our national gallery will have two big wings displaying (i) Indo-Mongolian and (ii) Indo-Pacific culture materials.

Thus our projected Museum of Man, if adequately equipped, will enable us to visualise the history of all the major races, inhabiting the vast region, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The obscure Negritos will remind us of the context of the old African continent. The Proto-Australoids will link up the history of culture in South India and Ceylon (where early man has also been traced), with that of Indonesia and Australasia, in the Early Stone Ages. The Mediterranean races, in their turn, will link up the culture of the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods with the Chalcolithic civilization of the river valleys from Egypt and Mesopotamia to the Indus and the Huang-Ho basins. The Indo-Iranian or the Aryan galleries will develop into a veritable museum of Indo-European civilization with Greco-Roman and Indo-Iranian art and culture penetrating as far as China and Indonesia.

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State Museum.
LUCKNOW.

Lastly, the Indo-Pacific gallery will display the art and culture of the various races of Indonesia, Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, to whom I devoted my pre-war volume, *India and the Pacific World.* While working as a Visiting Professor to the American University of Hawaii, I was glad to observe how thoroughly the American experts have worked in building up the famous Bishop Museum of Honolulu. The cultural traits, the economic life and the social setting of the common men and women of the vast Pacific world have been displayed to their best advantage ; and at the end of the second World War, the American Government have come forward to finance generously the new projects drawn up by the experts of the Museum Association of America.

So, in Europe I found France, with her special intuition and sympathy for the common man, gradually developing, through her various institutions, especially through the International Office of Museums, Paris, a model plan of the Museum of Man. As early as 1875 the French school of Anthropology was founded in Paris by Paul Broca. Art collections from India and Indo-China came to be housed in the famous Musee Guimet, founded by the noted French industrialist Mr. Guimet of Lyon. So, the admirable Chinese collection of Paris was built up by M. Henri Cernuschi between 1871-73. The Paris Institute of Ethnology provides for a thorough study of the sciences of Comparative Ethnology, of Human Geography, Languages and Religions. The famous Institute of Human Paleontology, founded by the Prince of Monaco, is devoted to laboratory researches on the Comparative Anatomy of fossil men discovered in any part of the world. It gives courses on pre-historic archaeology and ethnography under eminent savants like, Prof. Henri Vallois and Prof. H. Breuil of the College de France. The French Government established a new gallery, called the National Museum. of Popular Arts and Traditions, which would serve as a model to our central as well as to our regional museums. For, along with the art of exhibiting materials in the public galleries, the French experts developed laboratories of research, its special library (*bibliotheque*) with departments of documentation and

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bibliography ; its collection of rare photographs, prints and other materials ; its *phonotheque* or collection of phonographic records of folk songs, ballads, and lastly its *econotheque* or samples of economic life, exemplifying the techniques of rurals arts and crafts, and the standards of living of the common men and women as manifested by the teeming millions of our rural folks in their village architecture, domestic, equipments, folk dancing and other manifestation of the zest in living and joy of community life

Now that India, with several of her sister nations in Asia, is starting a new chapter of life in Freedom, we should think not only of gods and demi-gods, conquerors and emperors, dominating so far the fancies and galleries of Man. We should remember that through infinite sacrifice and patience, the common men and women have laid the foundations of our society and civilization. This silent yet significant history still waits to be visualized and popularized, through a new system of mass-education, symbolized by the Museum of Man, where even our illiterate millions would be able to follow directly, by means of their eyes and ears, the main lessons of the basic unity of Mankind amidst the diversity of cultures.

PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST UNITY

The discovery of gold, diamond and other wealth of Africa led to the partition of that vast Continent among the British French, Belgian, Portuguese, German, Italian and other Western nations. So the discovery of the oil wells in Shahara and in the Middle East attracted to those regions the diplomatic attention of not only the Europeans but also of the Americans.

The collapse of Germany and her ally Turkey in the First World War liberated two opposite forces simultaneously ; (1) the growth of Arab nationalism and (2) the progress of Zionism towards the foundation of a permanent home for the Jews in Palestine and the creation of the Jewish State of Israel in May 1948. Then the third factor—(3) the Soviet State—from 1917—with its allies, organised a new Communistic order all along the northern frontiers of the Near and the Middle East from the Black Sea to the Pacific. From the bleak and cold North, Soviet Russia is ever looking towards the warm waters

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of the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea ; and the North-South drive of Soviet strategy is conspicuous all over the Middle and the Far East. No wonder then that the North-American Atlantic pact council (NATO) stretched its geographical limits to South East Asia (SEATO), so as to include Greece and Turkey, Israel, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan—for joint action under the Eisenhower Doctrine. Egypt is a sturdy champion of the Arab nations and Cairo is the head-quarters of the Arab League organized in 1945.

The forerunner of the Covenant of the Arab League was a pact now half-forgotten—the Treaty of Sa'adabad. It was concluded in 1937 between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan—the last appearing for the first time in the diplomatic annals of the Middle East. Irrespective of their religious and cultural differences—some Shia, some Sunni, some monarchical, some republican—these Muslim States pledged (1) the inviolability of their respective frontiers and (2) consultation on international questions affecting their common interests. We now know that 20 years after the Sa'adabad pact, Turkey Iraq, Iran etc. are eagerly co-operating with the Western powers and with the western Oil Companies. So Iraq maintains lucrative partnership with foreign Companies and is ever looking Westward. Iran is recovering after a major oil crisis and improving her economic and political relations with the West, as a member of the Baghdad Pact. This pact partly disrupted the Arab League and created confusion among the Muslims of North Africa and the Middle East. For the Hashemite Kingdom of Iraq pulled Jordon out of the leftist influences of republican Syria and Egypt. Thus the West is again getting entrenched, through military or financial aids, so that Lebanon and even Saudi Arabia (homeland of Islam) are under the influence of Western Powers.

Egypt, thanks to the support of its, own people and of the United Nations survived the three-pronged attacks from Israel France and England. But President Nassar in his latest outspoken statement in the "Look" Magazine (25 June 1957) gave his frank opinion about the dangers of the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine of guns and dollars threatening to disrupt the Afro-Asian solidarity demonstrated by the Bandung Conference of

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1955. Premier Nehru also echoed the same feeling and anxieties in his memorable speech before the Indian Parliament (Dec. 1956) which we quote partially to conclude this discussion :

"The first effect of the Baghdad pact was to split up the Arab nations to bring dissensions among the countries of Western Asia. One of the proximate causes of subsequent development in Western Asia was the Baghdad pact leading the opposite party to have pacts and more armaments. The result is that in the balance we do not have greater security so far as armaments are concerned and we only have the cold war and fear. . . . .All over the world today there are foreign forces spread out, foreign bases everywhere. There are scores of countries with foreign bases today. Well it is my belief that the right approach the basic approach to this problem is the removal of all foreign forces and bases from every country."

The danger of another world tension and trouble arises from the U. S. A. stepping into the Middle-East arena, as a regular member of the Military committee of the Baghdad Pact, America appears to be interested in creating a military command for the Middle East, complacently accepted to be under the "vacuum" theory. It may degenerate into a major storm-centre of the world.

In this context of deteriorating world situation, I wish to close this survey with a few observations. Diplomatic contacts and bargainings, so exaggerated today, should be supplemented nay strengthened by fostering non-military economic exchange and cultural cooperation. But unfortunately the economics of exploitation so dominate the world market that it results in the inordinate profit of a few nations or business syndicates while in Asia and Africa, the common man is inhumanly victimized. I saw this clearly through my personal contacts with the ordinary men struggling for bare existence. The smouldering fires of discontent flaring up now and then, as in Abadan or in Suez, are danger-signals which must be promptly attended to if we want to avoid a world-wide conflagration. The Common Man everywhere—even in the desolate desert regions—is educated by word force to a new sense of *right to live*, irrespective of colour or creed. But the Western Powers have

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grown habituated, during the last three centuries of colonialism to exploit the East and is still bent on continuing the game in different garbs and with minor alterations in method. That attitude must be changed forthwith and World Government, in the true sense, should be made to function, to avoid World Chaos. War hysteria and the race for thermo-nuclear armaments are portentous symptoms of an Epidemic which threatens to annihilate entire Mankind. More food, more health and more occupation for the backward and under-developed folks of the world—should not only be the slogans in the mouth of the leaders, but realized, living realities. Truth alone leads to victory as Mahatma Gandhi affirmed while he gave us a solemn warning. We may be cleverly trying to smother Truth, the first casualty in the Cold War but we will then be preparing possibly for the most devastating wars destroying human civilisation.

Economic and social privations lead to mental inhibitions and emotional tensions which modern psychologists know to be the potent cause of war. To tackle with this problem humanitarian and cultural relations between nations must be developed on a planned basis—which alas—is sadly missing today. A few hurriedly devised "Pilot-projects" have been launched by the UNESCO but their efficiency is debatable being often detached from the world context. Instead of wasting money over the flying squads of cultural missions on Government level, there should be non-official delegations—frequently exchanged—of teachers, doctors, social workers and artists who would establish human relations and foster good neighbourliness, the very foundation of world peace.

But bad neighbourliness has come to be the order of the day, not forgetting the pernicious race or colour prejudice which threatens to explode violently in the Near East and in Africa. The Institute of Race Relations in South Africa is managed by some well intentioned scholars, but they regretted having little voice in government and less influence with interested politicians. The abnormal relation between the Whites and the non-whites, the Jews and the Muslims, the employer and the employed, must be readjusted and rectified through closer human contacts and the wide propagation of the Gandhian

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Ethics of non-violence and his system of the Basic or Fundamental Education. Every University, College and School should be treated not as degree-selling agency—but as nurseries of Humanist teachers to help mankind out of ignorance, poverty and degradation. The Education budget therefore must be rehabilitated out of the degrading state of a poor relation to the all devouring Military budget. A cursory look on the respective allocation of funds would convince us that we are ruining the chance of real education through peace and for world peace. Mobile Exhibition of Arts and Crafts, of educational films and good music, international Theatre and Sports movements among the rising generations of men and women, will go a long way to prepare the mind of Man for a stable peace and concord and may stimulate a new Renaissance—five centuries after the 1453 renaissance. Defying Kipling the sane leaders of the West are calling the East eagerly to cooperate with the western nations. So the East, gaining independence progressively, is learning to seek the expert advice of the Western scientists and thinkers. The British, the American and the French archeological institutes and their experts have rendered yeomen service for years, in recovering, from the dead mounds and monuments, priceless materials for the history of Man in Asia and Africa in fact, of the dawn and decay of civilisation. Selfless services rendered by the West will be appreciated and remembered with gratitude by the entire East which must be helped to conquer hunger and diseases, ignorance and suspicion. These are the most immediate and dangerous enemies of Humanity. World Peace could be won by the strategy of Friendliness and Truth, Non-violence and Love—secured not simply by diplomatic pacts but by the superior wisdom preached through ages, by the poets and prophets of Asia.

May the West join hand with the East and stabilize the human family as a whole.

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A MESSAGE FROM

Major-General M. Naguib

Ex-President of the Egyptian Republic

I was interested to hear of your celebration of the millennium of the great Arab philosopher Avicenna*, and of the growing interest which young Americans are taking in the culture of the Orient. I am sure that you, as Visiting Professor of Asian Civilization in American Institutions, must be gratified to find that your effort is bearing fruit ; I cordially wish you continued success.

You tell me that your colleagues and yourself propose to celebrate in 1953 another anniversary ; this time an Occidental one, the Renaissance (1453). If I describe it as "Occidental', this is not to mean that Oriental influences and factors have not played their part in that remarkable flowering of the human spirit which goes under the name of the European Renaissance. It is for the sake of convenience that we give it a name as well as a date.

And if we of the East claim a share in the birth of the Renaissance, we also put a claim to be counted among its heirs. It is true that, in the centuries which succeeded the XV century, the contacts between us and the West were vitiated by the movement of European expansion and domination. But that phase of relationships is happily approaching its close, and will be succeeded, I hope, by another phase of fruitful collaboration between free men and women and free nations of the East and the West.

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* Dr. Nag and his Iranian colleague Prof. Armajani organized the millenary celebration of Avicenna in the Macalester College, St. Paul, President Dr. Turck and his staff of the College participated and Dr. Coffey, President of the Hamline University presided. Thus the East and the West collaborated in honouring the great Iranian Doctor Philosopher Avicenna whose books were treasured with equal zeal by the scholars of Europe and of Asia, as expressed by a learned colleague of the Medical faculty of the Minnesota University.

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DISCOVERY OF ASIA

III

PACIFIC WORLD

DEDICATED

TO

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Master-Builder of the *Visva-Bharati*

Purodha, Brhattara Bharata Parishad. (Greater India Society).

Poet-Pioneer of the *New Orient* and of the *New World Order*,

With profound gratitude.

8th May, 1941

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INTRODUCTION

The Pacific Ocean in our early school days was made to appear too far away to have any relations with India and too vague and vast for seeking human relationship. Books of geography were mostly manufactured in the countries bordering on the Atlantic and therefore we find in them a pardonable exaggeration of the importance of the Atlantic civilization. What was unpardonable however was the indifference and ignorance, betrayed by the general group of writers, regarding the history of the Pacific countries and their cultures. The beauty and diversity of the Pacific World have been depicted, no doubt, by a few eminent writers but they have failed so far to take the average readers to the heart of the Pacific life and society, beyond the queer exoticism and the romantic haze emanating from the film-studios.

Yet the Pacific was a grand repository of cultural treasures and a vast reservoir of historical traditions. Sailing in 1924 with Dr. Rabindranath Tagore into the Western Pacific, I was blessed by the Master Poet in my endeavour to trace the cultural and artistic relations of India with the nations of the Far East : China and Japan, Java and Bali, Champa and Cambodge, Malaya and Burma offered to me a thousand points of historical contact and cultural relations which I tried to present to our countrymen through the Greater India Society (1926). The growth of public interest in Greater India became manifest through the lecture invitations accorded to me by the following Universities : Madras, Mysore, Andhra, Patna, Benares, Allahabad, Nagpur, Bombay, Osmania (Hyderabad), Gurukul (Kangri), Punjab, etc. There were also calls for lectures from Srinagar and Jammu, Baroda and Patiala, Poona and Dharwar, Bhor and Cochin, Manipur, Assam and Orissa. Everywhere I encountered a genuine curiosity and ardent enthusiasm amongst my countrymen, for which I was deeply grateful.

In 1930-31, invitations came from the League of Nations, Geneva and from the Institute of International Education, New York. Under the auspices of the latter Institute I was privileged

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to lecture on the various aspects of the Greater Indian Civilization in relation to the Pacific World at the Universities of Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Chicago, Evenston (North-Western), Pittsburg, Virginia, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oregon, Montana, Minnesota, as well as in some of the leading Museums and learned societies of the U. S. A. From the admirable collections and publications which I examined there I came to realise what grand contributions to Pacific studies have been made by American scholars like Boas and Dixon, Kroeber and Handy. Mr. friendly collaboration with the American scholars continued down to 1937-38, when I had the privilege of serving the University of Hawaii as its Visiting Professor and the University of the Philippines as its Guest-lecturer. Invited to the World Writers' (P. E. N.) Congress (1936) of Buenos Aires, I had the good fortune to meet many South American scholars and to gather some information with regard to the cultural institutes of Latin America from Mexico to Chile and of the Eastern Pacific. In 1938, I had the honour of attending, as a member-delegate of the Indian Institute of International Affairs, the British Commonwealth Relations Conference of Sydney, and thence I was privileged to visit the leading Universities and Research Centres of Australia and New Zealand.

On my way back to India, I re-visited Indo-China, Siam, Burma and Malaya and was amazed to find that everywhere there was healthy emulation in extending our knowledge from the known historical periods to the proto-historic and pre-historic epochs. The three Congresses of the Pre-historians of the Far East, held at Hanoi, Manila, and Singapore, contributed largely to the development of our interest in the Early Man in Asia. That problem was partially tackled in the admirable volume *Early Man*, published on the occasion of the 125th Anniversary of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia (1812-1937). Soon after, the Sixth Pacific Science Congress at Berkeley, California, arranged for another symposium on *Early Man in Asia and the Pacific Regions*. My esteemed friend Dr. B. S. Guha was invited to contribute to the discussions at Berkeley in 1939, while I had the honour of being invited to participate, as a member-delegate,

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in the International Congress of Anthropology and Pre-historic Archæology, at Istanbul (Sept. 1939). My notes on "India in Asiatic Pre-history" were ready for the Congress and I was about to sail for Turkey when our programme was completely upset by the outbreak of the second world war. Normal exchange of notes and publications with my learned colleagues outside India came to be rudely interrupted. Thanks, however, to the generous co-operation of my colleagues of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and specially its Honorary Secretary, Dr. B. S. Guha, engaged in reorganizing its valuable library, I could manage to complete a tolerable press copy of this book in the course of the anxious months of the first year of the war.

Ever since the publication of my "Art and Archæology Abroad" (1936) for which I am thankful to my Alma Mater, the University of Calcutta, I received many appeals from my friends and students to publish an illustrated volume, along the same lines, on the Asiatic countries specially connected with Indian cultural traditions. But surveying the vast Pacific, as I had the privilege to do, from different points of the compass, I felt that the monumental and the artistic materials must be correlated with their anthropological and pre-historic contexts. To trace the history of the Far Eastern civilization, from the age of the Peking Man and the Java Man, to the age of the modern antiquarians classifying the materials in the Museums of South East Asia was no doubt expensive venture. But I was forced to take to that path because of the absence of any handy volume which alone may have the chance of attracting the rising generation of scholars to the study of the unexplored Pacific. I am conscious, more than anybody else, of the insufficiency of presentation in this volume. I hope, however, that my defects would serve as stepping-stones for future and worthier researchers in this field. I had neither the resources nor the repose to illustrate the history of Man in Asia as a harmonious series of frescoes; my hurried chapters reflect rather a modest attempt to work the diverse materials and interpretations thereon into some sort of a mosaic of the pavement, for passers-by to tread upon, ponder for a while and then to go forward.

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Thirty years ago, the author was blessed by the Master Poet of Asia, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, with the vision of the Unity of Man in History. His sublime vision and inspiration have throughout sustained me in my work, and my gratitude is profound. He linked my humble life with the lives of many dreamers of world harmony and many noble workers for World Order. On the eve of his 80th birthday, when I had the privilege of saluting him while dedicating this volume, I felt that, even amidst the savage destruction of civilization by modern man, Tagore did not lose his faith in Man and in his Future. Returning to Calcutta from Santiniketan and sending my manuscript to the press I never suspected that the Master would not be here to receive the printed volume. I dedicate it to him in agonized silence, listening to the ineffable melody of his deathless *Gitanjali.*

"Thou hast made me known to friends I knew not
Thou hast given me seats in homes not my own,
Thou hast brought the distant near,
And made a brother of the stranger."

Kata ajanare janaile tumi,
Kata ghare dile thain
Durke karile nikat bandhu
Parke karile bhai.

While the book was going through the press, there was a setback in my health and I remember thankfully the kind help rendered by my esteemed colleagues of the University and by my beloved pupils, who spared no pains to make the book as presentable under the circumstances as possible. Among others I remember with gratitude the services of my old friend Prof. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, who, amidst his multifarious activities, kindly helped me to correct the proof-sheets with his usual thoroughness.

Space does not permit me to mention by name all the noble friends and learned institutions in India and abroad, who have helped me with their publications and suggestions, and I offer to all my sincere gratitude through this humble volume.

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CHAPTER ONE

CULTURAL MIGRATIONS IN OCEANIA

Culture is the historical bye-product as well as a very essential characteristic of man. But the history of Man is explored and interpreted with varying degrees of success in the various continents. Through sustained and systematic research, Man in Europe is better known to-day than Man in Asia ; yet, strangely enough, Asia is admitted by the majority of Anthropologists to be the "cradle of the human race." From Asia, by a process of spontaneous or compulsory diffusion, the human species reached the other continents. The Heidelberg and Neanderthal Men reached Western Europe at the Quaternary Period of the Geologists. No definite remains of Teritary Man have yet been found. If with the progress of research such remains of Man's handiwork are discovered, those will be attributed to our "elder brothers" of the early Palæolithic group. For the present we are obliged to confine our attention mostly to our own race of Man, the proto-Neolithic *Homo Sapiens* whose creative activities form the bulk of the culture-history of the upper Palæolithic period. No definite trace of Palæolithic Man has so far been discovered in the New World and consequently we may assume that the North and the South America have been peopled mainly by the Eurasiatic races of *Homo Sapiens*. Migration of culture *via* Behring Strait, from East Asia to America in the pre-historic days has been admitted by many scholars. With regard to the continent of Africa, the problem of early Man and his culture is still obscure. But the recent discovery of the Rhodesian Man already proves the existence of "an archaic Form," as says Prof. Seligman, "which persisted until a few thousand years ago." The Black Race may in course of time be proved to have reached Africa from his original cradle in Melanesia or conversely to have migrated from Africa *via* Madagascar, the Andaman and the Nicobar Islands to the Malayan world.

This momentous drama of the migration of the earliest races of the world was staged on the vast expanse of water ex-

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tending from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific. Very appropriately, therefore, this area has been characterised by the author of *Man—Past and Present* (Cambridge, 1920), Mr. A. H. Keane, as the *Indo-Pacific* domain. British scholars generally call it Australasia, while the continental scholars name it Oceania, which we prefer to adopt. India played a very important role in this drama of ethnic and cultural diffusion, and yet Indian scholars have not been sufficiently alive so far to the importance of this line of research. We hope that our brief survey of the important centres of Oceania would lead to the widening of our historical perspective.

We may open our survey with the Dark Races, who offer at present the darkest problems of anthropology. Prof. Seligman (*Races of Africa* , London, 1930), an authority on the subject, characterises them as the Negro race about whose cradle-land we cannot be sure. We can only divide them into a dark wooly-haired tall type and a short pygmy type (Negrillos-Negritos) who are physically and mentally "infantilistic." Moreover, they are divided geographically also into (*a*) African and (*b*) Oceanic or Melanesian. In this connection we may quote with profit the observations of Keane : "The cradle of the human family lay most probably in Malaysia (Java Man). From this central area of dispersion the first migratory movements ranged North to Asia, (Peking Man) West to Africa and East and South over the whole of the Oceanic world by land connections which have since been greatly reduced by subsidence." The black descendants of the Java Man may be admitted to have spread over Papuasia and Australia where they persist in their primitive form, and they also penetrated to Micronesia and even Polynesia, although here the Blacks were mostly absorbed by the later Caucasian intruders from Asia. The medium-sized or tall type is found in Papuasia, while the dwarfish Negro type is found in the Andamans and in Melanesia. One branch of this race, the Australian, is isolated and threatened with extinction. According to Seligman, "the Australian Race includes the Australians and the Pre-Dravidian tribes of Southern India and Ceylon (Vedda), the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula and probably the Toala of the Celebes." The Jungle tribes of Southern India like Kurumba, Irula, etc., and the

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almost extinct Veddas of Ceylon are short dolichocephalic races often with prominent brow ridges and noses generally platyrrhine. From the curly hair of the South Indian tribes like Kadir and Panian, Seligman admits the possibility of Negrito infiltration, and Dr. B. S. Guha has definitely identified a few Negrito types in India.

Next to the discovery of the Java Man in Malaysia comes the sensational discovery of the Peking Man in the very heart of the Mongolian world. According to Keane the original Indo-Malayans, in course of their dispersions during the early Pleistocene age, passed through Malay Peninsula, Indo-China, and India to the Himalayan regions and Tibet whence they may have entered the Mongolian world, where the original type came to be modified in the Mongoloid family. Professor Arthur Keith and a few other authorities on Fossil Man have already tried to connect the Java Man with the Peking Man and the Mongoloid race is now admitted to be the link between the Old World and America of the Red Indians.

Thus the ancient aboriginal element was represented by a widely spread "Southern Race", extending from Africa to Australia, whose primitive culture was totally submerged or has been gradually disappearing. On this Pre-Malay dark ethnic substratum was super-imposed later cultures of a composite type called Malayan, Caucasian, Indonesian, Polynesian and so forth.

The Malays are a mixed race divided into two groups—(*a*) Oceanic and (*b*) Continental. The historical Malays whose language came to be the *lingua franca* of the Archipelago had their original home in the Menangkabau district of Sumatra and the "Continental" Malays are worthily represented by the highly gifted Khmer races of Indo-China suggesting the well-nigh proved intrusion of the Mongoloid races into the domains of the Pre-Malayan Blacks ; and as a result of the intermingling there emerged the present Malay stock which was further enriched by the fair Indonesians. The mixed stock of "Oceanic or Insular" Malays, according to Keane, is met among the Dayaks of Borneo, the Tagalogs of the Philippines, Minahassas of Celebes, showing traces of Indian art, and the aboriginal races of Formosa reaching the very heart of the North Pacific. The Mongoloid Malays differed so much from the primitive

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Caucasian elements there that the latter were named by Logan as Indonesians. These include now all the natives of Caucasian type throughout Oceania. But they belong, according to Keane, to the earlier migrants, the Pre-Aryan Caucasian (Hamitic Iberian) races. They are tall, handsome with Indo-European features, who displaced the Black aborigines or Papuasians. As these Indonesians moved eastwards to their present home in the Pacific, specially in Polynesia from Hawaii and the Easter Island to New Zealand, their place was taken by the Mongoloid races, who intermarried with the aborigines, producing the present Malay stock. (Vide Heyerdahl: The Kon-Tiki Expedition, 1950).

The Pre-Aryan western Caucasians were followed by the Aryan hordes and the two streams met and commingled in the North Pacific, specially in Micronesia once under Japanese Mandate. Here we find two intrusions—(*a*) one from the north, that of the Megalith builders who passed *via* Japan to Micronesia where they joined hands with the (*b*) Southern branch "who ranged from Indo-China to Malaysia and thence to Polynesia." This hypothesis of Keane would explain the prevalence of the *Marais* and other monolithic structures scattered in the whole Pacific as far as the Easter Island and culminating, in the works of Ponape (East Carolinas), with the Cyclopean walls. No less astonishing is the fact that the Nukuor Islanders (Central Carolinas) still speak the pure but archaic from of the Maori language of New Zealand which is linguistically and culturally connected with the Hawaiian in the North Pacific. Cultural exchange between Indo-China and the Philippines is admitted now on the evidence of pre-historic finds; and Prof. Otley Beyer, one of the leading authorities on pre-historic remains of the Philippines is of the opinion that some of the Maori stone implements were derived directly from the Filipino archetypes.

Lastly, some outstanding cultural relics and institutions of Hawaii are traced back to the Kwangtung province and to Indo-China by Dr. E. C. Handy, the former ethnographist of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu. Thus we are fairly sure to-day, in spite of occasional gaps and obscurities, that there were distinct Caucasian migrations from the Indo-Malayan zone,

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through Indo-China and Micronesia, to the very heart of the Pacific where we find striking types and survivals amongst the Polynesian races. The history of race movements in Oceania could now be traced in board outlines through five important geographical zones, as given below, based on the classification of Mr. Keane :

I. Malaysia : Madagascar, the Andamans, the Nicobar Islands, Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Moluccas, Sulu, the Philippines and Formosa.

II. Micronesia : Pelew (Palan), Ladrones (Marianne), Caroline, Marshall, Gilbert, Phœnix group, etc. (under American Mandate after Japan's collapse).

III. Melanesia : *(a)* Papuasia or New Guinea, Louisiade, etc. *(b)* Bismarck Archipelago, Solomon, Fiji, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, etc.

IV. Australia and Tasmania.

V. Polynesia : New Zealand, Tonga, Mangaia, Rarotonga (Cook group), Austral (Tubnai), Society Islands (Tahiti), Tuamotu, Marquesas, Samoa, Hawaii, and Easter Island, the last about 2,000 miles only from South America where the Incas appear in Peru.

Thus Oceania is "the great insular world which comprises nearly the whole of the Indian and the Pacific Ocean."

MAN IN AUSTRALIA

The biggest island in the world as it is, Australia remained like America completely outside our geographical knowledge till its rediscovery by modern European explorers. The appearance of man in Australia and several problems connected therewith are still enveloped in mystery. A group of scholars believed in the nineteenth century, as some of them believe even to-day, that human species there could be traced back to the remote early Stone ages This school of thought was represented by Dr. Herbert Basedow, author of *The Australian Aboriginal* (Adelaide, 1929). He was the state-geologist, the chief medical officer and Protector of Aborigines for the Commonwealth Government in the Northern Territory. Over and above his extensive personal experience in Australia, he had, to his credit,

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intensive researches in the anatomical school of the University of Breslau under the late Prof. Hermann Klaatsch. Dr. Basedow also examined thoroughly the Australian skulls and skeletons in the Hunterian Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, London and in the anthropological galleries of the British Museum and other European collections. He admits that most of the evidences have been irretrievably lost, yet much might be "expected from any of the contiguous continents or islands in this region, upon which occur Tertiary or later sedimentary formations. The discovery of the oldest fossil man, the Pithecanthropus Erectus, in Java, was by no means accidental." After an excursion to Java he admitted that his knowledge of Melanesian ethnography helped him "to explain the existence of several cults in the northern districts of Australia which border on the Indian Ocean." He reiterates the theory that once a chain of lands linked together Australia, India and South Africa; "the continental masses which in past eras supplied this link, zoologists have christened *Lemuria* while geologists refer to the lost land as *Gondwana;* it is somewhere within the area once occupied by this Submerged Continent , , , , , that we must look for the cradle of the species Homo." This line of anthropological relationship connects the Australian and the Proto-Australian with the Veddas of Ceylon and the Austric or pre-Dravidians of India explaining therein at the same time the Negroid elements. He sees in the Australian Aboriginal "another palæontological overlap, a *living* fossil man." He refers to a few survivals of the fossil man in the Pleistocene gravels of the Tennant's Creek district, also in South-Eastern Queensland (Talgai skull discovered in 1884). The new school of anthropologists, however, appears to be more sceptical and some definitely deny the possibility of identifying the remains of fossil man and his handiworks. Some even consider that, as in New Zealand so in Australia, racial migrations may have taken place in late historical periods. The theories of Basedow have recently been challenged by Keith Word, Campbell, Hale and Tindale in their report submitted before the XVI International Geological Congress, Washington, 1933; and by Mr. D. A. Casey in the Third Congress of Prehistorians of the Far East, Singapore, 1938.

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But even if we are unable so far to solve the chronological problems, there is no difference of opinion with regard to the unique value of the Australian field for the students of anthropology and sociology : their nature worship, fire ceremonies and legends, the worship of ancestors, of the sun, moon and the mythical serpent, sex-worship and phallic cult, initiation, totemism and totemic diet restrictions, etc., have been exhaustively treated by Dr. Basedow and other scholars. In the religious consciousness of the Australian we find the Evil Spirit as well as the concept of a Supreme Being existing side by side. There were attempts to communicate with superhuman beings through song-dialogues, mimicry of animal sounds, group-dances and singing with music-sticks, bamboo-trumpets and skin-drums. Thus on the psychic plane they were fairly advanced although their technical skill was rather poor ; stone spear-heads of great variety have been found in North Kimberleys (West Australia) and the aborigines were familiar with both the flaking and chipping processes. Pulverizing ochre for painting was quite common, testifying to the development of distinct forms of aboriginal art. A series of rock-carvings has been discovered along the coast of New South Wales, Queensland and West Australia. Veritable primitive art galleries have been found in the Flinders Ranges (South Australia). There we find human foot-prints, tracks of the wallaby, and the turkey, the kangaroo (as we find in Hosangabad rock paintings) and Mr. Basedow observes : "These primitive carving or petroglyphs of the Northern Flinders Ranges have more than a passing resemblance to the ancient *graffiti* of Egypt." From the animal designs he concludes that the great lake-system of the Australian interior, now a huge desert as in Central Asia, once attracted many animals now extinct.

In New South Wales and Queensland the tribes developed the interesting cult of carving trees and we find thereon intricate patterns, geometrical designs, animal or human forms. Along the north-west coast of Australia where baobab trees flourish, the tribes carve various designs on the bark ; and I found many such bark-pictorial documents carefully preserved in the museums of Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney. Under the overhanging rock-

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shelters have been found many remarkable drawings, chiefly of animals, in charcoal, kaolin and ochre. Against the black wall we find designs in white, yellow and red pigments. In the cave drawings on the Humbert River (Northern Territory) we find a series of grotesque dancing figures in pipe-clay, which material together with ochres was obtained by inter-tribal barter system. Near the Pigeon Hole on the Victoria River (Northern Territory) was discovered admirable charcoal drawings of hopping kangaroos and other animals. The primitive artists manufactured his brush by chewing green shoots of cane. In the body decoration also the different tribes show a remarkable diversity of talent. Generally speaking these aboriginal pictures are flat and without perspective. But more gifted artists sometimes draw "a real scene from life combining subject with action while environment or surroundings rarely if ever receive attention." Occasionally we notice the combination of two or more figures, human beings appearing sometimes in half profile. The animal drawings are wonderfully accurate. Effigies of the demi-gods often suggest that the earliest tribal ancestors (as in Egypt) were believed to be animals first and human afterwards.

The most intriguing thing is that among the sacred tribal drawings there has been found a human figure fully nine feet in length, reminding some scholars of a crude Buddha type. One cannot be sure, however, as to what kind of external or exotic influences operated on this apparently isolated group of aborigines in Australia. We quote below a significant passage from Basedow's *The Australian Aboriginal* (pages 343-44) :

"During an expedition in the northern Kimberleys of Western Australia, it was my good fortune to re-discover several drawings of this type in practically the same locality as that recorded by Sir George Grey, near Glenelg River. One figure was perfect, others were partly obliterated or incomplete. The best design was in a cave near the top of a prominent bluff the local Worora people call Berrial ; it was drawn in ochre upon a steep face of rock immediately under an overhanging ledge of quartzite. The figure was unquestionably that of a human being, although it measured fully nine feet in length. It lay fully extended, upon its left side, with its arms placed straight against its sides. It

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reminded one forcibly of a Buddha in a Ceylonese temple. What made the figure seem un-Australian was that it was clothed in a long, striped garment, resembling a priestly gown, from which only the head, hands, and feet are excluded. A loosely fitting belt is also shown. As seems common to all these drawings, the facial features are only indicated by the eyes and nose, the mouth being omitted. Another characteristic, which is shared by all other drawings, is that the head is surrounded by a number of peculiar, concentric bands, through which, many lines radiate, giving the structure the effect of a halo surrounding the head of a saint."

Mr. C. P. Mountford, while not agreeing with Mr. Basedow with regard to the high antiquity of the materials described above, has nevertheless given a qualified support to Mr. Basedow's findings (Mountford : *Aboriginal Rock-carvings in South Australia* : Australian Association for the Advancement of Science Proc., Vol. XIX, 1928 ; *A Survey of the Petroglyphs of South Australia*, 1935). While collecting materials for his study of the petroglyphs. Mountford came to know that some native legends recorded from the Northern Flinders and Lake Eyre refer to mythical monsters called Kaddy Makara and he concluded that owing to the high standard of workmanship in the reproduction of crocodile, we must admit that rock-engraving has been carried out from times long previous to that period until the recent breaking up of the tribal groups.

Mountford has tried also to explain the meanings of the more symbolic designs like concentric circles, barred circle, straight line markings, fernleaf motif, U within U, and the sun or wheel. He concludes by saying that many of the designs "are similar to drawings made by pre-historic man made on the cave-walls of Europe, in the Canyons of the Colorado and in such widely separated places as the Shahara Desert and Tasmania." Mr. Mountford joined the party of the Anthropological Expendition to the Warburton Range (West Australia) organised by the University of Adelaide and the South Australian Museum, which has a splendid collection of ethnological and artistic materials (Norman B. Tindale, *Oceania*, Vols. 6-7, 1936).

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AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL ART : A SELECT INVENTORY

The immovable rock carvings and rock paintings apart, there are valuable collections of movable art objects in several museums of Australia and abroad. Thanks to Mr. Frederick D. McCarthy of the Department of Anthropology of the Australian Museum, Sydney,* we have now an excellent handbook, *Australian Aboriyinal Decorative Art*, published in 1938 and also a valuable paper on "A comparison of the prehistory of Australia with that of Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula and the Archipelago". (Congress of Prehistorians, Singapore 1938).

Mr. McCarthy has clssified the materials under the following heads :—

I. Eastern Australia : shields, boomerangs, spear-throwers, clubs, carved trees. II. North-eastern Queensland : swords shields, cross-boomerangs and paddles with incised and painted designs. III. Central Australia and East Kimberleys : weapons and utensils, *tjurunga* (sacred symbols), ceremonial regalia, ground drawings. IV. Arnhem Land and Adjacent Islands : (North Australia) twined baskets, bark baskets, bark drawings, grave posts, weapons, chanting tubes (didjeridu). V. Western Australia : Baobab nuts, pearl-shell phallocrypts and concentric geometrical figures.

The decorative patterns and desins on these objects, when throughly analysed and studied on a comparative basis, will form a substantial contribution to our knowledge of aboriginal art. As early as 1894 Dr. A. C. Haddon published. *The Decorative Art of British New Guinea.* Later on Raymond Firth has published an extremely interesting volume on *Art and Life in New Guinea* (1936) which should be read along with the exhaustive survey of *Melanesian Design* (1933) in two richly illustrated volumes by Gladys Reichard. The Geological Survey of New South Wales publishes from time to time special memoirs in its

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*The Australian Museum in Sydney is the oldest institution of its kind in Australia. It has valuable collection of zoological and ethnological specimens and a library containing 28,948 volumes (1937). The expenditure during the year 1937 was £18.214 and it counts on a statutory endowment of £800 per year.

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ethnological series. So the periodical *Art in Australia* publishes important articles among which should be noted "Application of Aboriginal Designs" (1930) by Margaret Preston and "Inspiration and Designs in Aboriginal Art" in 1935 by Ursula McConnel. But to understand the mind of the aboriginal artist and his social *milieu*, one must constanly refer to the notes and monographs published in the valuable journal *Oceania* edited by Prof. A. P. Elkin of the University of Sydney.

Privileged to examine his collections and to meet some of his collagues and pupils, I may say that the new group of Australian scholars are inspired by a sincere desire to study sympathetically the cultural documents of the unfortunate aborigines fast dying out.

Prof. Elkin very rightly emphasises the human values in Australian primitive art, as we see from his *Foreword* to Mr. McCarthy's book. For nearly a century the public have been taking interest in the aboriginal cave paintings and rock carvings which belonged to the life of totemism and tribal religion. But the decorations on the mundane objects also belonged, according to Prof. Elkin, to the sacred world of mythology : "These artistic designs, being links with the creative past, are traditional in character and comparatively unchanging in form. The tribal or regional distribution of designs is based on the mythologies and rituals of the tribes concerned. Just as the efficacy of a ritual depends on an exact re-enacment of the traditional form and the chanting of the old songs, even though the meaning of many of the words may be no longer understood ; so, too, the efficacy of the patterns on decorated objects depends on the careful reproduction of the motifs, if not of the exact patterns, and a knowledge of the traditional song connected with them."

After years of intensive study of Australian social organisation, economics and totemism, Prof. Elkin observes : "We can distinguish but cannot separate the economic, religious and aesthetic aspects of primitive man's life, indeed, we may add his social life ; for in some cases the purpose of the manufacture of some beautiful article is the fulfilment of a social duty."

Mr. McCarthy in his excellent monograph reflects a very sane view with regard to aboriginal art : "Each body of primitive

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art, then has to be examined in detail in its own cultural setting before comparisons may be made that will offer any valid constructive evidence concerning origins or relationships, and before the question of independent origin or diffusion may be settled."

He draws our attention to the fact that the handiwork of primitive man and primitive art motives have given a fresh stimulus to our modern decorative art, specially of Germany and America. So the International art Exhibition of Paris (1907) invited specimens of Australian aboriginal art and many of the native designs came to be utilised by commercial artists. Books on African Negro sculpture already point towards a new field of artistic study. Decorative artists will find rich materials in the two big volumes splendidly published : *Melancsian Design* by Gladys Reichard (New York, 1933) and *Art and Life in New Guinea*, by Raymond Firth (New York. 1936). Some of the Australian designs compare favourably with those of the Papuans, Melanesians and Polynesians. Artistic traditions no doubt, develop and mature in settled communities but it is no less true that art may also flourish among nomadic tribes like the Australian aborigines, the Bushmen in Africa and the Magdalenian artists of the European Stone age,

We quote below a few salient observations of Mr. McCarthy :

"The most distinctive feature of the geometrical art of Australia is the regional occurrence of concentric figures, either formed on a single continuous line, or consisting of separate figures increasing in size from the centre outwards, combined with flutings in various patterns.

"The concentric diamond and circle elements are the most widely distributed motifs, and would appear to be the oldest. To my knowledge no meaning for the concentric diamond has been recorded, although it was probably connected with totemic and spiritual ancestors or culture heroes, and varied in the different localities in which it occurs. Its origin is obscure inasmuch as it appears also in the decorative art of New Guinea, Melanesia, and Polynesia, and in fact, throughout the world. While recognizing the probability of an historical relationship between its occurrence in Australia and New Guinea, it is interesting to consider the possibility of its having been derived in Australia from the grain of timber which it strongly suggests All the Australian weapons are cut with grain, and, on carved trees, shields. and clubs in the Australian

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Museum collection, the lines of the graining have actually been used to form this pattern. Further, the repetition of the lines of the grain produces the other associated elements such as the chevron and knee-shaped flutings.

"The origin of the concentric circle in Australia is not definitely known. The occurence of intermediate concentric figures, such as ovals which link the angular diamonds and the circles, suggests the possiblity of local development ; but as the concentric circle is common in Papuan and Sepik River art, an historical relationship is more probable between its Australian and New Guinea occurences. The employment of snakes and snake-like figures in art designs throughout Australia is perhaps due to the universal distribution of the rainbow-serpent belief.. Whether the zigzag of Western Australia is a stylized example of it is not certain.

"Both naturalistic and geometric forms of art occur in rock carvings and paintings, on weapons and sacred objects, and as personal adornment on the bodies of performers in ceremonies. In some instances extreme stylization of naturalistic motifs has resulted in almost geometrical figures, perhaps as a result of the desire to conceal the ritual significance of the design from the uninitiate. One cannot say, however, that the geometric art as a whole evolved from the naturalistic ; the predominant geometric elements cannot be explained in this way."

MUSEUMS OF VICTORIA

Next to Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, we find in the beautiful city of Melbourne, the metropolis of the state of Victoria, some remarkable collections treasured in its museums, libraries and art galleries. As early as 1853, the public library of Victoria was founded and the Natural History Museum, also founded at the same period, was located in the grounds of the University of Melbourne. An Art Museum was opened in 1861 to which was added a Picture Gallery in 1864 and a Technological Museum in 1869. The public library is housed in a magnificent building opened in 1913 and is specially well represented in the sections devoted to Art, Music, Australiana, Shakespeareana and History. The Technological Museum exhibits, in the Queen's Hall and the adjoining gallery, Australian and exotic timbers, food products, ores and minerals, metallurgical models and products, agricultural tools, etc.

The Art Gallery is divided into different sections devoted to numismatics, portraits, manuscripts and documents of historical

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interest. The works of Australian painters are housed in the McArthur Gallery while the Rotunda exhibits the work of European masters valued over £1,74,000 The Print Gallery contain over 5,000 drawings and prints and is one of the finest in the Southern Hemisphere. The Verdon Gallery contains ceramics, glassware, silver, antique, specimens of Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Mediaeval, Renaissance as well as Modern art-objects. There are also Chinese, Persian and a few Indian works of art. Regular classes in painting and drawing are held in the Art Museum with students not under the age of fifteen. The full course extends over five years with day classes and night classes. There are several prizes and a travelling scholarship of £225 per annum tenable for two years and offered to the best student selected by open competition. Since 1904 over £400,000 have been spent out of the Felton Bequest in acquiring works of art for the National Gallery.

The Geological and Zoological collections are also valuable and over 12,000 specimens of Australian fossils make the palæontological collection the finest in Oceania. To the students of Anthropology, the most remarkable collection is that presented to the Museum by Sir Walter Baldwin Spencer, famous for his monumental studies on the Arunta and other tribes. His natural history and ethnological collections are displayed in the spacious Spencer Hall, containing over 8,500 specimens illustrating the aboriginal culture ; stone implements fire-making tools, canoes, bark drawings, petroglyps, ornaments, clothing, baskets, nets, wooden vessels, burial and ceremonial objects ; life-size models of the natives are used to depict totemic ceremonies and camp scenes. This kind of representation is also found in the Children's Room, which contains various types of human families and copies of the African Bushman drawings. No less remarkable is the Maori collection in the New Zealand Room, showing rare green stone and wooden implements, textiles and wood carvings. Materials from the South Sea Islands are specially valuable because those were collected "before native cultures were contaminated by European influence." There is a huge head-hunting canoe from the Soloman Islands and a big ethnological collection from the New Guinea now under Australian mandate.

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WESTERN, EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AUSTRALIA

The value of the Spencer collection of Melbourne could be appreciated when we read what a famous Australian architect observed : "I made numberless drawings from the native implements in the Melbourne Museum which houses the priceless Spencer collection." Mr. Benson earned fame by decorating the Winthrop Hall of the University of Western Australia. While visiting Fremantle and Perth on our way to the British Commonwealth Relations Conference at Sydney, we visited that Hall which represents the style of Western Australian renaissance. Here, for the first time, the designs of the aboriginal artists and craftsmen were utilized for modern architectural decoration. There is a small Australian aboriginal collection in the local museum. Perth is proud of the first *free* University of Australia, a unique experiment ; it was organised, thanks to the princely bequest of Sir Winthrop Hacket amounting to £405,000. Founded in 1911-12, the free University of Western Australia began in 1927 to draw the Government grant of £29,000.

Turning from the West to East Australia, we visited the University of Queensland while passing through the beautiful city of Brisbane. Founded in 1919, the University has shown a remarkable growth and though there is no regular department of Anthropology, I had the privilege of receiving much useful information, thanks to the kind courtesy of the Registrar and the Prof. Dr. H. C. Richards, who is a recognized authority on the geology of Australia, specially on the problems of the Great Barrier Reef. (Vide *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum* and *Journal* and *Proceedings* of the Royal Society of New South Wales, Vol. 81). The aboriginal tribes of North Queensland and of the Arnhem Land in the extreme north offer problems of capital importance. (*Vide North Queensland Ethnography Bulletins*). I completed my circumnavigation of Australia by sailing along the North coast to the Thursday Island and New Guinea largely Australian and partly Dutch.

Australian ethnography has also been studied along with other problems of Man in Australia by the expert group of scholars

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attached to the South Australian Museum and to the University of Adelaide. Coming in personal touch with these scholars and specially with Mr. Norman B, Tindale, I could examine with great profit the splendid collection of the Museum of Adeiaide, As early as 1844, Mr. W. A. Cawthrone published from Adelaide, South Australia, his *Rough Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Natives.* In 1855-56 was founded the South Australian Institute with a museum and a public library. The ground-floor of the museum is devoted to the exhibits of Natural History : mammals, fishes, reptiles with the skeletal restoration of the great Diprotodon now extinct.

The upper floors, called the Stirling Gallery of Australian Ethnology, are devoted to the various native tribes and their handiwork grouped in separate cases. There is a special collection of the Pacific Island Ethnology. Thanks to the enthusiasm of the museum authorities for aboriginal art, Mr. C. P. Mountford, Mr. Herbert M. Hale and Mr, Norman B. Tindale are collaborating to preserve in a systematic way the valuable designs and other art objects of the vanishing race. Recently, Mr. Tindale made a significant attempt to establish the relationship of the extinct Kangaroo Island culture with the cultures of Australia, Tasmania and Malaya (*Records of the South Australian Museum*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1937).

INDIA AND AUSTRALIA

While Mr. Tindale was trying to link South Australian culture with the culture of far-off Malaya, two American scholars. W, W. Howells and W. L. Warner of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology, Harvard University, were publishing in 1937 the results of their anthropometric examination of some of the Australian races (Vide *Anthropometry of the Natives of Arnhem Land and the Australian Race Problem*).

They discarded the theories of the Australoid affinities of the Moi of Indo-China and of the Ainu of Japan. After a through and scientific analysis of the data so far avilable, they came to the conclusion that the primitive Australians were most probably connected with the proto-Australoid aborigines of South India, specially with the Veddas of Ceylon. "The first home of the

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Australians was some part of Southern Asia, whence the type reached Australia and Tasmania (probably *via* Malaya) from Timor or New Guinea. The famous *Talgai skull* discovered in Queensland as well as the *Cohuna skull* seems to attest to the persistence and antiquity of the Australian type. There was probably a long lapse of time between the coming into the Pacific of these stone age Australoids and that of the Negritos who reached New Guinea but not Australia just as they spread over South Indian forests without reaching Ceylon. Mr. E. A. Hooton, in his book *Up from the Ape*, suggests that the Dravidians "arose from an Australoid strain compounded with a white strain, probably of the far-flung Mediterranean type, and not the Aryans of proto-historic times." The Australoid Veddas also have been modified by some other strain, possibly the same white stock present in the Dravidians. The Australian came to be extinct in almost every realm but his own, because of his low potential for survival. Only in the marginal locations—the Bismarck Archipelago, Northern New Britain, New Caledonia, and Tasmania—have the Australoid partly survived intermixing with the Negroids who followed the Negritos, both subjects of African ethnology.

Thus according to the latest scientific investigators, the Australoid types originated most probably in India and spread into the Pacific as the representatives of the early type of the *Homo Sapiens* in some remote period of Asiatic history.

In conclusion, therefore, we may urge that the fascinating study of Human Relations should be developed by the leading universities and learned societies of India. In that study we may, at the beginning, be baffled by the bewildering variety of problems af pre-historic antiquities and archæology, of anthropology and philology. But if we persist in seeking light from the history of Man in our neighbouring countries, we may hope some day to reconstruct the ruined fabrics of human civilization. Sometimes the most primitive may appear to be the most significant in explaining the history of cultural migrations, as we realise while following the trends of research in Africa and India, in Oceania or Australasia.

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CHAPTER TWO

MAORI LAND AND CULTURE

NEW ZEALAND, the home of the Polynesian Maoris, is generally considered to be a recent addition to our geographical knowledge. Tasman rediscovered it in 1642 and Captain Cook placed New Zealand on the map in 1769. But it was not settled by the Europeans until 1839 and that is how we found elaborate arrangement for the celebration of its first Centenary, on which I felicitated my friends of New Zealand, who were so kind to me during my visit just after the Sydney Conference of 1938.

Thanks to the recent progress in the science of Anthropology, we are now pretty sure that the Maori people discovered the islands long before Tasman. When Captain Cook arrived, there were about 100,000 Maoris, out of whom 30,000 in the South Island dwindled to 3,000 only according to some statistics. The total Maori population reached its lowest ebb, 39,854 in 1896 and the extinction of the race (like the Tasmanian) was predicted. But luckly the Maoris showed signs of revival; their number increased to a little over 127000 in 1954 although 50 per cent, is reported to be half-caste. The Maoris slowly regained self-confidence and self-respect under the effective guidance of their able leaders like Sir Maui Pomara, a Minister of the Crown, Sir James Carroll, once Prime Minister of the Dominion, Sir Apirana Ngata, M.P., poet, scholar and statesman, and Dr. Peter H. Buck, anthropologist and former Director of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Dr. Buck, whose Maori name was Te Rangi Hiroa, has given an authoritative account of the migration of the Polynesians right up to New Zealand (Vide *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization*, pp. 19-30), He showed how the Polynesians, an offshoot of the Caucasian race, worked eastwards from the south of the Himalayas and reached the islands of the Malaya Archipelago, known collectively as Indonesia. There the Polynesians came in contact with the Mongoloid ancestors of the Malayas intermixed

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with them, developed the knowledge of ocean-craft and, provided with a single outrigger canoe, became famous as a great sea-faring people. About the beginning of the Christian era they entered into the heart of the Pacific Ocean, according to the researches of Abraham Fornander of Hawaii and Percy Smith of New Zealand. Two routes were open to them: The Northern or Micronesian route extended from the Philippines through Micronesia to Hawaii in the North Pacific (*circa* 450 A.D.); the Southern or Melanesian route extended from Indonesia, along the north coast of New Guinea to Fiji and thence to the Polynesian group of Islands like Samoa Tonga Tahiti and the Easter Island, where they probably found earlier settlers called Manahune with Melanesian characteristics. Seligman also is of the opinion that some of the islands that are now Polynesian were inhabited by the primitive *black* population and therefore we find today much variability among the different groups of Oceania: "in the East the skin is light, the hair wavy or straight; in the West there is a considerable number of dark-skinned people with almost frizzly hair."

About 950 A.D., according to the Maori genealogies checked by experts, the audacious Polynesian pioneer Kupee sailed from the Tahiti zone and discovered *Aotearoa* or "the Land of the High Mists" now known as *New Zealand*. From the 11th to 14th century we find Maori traditions recounting the stories of long voyages from Central Polynesia in organised expeditions under their chiefs or *Arii* accompanied by "learned priests as navigators." These chieftains and priests or medicine-men are called *arikis* and *tohungas*. Between the years 1150 and 1350 many voyaging canoes came to New Zealand from *Hawaiki* and return voyages were also made. About 1150 the celebrated Maori ancestor Toi sailed down to the "Land of the High Mists" in search of his grandson Whatonga who had been blown out to sea and who was re-discovered. 1350 is usually regarded as the date when immigration ceased and the Maori island was out off from the "sacred tide to *Hawaiki*." About a century after, but before the discovery of America by Columbus, sweet potato (the original home of which is Central or South America) was brought into Polynesia

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and therefore Prof. Dixon of Harvard supported the theory that some Polynesians whom we already find in their farthest eastern colony the Easter Island, may have discovered (Peru 2000 miles away) South America and returned with the sweet potato. It is indeed a glorious achievement and the Maoris perpetuated, in narrative speech and song, the memory of their crossing and recrossing of the Great Ocean of Kiwa or the Pacific. This great achievement was due to their canoe and therefore canoe is the auspicious symbol as well as the common welcome sign to the various Maori tribes visiting one another while they sing:

Toia Mai te wake !	Draw hither, the canoe,
Kumea mai, te wake !	Haul hither, the canoe !
Ki te urunga, te wake !	To its pillow, the canoe
Ki te moenga, te wake !	To its bed, the canoe
Ki te takotoranga itakoto ai te wake.	To its bed, the canoe : shall rest the canoe.
Haere mai, haere mai.	Welcome, twice welcome !

Dr. Herbert E. Gregory, formerly, the director of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, also furnished us with important details regarding Polynesian migrations. Long before European navigators had ventured far from land, the Polynesians were sailing back and forth among the dots of land in the Pacific making voyages thousands of miles in length. The Polynesian out-posts in the Carolines and at the Easter Island are nearly 9,000 miles apart and 3,800 miles of water lie between Hawaii and New Zealand. Four early trips were made from Hawaii to Tahiti, 2,400 miles apart. Uenga, a twelfth century sea-rover, sailed from Samoa to Tongareva, thence to Tubuai and through the Tuamutus to Tahiti, covering about 4,000 miles mostly against the trade-winds. Tukuiho, sailing from Rapa, discovered Rapanui or Easter Island after a voyage of 2,500 miles with no intervening places of stopping. Karika, a Samoan chief, discovered and colonised Rarotonga (*vide* E. Best, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 36, 1928), and the thirteen voyages of Tangiia cover a distance of more than 18,000 miles. These apparently unbelievable records have been accepted as true by a group of experts who devoted their lives to the elucidation of the Polynesian problems.

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Led by Percy Smith and Col. Gudgeon, Edward Tregear and Elsdon Best laid the foundation of the Polynesian Society in 1892. In a famous work, *Hawaiki*, Percy Smith tried to show that the Polynesians reached Fiji, Tonga and Samoa by 5th Century A.D. He traced the ancestors of the Polynesians from India by way of Java, Celebes, New Guinea etc., into Polynesia proper, east of the Fiji group. In his paper "The Geographical Knowledge of the Polynesians," Percy Smith observes: "We are too apt to forget that in former times they had a class of canoe, *Pahi* capable of containing a large number of people and abundant provisions. . . . It was in canoes such as these that the Maoris made the long voyage from the Pacific Islands to New Zealand." The Maori traditions make special mention of the double canoes (*Vide* E. Best, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* Vol. 32, 1924), and further state that one canoe the Arawa, had three masts. Strengthening this thesis of Percy Smith his loyal collaborator Elsdon Best wrote a valuable paper on "Polynesian Voyagers" (*Dominion Museum Monograph* No. 5, Wellington, 1923). He characterises the Polynesians as "probably the most fearless neolithic navigators (*vide* E. Best, "The Neolithic Maori," *Journal of Science and Technology*, Wellington, 1923) the world has seen." He refers also to the Maori tradition saying that their ancestors, in times long passed away, migrated from a hot country named Irihia (Cf. *Vrihia*, an ancient name of India) and crossed the Ocean in an easternly direction." In another paper "The Origin of the Maori" (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol, 32, 1924), Elsdon Best gives a most interesting inventory of the various theories connecting the Polynesians and the Maoris with India. J. R. Logan, the renowned ethnologist, opined that "the Polynesians are a branch of the ancient Gangetic race of India." Two other valuable papers on this subject were published in the *Journal of the Polynesiane Society*, on "Asiatic Gods in the Pacific" by E. Tregear and "Asiatic and Polynesian Points of Contact" by Percy Smith. Elsdon Best studied the Maori lore for over half a century and his papers and publications ranged over 40 years from 1890 to 1931 when he died, as I gathered from his friend and colleague Mr. Johannes C. Andersen, another authority on Maori music, myths and legends.

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The mind of the Maori, quite apart from his material culture, is also a problem to many anthropologists. He is reputed to carry almost down to 19th century some sort of neolithic culture but he demonstrated a mind nurtured in poetry and mysticism. Discussing the spiritual concepts of the Maori, Elsdon Best (Vide *Dominion Museum Monograph*, No. 6, 1923) made the following significant observations :—

"The superior gods of the Maori are personified forms of natural phenomena ; his mythology and religion teem with such personifications and with mythopoetic allegories ; no people known to us have excelled the Polynesians in evolving such quaint concepts. Observe the charming myth of Tane and the Dawn Maid ; the story of the Mist Maid and Uenuku, the Rainbow : the concepts of the Wind Children, the Cloud Children, and the Children of Light. Peruse the myth of the grey old Earth Mother calling to her stricken offspring to return to her and find rest : she who refused to remember their rebellion in the days when the world was young ; she said, "I brought them forth to the World of Light, in death shall they find rest with me. Though they have erred and rebelled against me, yet are they still my children. Mine be the care of the Dead." And the Maori will tell you that this saying of the primal Mother was the first evidence of the mother's love that outlives all races and all creeds, as exemplified in a terse aphorism of yore : *He aroha whaereere, he potiki piripoho* (A mother's love, a breast-clinging child)."

Discussing the legends of "Maui—A Demi God" of Polynesia, Dr. W. D. Westervelt of Honolulu observed that "several hints of *Hindu* connection are found in the Maui legends." The New Zealanders claim Maui as an ancestor of their most ancient tribes and sometimes class him among the most ancient of their gods, calling him "creator of land," "creator of man," "the Solar fire." In his foreword to Dr. Westervelt's volume, Percy Smith very significantly refers to Maui's successful efforts to lengthen the day-light and observes : "It may be suggested that if the Polynesians are, as some of us suppose, Proto-Aryans who, in very ancient times, led the advance guard of the Aryan Migration from—let us say, with Oppert—the

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shores of the Baltic, to south-eastern Asia ; then the legends of Maui's deeds, in lengthening the days, would, in a measure, be accounted for." *(Cf.* Tilak, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas)*

The Maori showed a remarkable genius for personification and thus very appropriately his mind is characterised as "mythopoetic." Maori chants and other varieties of oral literature are remarkable and no less remarkable are his contributions in the domain of arts and crafts.

MAORI ARTS AND CRAFTS

As early as 1898, Elsdon Best communicated his "Notes on the Clothing of the Ancient Maori" to the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* (Vol. 31). Thirty years after he quoted some Maori traditions with regard to the training of the young man in arts and crafts *(Dominion Museum, Bulletin,* No. 13, 1929) which we quote below :—

"Now when the lad was fairly grown, then the task of teaching him the use of weapons and tools commenced···Then the lad was taught the constructions of houses, huts, cooking-sheds, store-houses···Also was he taught the use of tools in agriculture...the art of dressing timber with stone adzes. The use of stone chisels and drill was also taught, also the arts of wood carving and painting designs" (E. Best, *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* September, 1928). The handiworks of this highly gifted race were unfortunately scattered in different parts of the world and only recently careful inventories are being made, thanks to the earnest researches of the members of the Polynesian Society, Wellington, and of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu. We draw the attention of the public in this connection to the richly illustrated catalogue of "The Oldman Collection of Maori Artifacts" *(Memoirs of the Polynesian Society,* Vol. 14, 1938).

Some important facts relating to the arts and crafts of New Zealand as compared with those of Polynesia and Micronesia are given by Mr. Ralph Linton of the Field Museum of Chicago (Vide *Ethnology of Polynesia and Micronesia,* Chicago, 1926). He points out that there were two distinct types of Maori art in New Zealand. The natives of the South Island used simple

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angular designs in their carvings. All the Maoris employed angular designs on their baskets, textiles and feather robes. 'The natives of the North Island employed only curvilinear designs in their carving and painting. The most important single element was the spiral ; but highly conventionalised human figures, faces and animal forms were much used in carving. Many of the scroll designs painted on rafters were said to be derived from plant forms but were so highly conventionalised as to be unrecognisable."

Like other Polynesians the Maoris made some use of human figures carved in the round which were set up in sacred places as representations of gods or ancestors. But most of the Maori figure carvings were in high relief on slabs. A small grotesque human figure called *heitiki*, carved from jade or whalebone, was the most favourite Maori ornament worn around the neck on a cord. Their finest ornaments and implements were made from nephrite, a variety of jade of rich green colour and, according to Linton, the desire for this special material was one of the main motives in the migration to New Zealand from Central Polynesia where the Maori jade objects were taken back by the first native explorers.

While the ordinary dwellings of the Maori were small and crudely built, the Maori Council houses which reminded me of the Naga houses, were the most beautiful structures in the Pacific. Linton describes in detail a structure that was acquired by the Field Museum of Chicago with a ridge-pole hewn from a single log 60 ft. long and weighing over a ton and a half. The posts, panels, projecting end of the ridge-pole and the front of the house were carved with highly conventionalised human figures representing ancestors or mythological beings. After carving they were coloured red with a mixture of ochre and oil. The rafters and underside of the ridge-pole were painted with scroll designs in red, black and white. The reed-panels of the walls were worked into designs. The finished house was the pride of the village and so potent were the spells recited at its erection that even if the village was taken by an enemy, its Council house would be allowed to stand unplundered until it fell to pieces."

Just a century ago the fight between the brave Maoris and the British was terminated by the Treaty of Waitingi (1840) and

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State Museum, LUCKNOW.

a body of scientists and social workers organised the New Zealand Institute. It published in 1868, the first volume of its *Transactions and Proceedings*. Devoted mainly to Natural History, the *Transactions* publish, now and then, articles on Maori culture like Maori origins, food products, marriage customs, games and amusements, forest-lore, etc.

In 1892 was founded the Polynesian Society with the Queen Liluokolani of Hawaii as one of the patrons. Naturally the members of the Society tried to supply the proper perspective of Maori culture by bringing in the larger problems of Polynesia and of the vast Pacific Basin culture. Elsdon Best, for example, wrote an article in the first number of the *Journal* (15th April, 1892), on the *Races of the Philippines*, and another writer tried to equate the culture of the Maoris and that of the Incas of Peru. So E. Tregear described the stone images (3 feet to 35 feet high) of the Easter Island, which was discovered in 1722, and where, one supposed, a peculiar script was evolved which could be connected with the proto-historic scripts of India and western Asia.

With Tregear appeared, as joint-founders of the Society, Elsdon Best (whose writings we have quoted before) and S. Percy Smith ; and they often went beyond New Zealand to seek the clues to Polynesian origins, *e.g.*, equating the *Uru* of the Maoris with Ur of Chaldea. Percy Smith's paper on "The Aryan Predecessors of the Maoris" (1919) still deserves careful perusal. The Polynesian Society was soon strengthened by another remarkable scholar, Mr. Johannes C. Andersen, who is poet, musician and anthropologist all in one. I met him in the PEN Congress of 1937 in Buenos Aires. He was joint-editor of the *Journal*, with Elsdon Best, and for years Librarian of the Turnbull Library, Wellington. He published his *Maori Life in Aotea* (1907), the *Myths and Legends of the Polynesians* and the richly documented *Maori Music*, the last published amongst the *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, in which series we also find "The Maori" and "Tuhoe" by E. Best and the "Evolution of Maori Clothing", a masterly monograph contributed by Dr. Peter H. Buck, the renowned Maori anthropologist, once the Director of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I gathered from Dr. Buck that valuable relics of Maori art and culture are scattered amongst

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the various missionary collections of France and Italy, of Germany and England. The museums of Vienna and Cambridge, the British Museum and the Royal College of Surgeons, London, have got to be ransacked by a student of Maori lore and he must not forget that there are private collections also, like those of Von Hugel, Oldman and Giglioli.

The new generation of Maori scholars like Ngata, Pomare and Buck were inspired by the work of the White anthropologists and started researches and publications of their own. As a result of this happy collaboration was established the Board of Maori Ethnological Research, with special funds to foster original investigation and to provide for printing and publications of their own. It is due to the activities of this generation of patriotic workers that we see today a veritable revival of Maori spirit and culture in every sphere of life.

Another important institution is the Alexander Turnbull Library of Wellington which offers the best facilities to the public for the study of Polynesian problems and original records of modern New Zealand history.

The capital city of Wellington is naturally proud of its Dominion Museum with the remarkable collection of Maori arts and crafts, which were kindly shown to me by Mr. W. J. Phillips. He contributed a valuable paper on "Maori Carving" (*Art in New Zealand*, June, 1938) in which he explains the fundamental elements in Maori designs and refers to the late Mr. Harold Hamilton, the Director of Maori Arts and Crafts, Rotorua, as an authority on the subject. The Dominion Museum also publishes a valuable series of *Monographs*, *e.g.*, Polynesian Voyages, the Maori School of Learning, Maori Myths and Religion. Among the *Bulletins* of the Museum we find, among others, the following studies of Elsdon Best: The Stone Implements of the Maori; The Maori Canoe; Maori Agriculture; Maori Religion and Mythology. Dr. Peter Buck's valuable researches are being published, far away from New Zealand, by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum of Honolulu, famous throughout the world for its patronage of Pacific research, through which some day, we hope, Polynesian and Indian culture would be brought closer to one another.

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The Maori arts and crafts of the South Island are to be found in the Museum of Christchurch and more fully in the Otago Museum of Dunedin. The culture of the Maoris of the South Island has been specially studied by Mr. H. D. Skinner of Dunedin University, which is the only University in New Zealand to provide for systematic lectures on anthropology. Mr. Skinner has a rare collection of Maori artifacts and has contributed many valuable papers in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (1921, pp. 71-78; 1924, pp. 229-43). As early as 1923, he published his study on *The Morioris of Chatham Islands* in the Bishop Museum Memoirs, Vol. 9. In Dunedin, there is a large collection of Maori tools, ornaments, canoes and wood-carvings in the Otago Museum under the expert care of Prof. Skinner.

Coming from Dunedin in the extreme south to Auckland in the extreme north, every visitor to New Zealand will be impressed by the rich and scientifically classified collection of the Auckland War Memorial Museum with Gilbert Archey as Director. Thanks to the kind introduction of my esteemed friend Mr. J. C. Andersen, I was warmly received by Mr. Archey who devoted a considerable part of his valuable time to explaining to me the various exhibits and their historical and artistic significance. I referred to these things in my address to the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs and also in my Radio talk and lecture in the English Speaking Union, Wellington.

New Zealand should be proud of its Auckland Art House, one of the best museum buildings that I saw on the Pacific Basin. Mr. Archey carefully prepared a valuable paper for the Auckland Meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (January, 1937). I found his observations so interesting that I conclude this section on Maori Art and culture by drawing largely from his valuable notes as well as from his excellent hand-book of *Maori and Oceanic Ethnology*. Mr. Archey refers to the widely prevailing theory that the art of the South Island, more *rectilinear* and simpler, was closely connected with the art of Eastern Polynesia. The art of the North Island, on the contrary, is predominantly *curvilinear* with double spirals and "bird-headed

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men," akin to the spirals and bird designs of Solomon Island, New Guinea Irian and Borneo where the Negroid race and Melanesian culture predominated. Skinner, however, pointed out that several complications would arise out of the above theory. He considered it unlikely, although not quire impossible, that the conquering Polynesians would take the art of the Melanesian people whom they subdued in the North Island. Moreover, *curvilinear* patterns are not exclusive to New Zealand, for they are found in the Marquesas and also in the Easter Island where we find a "non-patternised art of naturalistic human figures and animals." Skinner, therefore, opined that *curvilinear* art, derived from New Guinea and the neighbouring Islands, was basic in Eastern Polynesia and that some *rectilinear* fashion had transmuted it in the Tahiti-Rarotonga-Austral region. But recent researches have, according to Mr. Archey, simplified the problems by proving that the ancient culture of New Zealand was distinctly Eastern Polynesian ; and that, in as much as there is a certain Negroid element in the Polynesian race, one need not postulate a separate Melanesian migration to explain the Negroid strain in the Maori. Arts that appear to be superficially similar may have developed quite independently and we need not strain after relating such widely separated decorative arts. Among the basic elements of Maori carving we find a human figure with the face in profile, the "bird-headed man" or *manaia*, and out of the interlocking mouths of these, there developed the double-spiral. This succession of human figures with alternate full face and profile is paralleled in Rarotonga. So the early Maori neck-pendants are decorated with a succession of angularly stylized human limbs foreshadowing the conventionalization of the human figure in the *rectilinear* art of Eastern Polynesia.

Thus *human* figures, as against *geometrical* patterns, played an important role in Maori art and their large houses contain wall-posts carved with representations of some ancestors or hero-gods with whom they were connected by their "genealogical symbolism." They excelled also in their stone-tool industry, thanks to their many-toned jade found in the west coast of the South Island. With their high-class tools and excellent

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timber, the Maoris naturally evolved a rich tradition of wood-carving. So in their weapons, utensils and ornaments in wood or stone, bone or shell, we always notice, as Mr. Archey observes, "A touch of decoration, so appropriately applied as to lead one to expect rather than to be surprised at the high standard attained in formal decorative art."

Among the animal motifs we find grotesque figures—half-animal—and various types of lizards in Maori carving (*Vide* Elsdon Best, *Journal of Science and Technology*, Wellington, 1923). But however grotesque those may appear, the human figures were representations of their ancestors, generally in wood, sometimes in crude stone, as in the island of Tahiti. Mr. Archey refers to the prevalence of human figures both in wood and stone in the Marquesas Islands. But it was in Easter Island that Polynesian sculpture attained its most majestic proportions. In that Island good timber was extremely rare while there was an abundance of soft stone, which was freely used; and, by the spirit of competition amongst sculptors and chiefs, the Polynesians of the Easter Island created larger and still larger statues ranging from 3 ft. to 35 ft. To reach that far-off Island was indeed an achievement in the history of primitive navigation. It was possible only through centuries of negotiation with the Ocean by the heroic Polynesians, who made a veritable cult of the Ocean and of the canoe-dance. They sang in the past, as they sang to me, when the hospitable Maori families of Rotorua received me, with due ceremony, in the home of Mr. H. Tai Mitchel, a leader of the Arawa tribe who adopted me after a ceremonial dance :—

Behold my paddle !
It is laid by the canoe's side,
* * * *
See ! I raise on high
The handle of my paddle,
The Roku-o-whiti
I raise it—how it flies and flashes !
Ha ! The outward lift and the dashing
The quick thrust in and
the back-ward sweep !

Piri papa te hoe
Awhi papa te hoe !
* * * *
Hapai ake au
I te kekan o taku hoe
I te Roku-o-whiti
Whiti potato, rere pototo
Mama potato

Te riakanga, te hapainga

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The swishing, the swirling eddies,
The boiling white wake,
And the spray that flies from
my paddle !

Te Riponga, te kumenga,
Te Riponga, te awenga,

A te puehutanga
O te wai o taku hoe nei

N. B. The opposite theory of the Incas of Peru coming from South America to the Easter Island and Polynesia was upheld by the Norwegian navigator-author Thor Heyersdahl of the "Kon-Tiki Expedition" (London 1950).

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CHAPTER THREE

THE POLYNESIAN WORLD

The importance of Polynesian culture is due primarily to the radical revision in our geographical concepts hitherto dominated by the readings of Atlantic geographers. Starting, as they did, from Europe, they arbitrarily called Western Asia, the Near East and Eastern Asia, the Far East. They did not suspect that there may be very important projection of Far Eastern culture into the Further Eastern World of the Pacific Basin penetrated and colonised by the highly gifted race, the Indo-Polynesians. Of the Western nations the Spaniards were the first to discover the Hawaiian archipelago, one of the strongholds of Polynesian culture. But just as the pre-Hispanic civilization of the two Americas was, for years, neglected or rather treated in a desultory and isolated fashion, so the Polynesian culture also came to be studied mainly on the hypothesis of "splendid isolation." It is a happy coincidence, therefore, that the United States of America was called, towards the end of the 19th Century, to occupy the centre of the Polynesian World and to develop gradually the Hawaiian archipelago, with its headquarters in Honolulu, into the first American research centre of the vast Pacific World. To the credit of the American scholars it must be said that they are trying their level best to reconstruct the history of the Polynesian race almost threatened with extinction.

In 1778 when Captain Cook was going round Hawaii on his way to and from Australia, the Hawaiians numbered 250,000. There were only 22,636 pure Hawaiians according to the U. S. A. Census in 1930. According to the Board of Health estimate of 1936, we find 21,594 pure Hawaiians in a total population of 3,93,277 about 500,000 in 1950. In this land of *taboo* the Hawiians offered no taboo against somewhat indiscriminate race mixtures, giving rise to two new ethnic categories : *(a)* Caucasian-Hawaiian, 11,319 and *(b)* Asiatic-Hawaiian, 18,271 according to 1936 estimates (*Vide* Prof. A. W. Lind; Population notes: *Social Progress in*

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Hawaii May, 1937). The Hawaiians not only have no prejudice against Orientals, they show a marked preference for the Chinese, who number 27,495. The Japanese of course, dominate in number with 149,886; we find also 53,550 Filipinos and 6,683 Koreans in the population of Hawaii, a veritable melting-pot of Eastern and Western races. Full advantage of the rare ethnological laboratory would be taken if and when the various Oriental Universities and learned societies collaborate with the University of Hawaii and similar institutions in different parts of the Pacific Basin. This was the burden of my discourse "Above All Nations is Humanity," which I delivered as the Convocation Address at the invitation of the University of Hawaii which I was privileged to serve in 1937 as a Visiting Professor.

At the Indian Science Congress of 1928 holding its sessions at the University of Calcutta, I had the opportunity of addressing the anthropological division on "Indian Culture in Indonesia," while, from the same platform, my esteemed friend Dr. E. C. Handy of the Bishop Museum lectured on "Polynesia." In a special reception which we accorded to Dr. Handy at our Greater India Society, he regretted, after direct contact with India, that so little of India was known in the American centres of anthropological research and he nobly offered to bring India closer to the scholars in the Polynesian field. That promise was promptly fulfilled when, through Dr. Handy, an invitation was accorded to our late lamented colleague Dr. Panchanan Mitra who collaborated with the ethnologists of the Bishop Museum before joining the Yale University which offered him a Fellowship. The Bishop Museum of Honolulu collaborates closely with the University of Hawaii and the Yale University, and the Museum established cultural exchange with our University of Calcutta. The premature death of Dr. Mitra deprived us of the chance of a systematic study on "India and Polynesia." He contributed, however, two valuable papers to *Man in India* (July-December, 1931; January-March, 1932) on "Cultural Affinities between India and Polynesia," where, among other things, he wrote: "In 1929, on the kind invitation of Director H. E. Gregory, I was travelling through Northern, Central and Southern Polynesia in search of Indian elements in Polynesian

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culture. Visiting the Islands of Oahu, Kawaii, Hawaii, Samoa, Fiji, New Zealand, Rarotonga and Tahiti, studying the great ethnographic collections of the Bishop Museum and the Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin collections and coming in personal contact with some hoary-headed Polynesian ethnologists, like Elsdon Best, who welcomed me as coming from the old homeland of the Maoris, and being mistaken as a Polynesian islander in several places, I understood how close the similarities are between places whose cultures and peoples are now the furthest apart possible."

Dr. Mitra, in his articles, quotes approvingly the thesis of the great Maori scholar Te Rangi Hiroa, then well known as Dr. Peter Buck, Director of the Bishop Museum. In his paper "The Races of the Pacific" (Honolulu, 1927), Dr. Buck traced the successive migrations of Man from his South-Central Asiatic home eastwards: first the Tasmanians, then the Australians; then the Negritos of the Andamans and of Indonesia, then the Negroids to New Guinea and the Black Islands of Melanesia as far east as Fiji. But the Polynesian world was still thousands of miles away and it could only have been reached by a superior race with rare courage and initiative. This race has now been supposed to have risen out of the mixture of the Indonesians or Caucasic stock with some Mongoloid blood, now known as Indonesians or the Proto-Polynesians. These daring sea-farers started, with canoes scooped out with stone adzes, for the great Kiwa, the Pacific Ocean of the Maori. Through Micronesia they reached the Samoan group of islands, colonising Fiji on the way after a fight with the Dark races. From Samoa, they reached the Society Islands with Raiatea and Tahiti as the traditional distributing centres of Polynesian culture. By an Eastern wave they were pushed thence to the Marquesas and Austral groups as far as the Easter Island. Pushing towards the South-West the Polynesians are supposed to have discovered New Zealand in the 10th century and finally settled there in the 14th century. Another branch of the Polynesians sailed towards the North and colonised the Hawaii group of islands which they are supposed to have settled as early as 500 A. D.

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That was also the epoch of the phenomenal expansion of Indian culture in the whole of Indonesia from Champa and Cambodge (Indo-China) to Java, Bali, Borneo and Celebes. Curiously enough the starting point of these west-to-east migrations from the Asiatic mainland is generally placed at the beginning of the Christian Era when, thanks to the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and the *Geography of Ptolemy*, the earlier expansions of Indian pioneer navigators and colonists were matters of known history. Such synchronisms in the maritime expansion of the Indians and the Polynesians into the heart of the Pacific world may be accidental. On the contrary, they, may furnish us with valuable suggestions for future researches in the Indo-Polynesian domain of cultural geography and anthropology. Linguistically also Indonesia and Polynesia are linked by the family of languages called "Austric" which spreads from Northern and Central India through Burma Indo-China, Malaya and the Indonesian islands to Micronesia and Melanesia and to far distant Polynesia with Hawaii in the north, New Zealand in the south and Rapa Nui or Easter Island to the extreme east. Indian philologists like my esteemed friends Dr. S. K. Chatterji and Dr. P. C. Bagchi are interested in the linguistics of the Austric family of languages including those of the Polynesian group.

INDIAN CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN OCEANIA

Dr. Panchanan Mitra was the first Indian anthropologist to tackle the problem of Pacific cultural origins from the standpoint of Indian and Indonesian culture, as we have seen in his two valuable articles contributed to *Man in India*. It is a matter of sincere joy to us that Dr. E. S. Craighill Handy is making valuable contributions to this highly intricate and interesting problem. His first paper was submitted to the Anthropological Section of the All-India Science Congress (1928) and published under the title 'Indian Cultural Influence in Oceania' (*Man in India*, Vol. viii, No. 1). The story of Polynesian culture may appear to be "a mere appendix to Indian History," and it may prove to be a very valuable appendix; for, as says Dr. Handy, "in the isolated islands of the Polynesian fringe of Further India,

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there may have survived, and may still survive, ancient Indian lore and customs that have become hopelessly obscured or lost in India proper and in Colonial India." Moreover, the traits of Indian culture that have dominated Indonesia and travelled as far as Polynesia, have also contributed largely to the stock of culture of Micronesia and Melanesia which lie between Indonesia and Polynesia. This thesis has been brilliantly sustained by Dr, Handy in his two papers which, because of their outstanding importance, we shall summarize for the benefit of our Indian students who may not have access to them.

The pre-occupation, of the early group of scholars in the Indonesian field, with Buddhism naturally led them to suppose that Buddhism was the only religion of India which migrated and that the earlier Brahmanical religion and culture were non-migratory. Recent archaeological discoveries, however, have forced us to revise that opinion, and to admit not only the possibility but the certainty of earlier as well as simultaneous Brahmanical expansions and intrusions, as we shall show in our special sections on Indo-China and Indonesia. A good case can be made out, according to Dr. Handy, for the presence in Polynesia of distinctly Vedic elements; but the existence of such traits, as distinct from the later Brahmanical tradition which was of course based upon Vedic teaching, is not easy to be proved. If, as comparative study procceds, it becomes clear that Polynesia had preserved some elements of Vedic culture, we shall have an unbroken series of accretions of Indian derivation, including Vedic, Brahmanic and Buddhistic, not necessarily in chronological succession. Traits of the Brahmanical culture preceding the Buddhist expansion in Indonesia during the first centuries of the Christian era are spread throughout Polynesia, Indo-China and Insulindia; the heart of this Brahmanical culture was the worship of Siva. In Polynesia the cult of the *lingam* was fundamental in the ancient worship. Its manifestation in symbol and philosophy paralleled their prototypes in ancient Saivism. And associated with this cult in all phases of the native culture are innumerable traits of Indic derivation.

The most recent phase of the movement of Indian culture eastwards that concerns the student of Polynesian history is that

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which witnessed the development of Buddhism in Indo-China and Insulindia during and after the 7th Century A. D. In view of the fusion of Buddhism with Brahmanism in Further India, it would be inevitable that Buddhistic traits that came to Polynesia from this region would have become obscured. An example of a trait that probably had Buddhistic derivation is the division, by the New Zealand Maoris, of their sacred lore into what they called "the three baskets of knowledge" suggesting the Buddhist *Tri-pitaka*. But this historic Indian culture is now believed to have been superimposed on similar accretions of the pre-historic epochs. With the Indian elements there seems to have been amalgamated an earlier and more barbaric type of culture of the Kapalikas or "skull venerating peoples of Indonesia and South-east Asia such as the Ifugao of the Philippines, the Shans of Burma and the Nagas of Assam." Dr. Handy then referred to the excavations, by Prof. H. Otley Bayer of the University of the Philippines, of a stratified site of pre-historic habitation, in which were unearthed implements and, with them, pottery said to correspond in type to materials from India and Burma described by Foote. In Burma and Assam, the folks whose culture is of this type represent physically a mixture of Caucasoid (Aryan) with Mongoloid. In the Philippines, the Ifugao, and the related tribes are distinctly Caucasoid, and in Polynesia it is in the island groups, where the traits of this barbaric culture were dominant, that the physical type characterised as Caucasoid is most pronounced. Finally, the islands in Polynesia, namely, the Marquesas and New Zealand which best preserve the traits of this culture, are geographically on the outer fringe of the region; while in Indonesia and South-east Asia, the corresponding cultures are now isolated in the uplands.

THE PROBLEM OF POLYNESIAN ORIGINS

In his highly suggestive monographs Dr. Handy tried to give and, we should say, succeeded in giving a comprehensive picture of the dimensions and factors in the problem of Polynesian origins. He starts from the island of Tahiti, which is admitted to be the centre of radiation of Polynesian culture, to Hawaii in the extreme North and New Zealand

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in the extreme South. The Tahitians divide themselves into three classes : (1) The Kshatriya *Arii* or the land-owning chiefs, (2) the Vaishya *Raatira* or the landed proprietors, (3) *Manahune* or serfs of the first two land-owning groups, corresponding somewhat to the *Sudras* of India with no individual land right, and contemptuously spoken of as woodcutters, planters and eaters of fresh-water fish. Thus the Manahune, numerically the largest group, appears to have descended from an earlier population that dwelt in the island prior to the Arii conquest. The traditions in the neighbouring island of Raiatea, 130 miles north-west of Tahiti, preserve also the record of an Arii conquest, The vanquished Manahunes of Tahiti show certain cultural traits typical of the Marquesans and the Maoris of New Zealand who represent the older type of Polynesians. The dress, social organisation, mode of warfare, dancing and skull-cult are considered to be the earlier barbaric tribe. Whereas agriculture, arts and crafts, religion and lore are indices of a higher and later order of Indo-Polynesian culture. Few of the descendants of the Arii with a superior culture are unmixed, and they are supposed to be the dominant elements in the islands of Tonga and Samoa.

Dr. Handy attempted to trace also the relationship of these people of the mid-Pacific with the folks *beyond* the limits of Polynesia : A line drawn around an area including India, South and East Africa, and Oceania, delimits a vast region throughout which there have been, probably from pre-historic time, racial and cultural drifts, a southward and eastward flow of Asiatic and westward and northward seepage of Oceanian elements. That *Asiatic* streams have reached Polynesia has been accepted as obvious since the earliest period of Polynesian research. In the account of Captain Cook's third voyage was published an appendix in which Polynesian words were compared with words from the Malay archipelago. From the beginning of systematic theorizing as to Polynesian origins, scholars have led in this direction. Fornander, Tregear, Percy Smith, Logan, Thilenius, Churchill, Dixon and others, have all pointed to Malaysia and Asiatic main-land.

As to the conception of the drift in the other direction, that of *Oceanic* and Polynesian influences *westward*, this is

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somewhat more recent but evidence of this is accumulating in several places. The concensus of opinion of the anthropological group at the Science Congress in Tokyo (1926) was that the Ainus (aborigines of Japan) are of tropical Oceanic derivation. The French have discovered early Melanesian remains in the caves in Tonkin. Recent studies of Smith, Mills, and Hutton in Assam and north-east of India seem to indicate that much of the culture of the Naga tribes of this region is Oceanic. Hornell has indicated the presence of an intrusive Oceanic population on the coasts of western India and Ceylon. where today are seen the counterparts of the polynesian single out-rigger canoe and distinctly Polynesian types and customs. It has long been established that the Hove peoples in Madagascar, who speak a language and have customs closely related to the Polynesians, sailed westward to their present home from Malaysia in historic times. The problem therefore again became more complicated, for in discussing this vast region of probable origins it is necessary to bear in mind the factor of *ancient* and *recent* Oceanic and Polynesian intrusions.

Archæology, although in its very early stage in Polynesia, is also helping to reveal the existence of certain pre-historic traits ; (*a*) the shouldered celt of an old Polynesian form is found also in the Celebes, Kwangtung, Indo-China, Burma and India ; (*b*) the erect stones associated with shrines, certainly old Polynesian, are also found in Micronesia, Java, Assam and India. The primitive skull-cult and the men's hall or lodge exist, today as survivals.

In the historic age, we find that the Brahmanical civilization, mainly from the south or Dravidian India, entered Malaysia or Indo-China a little before the commencement of the Christian era. The populations that acquired Hindu Culture in Indonesia and Indo-China were Mongoloid and Malayoid ; those who brought the civilisation from India were Caucasians and Dravidians. Brahmanism, however, in this area absorbed so much of the aboriginal elements that often it is difficult to distinguish the prehistoric from the later Brahmanical. Dr. Handy in this connection refers to the following craft traditions : rites for the first-born, the ancestral cult with its use of genealogies and images,

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phallic symbolism, priestly traditions and orders, walled temple with tower-like shrines, *Mana* and *Tapu*, the cults of Tane, Tu, Ronoo, and Tiki as symbolic figures, and, finally, the dualistic evolutionary cosmogony, probably derived from Brahmanism. Certain *Arii* cultural attributes are Brahmanical, while others are Buddhistic and while some to be of Chinese derivation. This is a complication which we may expect, because the influence of India and China (specially from the South) operated for centuries in this field as rivals. Among the Chinese legacies to the Polynesians we may mention : eating pig and dog, symbolism of the numbers 8 and 9, the fish turtle, lizard as a modified form of the Dragon and Heaven, head moulding, bleaching the skin, the split-drum or gong, honorific titles and mythological parallels. Of the Indian legacies we may mention ethical social principles (probably Buddhistic), political and land systems, social classes and castes, sanctity of person, etiquette, organised war on land, regattas, plank-ships and ocean-craft, guest-house, assembly halls, the costume-dance, drama and chorus.

According to Dr. Handy, the habit of talking of Polynesian migration in canoe should be abandoned ; for the word canoe is not a correct designation for the large sea-going vessels which the Polynesians were building ; Captain Cook measured a Tahitian Pahi with two pontoon hulls 110 ft. long. Next, although there may have been one or more periods of definite exodus from Malaysia (*e.g.*, at the time of the Muhammadan conquest) and also of the Maoris moving from Central Polynesia to New Zealand (13th-14th centuries), yet the normal process of peopling Polynesia was that of repeated occasional and accidental drifting through a period extending over several millennia. The old Polynesian language belongs to the Austric family spoken by the pre-Aryan peoples in India, Indo-China and Malaysia.

Lastly, although the American anthropologists generally discount the evidence of the crossing of the Asians and Polynesians to America and of the presence of Oceanic elements in North, Middle and South America, Dr. Handy, on the contrary, refers to the North-East Coast, the Gulf States, the Caribbean, Middle America (Mexico) and the Andes (Peru) as "replete with Oceanic traits that probably derived from Malaysia and South Asia."

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(*Vide* Handy : *The Problem of Polynesian Origins*, Bishop Museum Occasional Papers, Vol. IX, No. 8, 1930).

III

To form a general idea of Pacific culture one must necessarily go beyond the limits of Polynesia. The geography, ethnography and the culture history of the Pacific is a matter of encyclopædic survey, and, with the expansion of scientific studies, we hope, an *Encyclopœdia Pacifica* would be on the way to publication with the co-operation of American and other national institutions of the Pacific Basin. For the present, we must follow closely the publications of the various American and European institutions devoted to anthropology, archæology and natural history. An admirable general survey of the culture of Polynesia, and Micronesia has already been published by the Field Museum of Chicago. A similar survey was successfully completed for the benefit of the general public and published as *Ancient Hawaiian Civilisation* (The Kamehameha School, Honolulu). Eminent anthropologists of the Bishop Museum, helped by their colleagues in different technical subjects, compiled this highly instructive and useful symposium on Polynesian culture : Dr. Peter Buck wrote on "Polynesian Migrations" and "Polynesian Oratory ;" Dr. E. S. C. Handy on "Polynesian Religion and Education," "Government and Society," and "Houses and Villages" ; Kenneth P. Emory on "Navigation," "Warfare," "Sports and Games," etc., and also by his illustrated lectures on Hawaiian Art he is preparing the ground for a comprehensive survey with elaborate documentation. Prof. H. M. Liquiens of the University of Hawaii who writes on "Hawaiian Wood-Carvings" has already published an illuminating monogragh on the subject, explaining the various forms and special techniques of carving of the images of the Hawaiian deities which are so difficult to discover and identify today ; because the Hawaiians themselves burned them down in a sudden reforming zeal fanned by the missionaries who from 1820 tried vigorously to reclaim the souls of these heathens to Christianity. Many of the early missionaries, Protestants as well as Catholics, from Europe and from America, carried away many of these images and wood-carvings which, as regretted by

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Dr. Buck, could with difficulty be seen in obscure corners of many public and ecclesiastical museums which often refuse to co-operate even with the scientific organisation like the Bishop Museum by supplying photographs or other relevant information with regard to these rare documents of Polynesian religion, art and culture. India, China and other countries of the Orient have suffered similarly from such missionary zeal; and only very recently, with the development of the science of anthropology and ethnology, we are discovering how much we have lost of what might have helped us in reconstructing the history of religion and culture of the primitive races in Asia and in Pre-Columbian Americas.

A significant question has been asked in the concluding chapter of *Ancient Hawaiian Civilisation* : "Can Hawaiian Culture be preserved ?" With the rude impact of Modernism, most of the indigenous cultural traits are getting disintegrated or submerged like the Hawaiian race itself, which has recently been exhaustively studied by Dr. Romanzo Adams of the University of Hawaii in his *Inter-racial Marriage in Hawaii* (Macmillian, 1937). The University of Hawaii has taken the wise step of organising a systematic study and teaching of the rapidly disappearing Hawaiian language. This department is under Prof. Henry P. Judd, who is trying his best to keep up the interest of the rising generation in this highly musical language. His brother, Albert F. Judd, is an authority on the Hawaiian trees and plants. So Prof. C. H. Edmondson of the Zoology Department and Prof. H. S. Palmer of the Geology Department, University of Hawaii, contributed to the volume articles on "American Life" and on" Geology" of Hawaii. So Dr. Nils P. Larsen, M.D., Medical Director of the Queen's Hospital, Honolulu, and a scientist of international repute, finds time, in the interval of his busy professional life, to write on "Ancient Hawaiian Medical Practice." Mr. E. H. Bryan, Jr., Curator, Bishop Museum, contributes articles on the "Fibre work," "Astronomy and Calendar" of the Hawaiians. "Hawaiian Agriculture" was treated by Juliet Rice Wichman and her sister Edith Rice Plews contributed a valuable paper on "Hawaiian Poetry." These two cultured ladies are the grand-daughters

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of the late Hon, William Hyde Rice of the Island of Kauai who in his "Hawaiian Legends" preserved many valuable specimens of Hawaiian literature transmitted by oral tradition, Mrs. Plews utilized also the valuable works of Nathaniel Emerson, author of *The Unwritten Literature of Hawaii* We quote from her paper two characteristic pieces: (1) A *Mele Ipo* (Love Song)—

"Fragrant the grasses of high Kane-hoa,
Bind on the anklets, bind!
Bind with finger deft as the wind
That cools the air of this bower.
Lehua blooms pale at my flower,
O sweetheart of mine!
Bud that I pluck and wear in my wreath,
If thou wert but a flower!"

(2) A *Mele Kanikau* (Dirge of Lament) composed by Kamamalu, the wife of Kamehameha II, while she left Hawaii with her husband never to return:

"Ye skies, ye plains, ye mountains and great sea,
Ye toilers, ye people of the soil, my love embraces you.
To this soil, farewell!
Ye, land for whose sake my father was eaten by deep
sorrow—farewell! alas farewell!"

What a rich legacy of thought, beauty and music are transmitted to us by these simple primitive folks can only be appreciated if we approach them with the scientific outlook and human sympathy of anthropologists, one of whom very appropriately and forcibly sums up the case for *preservation* in the following words: "Perhaps the most worthwhile feature of our Hawaiian heritage deserving preservation, was a certain religious and philosophic aspect of the old cultural life. It is so subtle that it is difficult to define. The Hawaiian *mele* with its implications and its hidden poetic meanings underlying verbal composition of great beauty, are flowers of thought which lovers of the subtler beauties of Polynesian civilisation will never allow to die. They, like the grand Nature myths, are permeated with extraordinary philosophic ideas which have been admired for a century by scholars all over the world. But unfortunately the art of creating, or rendering these anew, is dying. The

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younger Hawaiians might help to keep this great art alive, and interest themselves in the intellectual achievements and attainments of their forefathers."

IV

The very isolation of the Polynesian people helped in developing a special character of thought, intensity of feeling and individuality of literary expression quite remarkable in the annals of unwritten literature. Kamehameha the Great (1737-1819), called by his biographer H. H. Gowen, the "Napoleon of the Pacific," was probably the last manifestation of Polynesian genius and also the last champion of the old order of military and heroic achievements and of the ancestral religion and culture. Privileged to visit his native island of Hawaii in 1937, exactly two hundred years after his birth, I found the atmosphere still surcharged, as it were, with the memory and glory of the great Hawaiian chief who, at the time of his death (May 8, 1819), entrusted the care of his ancestral War-god, Kukailimoku (Hawaiian Karttikeya) to his son Liholiho who succeeded as Kamehameha the Second. When Kamehameha was a middle-aged man of 40, Captain Cook was on the way of re-discovering the Hawaiian Island (January 18, 1778). Even as late as that the Hawaiians were simple enough to take Captain Cook to their temple, the *Heiau* of Hikiau, and there worshipped him as a god. Very soon Captain Cook was killed by the fanatic Hawaiians, and, as is well-known, the attention of the Western explorers, traders and statesmen came slowly but relentlessly to revolutionize the simple history of these isolated peoples. In 1792 Captain George Vancouver visited Hawaii and the next year Kamehameha I came into personal contact with Vancouver who continued to help him in his struggle with rival chiefs. When in 1790 one-third of the army of his rival Keoua was destroyed by the eruption of the volcano Kilaua, Kamehameha celebrated his thanksgiving service by the building of the Puuko-Heiau, He brought a special *Kahuna* or soothsayer from the Island of Kauai, and under his instruction, as is reported, "chiefs of the highest degree and common natives worked side by side, and Kamehameha himself set the example of carrying stones to

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the building." Before his death in 1819 Kamehameha may have had some premonition of the deluge of reform that was about to sweep the old order away; and probably that is why when the priests insisted upon *human sacrifice* he refused to obey. His son Kamehameha the Second, for the first time, sat down and ate with the women. The people looked on with astonishment, and when they saw that no harm came they shouted: "The *tapus* are at an end and the *gods are a lie*!" Orders were sent to all the islands to destroy the shrines and burn the idols. These affairs coincided with the appearance of the Christian missionaries, and the old order yielded place to new. Kamehameha the Second and his Queen, whose song we have quoted above, visited England (sailing from Honolulu, November 27, 1823,) and both died of measles there. Their bodies were brought back to Hawaii by Captain Lord Byron, a cousin of the Poet.

About half a century later, King Kalakaua, the last elected King before the disruption of Hawaiian monarchy, thought of undertaking a trip round the world; and this trip has a special significance, as would be made clear from his itinerary. The King and his party first went to San Francisco (January, 1881) and from there reached Japan where he received royal reception and became the guest of Emperor Matsuhito Meiji. From Japan, the King continued his journey visiting China, Siam, India and Egypt, crossing thereby the entire Orient. He visited also the great capitals of Europe where he was received with the ovation due to an independent monarch, and returned to Honolulu in October, 1881, by the way of the United States. He was the first King to complete a tour round the world, and, like the Japanese monarch, he was the first to send young men abroad, between 1880 to 1887, to England, Italy, U. S. A., Japan and China.

By sheer good luck I came into personal contact with Dr. F. W. Beckley, possibly the last surviving member of these 'returned' students. He was a doctor and an ardent patriot who narrated to me, with the pathos of the representative of a dying order, how they caught the last glimpse of the dying glow of Hawaiian culture in the rich harvest of songs which were produced by the poets in the reign of King Kalakaua. To the lady Hawaiian

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composer we Indians are indebted for the splendid Hawaiian hymn to the Himalayas which she composed when the King was returning after having visited the epic Himalayan landscapes. Such poetic songs were composed to entertain the favourite Queen of Kalakaua who stayed at home and who while waiting for her Royal husband's return was busy weaving a tapestry of music and dance into special commemorative *meles* (chants) and *hulas* (dances) which, down to this day are great favourites of the people, as I found in course of my tour through the islands. Thus the last free Hawaiian King, through the Himalyan chant, brought the Hawaiian and the Hindu souls together.

AN ODE TO THE SUN—KALAKAUA
IA OE E KA LA E ALOHI NEI

"Ia oe e ka la e alohi nei ma na welelau o ka honua
E hoike ana i kou nani i ka malamalama oi kelakela
Nau i nowelo aku pau na palipaa i ka ike ia
Ike oe i ka nani a o *Himela* i ka hene wai olu nawe malie
Ka mauna i lohia me ke onaona kiekie ai o Kalani noho mai iluna

Nau i a'e na kapu o *Kahiki* oia mau alanui malihini
Au i olali hookahi ai hehihehi ku ana i ka huku ale
I ke kai hala' i Iana malie kii'na iana pae moku
I hoa kuilima nou e Kalani o ka lama o ke ao kou kokua
O ka hoku loa no kou alakai lilo ai mea ole na enemi
Lehelehe eueu hana lokoino
E ola o Kalani a mau loa a kau i ke ao malamalama
Haina ka inoa i lohe ia o ka hiki kapu o na lani."

TRANSLATION

"An ode to thee, O *Sun*, which shineth to the uttermost ends of earth, causing thy ever bright light to reflect the *glory* in beauteous splendour :—

Thou hast seen *Himalaya* the sacred heights of those majestic cliffs, the bosom
Of those lofty mountains famed in song and story, that stand like grim sentinels

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O'er their sweet-scented sandlewood forests which feed
the fires of the hidden temple ;
Where thou, our island king, reached thy goal with
India's Elect as thy companions.
Thy audacity and priestly inheritance enabled thee to
overcome their prejudices
And pass beyond the taboo barriers of *Kahiki* (India)
towards that highland monastery.
As ye were led along the narrow, forbidding and breath-
taking path
Which thou alone of all alien lands were ever permitted
to trod by zealous guards.
Thou hast stood in the crest of glistening wavelets of the
frozen sea
Which lay below His temple in that upper world whose
existence only the Elect know.
Thither thou wast led by priest of that upper realm to
meet thy holy fate.
The snow-white fleecy clouds overhead were thy canopy
on that solemn journey.
The morning star the only light to guide thy footsteps lest
thou meet mishap.
Until thou stood before the sacred fires and inhaled the
fragrance of sandalwood
In that holy temple where thy royal lips were sealed in
secret oath as an "elect"
Silencing forever all secret murmurings and objections of
your opponents.
Long live, O royal "elect, for ever more" ! for in that *realm
of eternal light*
Will thy name henceforth be found enrolled, thou seventh
of our secred monarchs."

NOTE :—The English translation given above follows the traditional version rather than the literal to bring out the beauty and correctness of the seer's vision so that the unknown facts surrounding the initiation of the King as an "elect" by the Brahman brotherhood of India's hidden and most sacred temple may be known to his own people.

The above chant was composed by a cousin of Queen Kapiolani, wife of Kalakaua, while the King was in India on his world tour of 1881. This

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aged lady composer was a seer and prophetess of the old school who lived in the Garden Island, *Kauai o Mano* when she issued the chant before the King's return or when news from him had been received by his Queen, for his subjects.

"*Sun*" is symbolic of the King who is the light of his people.

The name *Kalakaua*, or "*day of fighting*" was a prophetic name in that after Kalakaua became King, his reign was marked by turmoil and struggle. The word *La* (sun or day) used here as pun.

Glory—as the sun shineth everywhere its rays travel, so is likened the King's itinerary from one country to another reflecting, wherever he went, his kingly dignity, his education and his modern accomplishments.

Kahiki—that foreign land, India.

Realm of Eternal Light—upper regions of the Himalayas where the Brahman brotherhood dwells.

Translated by Dr. Frederick W. Beckley, Honolulu and communicated by Mr. C. W. Kenn of Honolulu.

V

POLYNESIAN SCRIPT

Such serious contact apart, there was a serio-comic interlude of academic warfare over Indo-Polynesian relations, that was waged in the very year that I was lecturing at the University of Hawaii. In some of the islands we find, more as exceptions than common features, dressed stones, enormous erect slabs and other specimens of stone architecture. In some places we find peculiar designs, carved into the stones, which have been studied by the expert archæologists of the Bishop Museum. These petroglyphs apart; we find on some stone slabs peculiar incised characters which appear to be some forgotten scripts of a bygone age. They tempted premature archæologists to imaginative interpretations, as we find in the case of Park Harrison who gave a most fantastic deciphering of the so-called pre-historic scripts on the tablets of Rapa Nui or Easter Island, the farthest of the Polynesian group facing South America. A most extravagant translation of the tablet was offered by Carrol in the Polynesiad Society Journal where he stated that "the Easter Islanders were Peruvian immigrants who escaped from America with a script which he deciphers with the greatest ease."

In 1932, the problem of the Easter Island tablets again loomed into the limelight when it was considered solved

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by the Hungarian scholar Hevesy Vilmos (Guillaume de Hevesy) who presented to the French *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* a paper in which he attempted to connect the Easter Island tablet signs with those of the script, then recently discovered, on the well-known seals found among the ruins of two early centres of Indian culture —Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa in the Indus Valley. In 1933, Hevesy published a paper "Sur une ecriture oceanienne paraissant d'origine neolithique" in *Bulletin de la Societe Pre-historique Francaise, Nos.* 7 and 8. Labouring under the delusion of discovering the pre-historic script of Oceania, Hevesy ventured to point out that in many of the characters of the Easter Island tablets and of the Indus Valley script he could read analogous as well as identical characters. He felt that he could attribute that script to a neolithic civilisation which the Polynesians (who are known to be connected with pre-historic India) imported to the Easter Island in the course of their migrations. Hevesy also wrote two articles on "Oceania and Pre-Aryan India" and "Mohen-jo-Daro and Easter Island" *in Bulletin de l' Association Francaise des Amis de l' Orient Nos. 14-15* (*Cf.* E. Denison Ross, *India and Easter Island—Similarity of Early Script*, in *The Times, London).* Dr. B. Chabra of the Indian Archeological Department has revived the theory of parallelisms in the Easter Island and Indus valley scripts.

While I was leaving Hawaii, Dr. Alfred Metraux a French-Swiss scholar of pre-historic studies, was reading a paper at the Honolulu Academy of Arts exposing the hollowness of the contentions of Hevesy. Dr. Metraux now in U.N.E.S.C.O. was trained in France and also has to his credit years of field work in South America and in Polynesia. So his pronouncements must be accepted with due consideration ; and for the benefit of Indian scholars and for all those interested in the problem of prehistoric script of India, I conclude this section with the summary of Dr. Metraux's paper, which he very kindly handed over to me :

1. A great number of the analogies between the two scripts exists only in the reproductions of Hevesy, failing to appear when the original signs are compared. His similarities

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result from small "adjustments" (changing of proportions, obliteration of small details, misrepresentations, and so forth).

2. The general method used by Hevesy is scientifically inadmissible. For his comparison of the two scripts he chooses arbitrarily from the thousands of Easter Island signs. He selects small variations which appear once or twice, paying no attention to the usual forms of the sign. He does the same with the Indus script.

3. Hevesy has made no attempt to show whether a sign is an exception or a variant or whether it occurs repeatedly. As a matter of fact, most of his examples are taken only from insignificant or rare signs. He has not been able to show any convincing correspondence between the most common and characteristic signs of the two scripts. Hevesy, like the amateur linguist, compares two languages by putting together isolated words with their suffixes, prefixes, and so on without going to the roots or to the grammatical categories of the language. His method has been eleminated by science for a long time, though amateurs still indulge in the sport.

Hevesy has failed to explain how the two scripts separated in time by 4,000 years at least, can present minute and complicated resemblances in trifling details and at the same time be so completely different in all the essential elements.

Hevesy realized that it was too much to expect us to believe that remote Easter Island could have preserved for a minimum of 4,000 years a unaltered script. Four thousand years is a camparatively short time, since Hevesy considers the Easter Island script more archaic than that of Mohenjo Daro. If one agrees with Mr. Hunter, the Mohenjo Daro culture may have started in 4,000 B.C. and the interval would be over 6,000 years. To span this time Hevesy submits the curious theory that these tablets were taken to Easter Island by its first immigrants, who guarded them carefully during hundreds or thousands of years without either destroying them or knowing their meaning. Hevesy supports this hypothesis by a tradition reported by Thompson in which King Hotu-matua, the first settler, brought with him 67 tablets. For Hevesy, those 67 tablets were the only ones in existence. We mey acknowledge another tradition according to which

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Hineriru, one of the first immigrants, brought the original symbols on Paper (?): " . . . when the paper was done, their ancestors made them (the tablets) from the banana plant, and when it was found that it withered they resorted to the wood." Hotu-matua brought many things, according to the legends—even cattle. But Thompson, whom Hevesy quotes, gives conclusive evidence that the script was known and written by the natives until at least 1863.

To check the hypothesis of Hevesy, analyses were made of the wood of several Easter Island tablets. The laboratory investigations have refuted Hevesy's hypothesis. The analyses show that the following woods were used for the tablets: *Lauraceae*, *Myrtaceæ*, *Fraxinus excelsior*, *Thespesia populnea*, *Podocarpus latifolia*, *Pyrus malus*. The beautiful tablet called the "Oar" was engraved on a European oar of *Fraxinus excelsior*, a European wood much used for making oars. The authenticity of this tablet, which is in the Museum of the "Congregation des Sacres-Cœurs de Picpus" at Braine-le-Comte (Belgium), has never been questioned, even by Hevesy. "The age of the Easter Island tablets made of wood is totally unknown," writes Professor Langdon. The age of the best one, at least, is known to date from the end of the eighteenth century or the first half of the nineteenth century A.D. This tablet is the largest one and one of the purest in style. It was collected by the missionaries about 1867 or 1869, at a time when the natives paid little attention to them. The climate of Easter Island is essentially wet and tablets of wood could not have been kept for centuries in rain-drenched, thatched huts, much less in caves. How then could these tablets have been saved for thousands of years of migration and war and come to us in the form of a modern European oar ?

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VI

THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THE PACIFIC— A CULTURAL EBB AND FLOW

Antiquarian studies are often punctuated by fantastic theorisings which may be wrong in detail and yet may be right in their implications. At the conclusion of our section on Polynesia we want to emphasise once more, as we have done in our previous sections, the fact that there are no frontiers on the Oceanic field and that cultural migrations from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific and back are as true as the tidal waves and the deeper oceanic under-currents. Ever since the formulation of the hypothesis of a fairly common Austric linguistic peculiarities, scholars have been trying to chart anew the submerged continent of culture represented by the Kols or Mundas of India, the Mon-Khmers of Indo-China, the Australoid races and the Polynesians, reaching right up to the confines of pre-Columbian culture of the two Americas. The pre-Aryan and the pre-Dravidian questions of India have been handled by eminent scholars like Sylvain Levi, Jean Przyluski, Jules Bloch and others. They have been ably supported by Indian scholars like Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Prabodh Chandra Bagchi. Sometime ago, Paul Rivet attacked the problem from a new angle. In *Annales de Geographie* (1926) he contributed a paper on "The Role of the Oceanians in the history of the Peopling of the Globe and of Civilization." He followed that up with a paper "Sumerians and Oceanians" published by the Linguistic Society of Paris (Vol. 24, 1929). He pointed out several analogies between the Sumerian and the Austro-Asiatic languages of Asia, basing his thesis on the relations of Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley from the third millennium B.C. Rivet is convinced that the domain of the Sumero-Oceanic languages extended from the Mediterranean to America and from Japan to Tasmania, forming the most ancient linguistic substratum of those countries. Archælogy and anthropology came to throw new lights on this problem and we find the conclusions ably summarised in a paper, contributed by Robert Heine-Geldern of Vienna on the Chronology of the Neolithic Culture of South Eastern Asia (*Homage*

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to P. W. Schmidt, Vienna, 1928). The author succeeded in co-ordinating the neolithic cultures of Indo-China, Assam, Orissa, Chota-Nagpur, Formosa and Japan. So Victor Christian in his *Die Beziehungen der altemesopotamischen kunst zum Osten* (WBKA 1926) stated clearly that, in the Copper Age, civilisation was fairly homogeneous in the entire Orient from the Mediterranean to China. According to him, ethnic migrations commenced in the neolithic epoch and he explained numerous analogies in the art of Mesopotamia, India and China. Lastly, a most valuable link in this chain of arguments was furnished by the painstaking researches of James Hornell who published his monograph *The Origin and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat Design* in the "Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" (Vol. 7, 1920). He followed it up by publishing in collaboration with A. C. Haddon, the *Canoes of Occania* (Bishop Museum Memoirs). The Boat Designs of the Nile and the Tigris, of the Indus and the Ganges, of Indonesia and Oceania, are veritable landmarks in the unfolding of this forgotten chapter of human experience and cultural collaboration.

VII

THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

The Hawaii Islands (20 in number. of which only 8 are inhabited) were annexed to the United States (Aug. 12, 1898) about a year before the acquisition by the U. S. A. (April 11, 1899) from Spain, of the Philippines, which brought America to the very heart of the Orient. At the end of the first decade (1898-1908) we find the foundation of the University of Hawaii with 5 students and 12 faculty members, or 2 instructors per student. In 1937, when I had the privilege of joining the University Faculty, the teaching staff rose to 256 and the student body to nearly 3,000. The nucleus of the University was the College of Hawaii, which started conferring B.A. degrees from 1914, when the cost per student was over 1,600 dollars. The College was raised to the rank of a University in 1920 and, with the consequent increase in enrolment figures the cost per student had been cut down to less than half, *i.e.*, 700 dollars

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and in 1927 to 450 dollars per student. Addition of new departments and divisions of research kept pace with the growth of the University. To develop mental tests in that wonderful ethnic laboratory of Hawaii, the Legislature established in 1921, the Psychological and Psychopathic Clinic, then under Prof. Dr. Porteus, who joined the University, coming from Australia. In 1924, the University undertook the management of the experiment station of the Association of Hawaiian Pineapple-canners. The Engineering group was reorganized in 1928, and the Territorial Normal and Training School was affiliated to the University, which developed, in 1931, the regular Teachers' College. The University co-operates with the big Sugar Trusts, which maintain some of the best experts, researchers and laboratories on Sugar Technology, attracting numerous students from America, China, Japan and even India. The late Dr. Upendrakumar Das, D.Sc. (Minnesota) earned golden opinion as a researcher at one of the biggest Sugar Experiment Stations in Honolulu. In the students' roll of the University, I found several Indian students of sugar technology, from Bombay, U.P. and Bihar.

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

The Chinese and the Japanese Departments working over a decade, were integrated into the Oriental Institute in 1935 with Prof. Gregg M. Sinclair as Director. He started developing contacts with the academic groups and the thought-leaders of the Far East and came twice to India—the fountain-head of Far Eastern religion, philosophy and culture. I took him to Dr. Tagore then in Santiniketan. He met also Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta and secured my services to act as their Visiting Professor of Indian history and culture in 1937. For the first time an American University was thus seen to take the initiative in understanding the peoples and cultures of India and the Living Orient and not merely their mummified prototypes deposited in museums. The University of Hawaii, ministering to

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the needs of a population* largely "Oriental," has naturally been trying to develop through the Oriental Institute, a special research department for the study of the living languages and cultures of the principal nations of the Orient starting with China, Japan and India. Many of the leading cultural organizations of China and Japan have been sending valuable books, and the Sino-Japanese Library of the University appeared to me to be splendid. Competent teachers and professors of Chinese and Japanese nationality conduct regular classes on their respective cultures throughout the year and the public took keen interest in them. Let us hope that India through her big Universities and research centres would similarly co-operate with the Oriental Institute of the University of Hawaii. To begin with, all important books, written by Indian authors on diverse problems of India, may be sent as friendly gifts to the University Library in order to develop gradually its Indian section. The generous gift of the complete publications of the University of Calcutta presented through its former Vice-Chancellor Dr. S. P. Mookerji, was thankfully received and acknowledged by President D. L. Crawford at the 30th Jubilee Celebrations of the University (March 22-27, 1937). Other Indian Universities and learned societies may extend similar courtesies and cultivate cultural relations with the University of Hawaii for their mutual advantage. As next President Prof. Sinclair was deeply interested in developing direct relations with the scientific and academic world of India. I was very grateful to Prof. Sinclair and his colleagues, for they spared no pains to enable the cosmopolitan public of Hawaii to profit by my courses of lectures, which were attended not only by the professors and students of the University but also by the *elites* of Honolulu. Mrs. Mary Dillingham Frear (wife of the former Governor) and Prof. Charles Moore, Mrs. Crawford (wife of the President) and Prof. W. Chan, Mrs. Castle and many distinguished writers and artists, regularly attended my

* Out of a total population of 393,277, we find, according to the then (1936) estimate, 149,886 Japanese, 53,550 Filipino, 29,863 Portuguese *not* considered Caucasians, 27,495 Chinese, 21,594 Hawaiian, 18,271 Asiatic Hawaiian, 19,319 Caucasian Hawaiian, 6,682 Korean, 7,470 Puerto Rican and 1,261 Spanish.

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lectures, which, after the semester, were extended to the Summer session, where I was privileged to meet in my classes, many experienced teachers from other islands and also from the mainland of America. I was glad to note before my departure that the University of Hawaii was getting ready to convene the first "East and West Congress of Philosophy" in the Pacific world. President Sinclair was nobly backed by Prof. Dr. Charles Moore (who later visited India) in this fruitful project which led to the holding of two major Congresses East-West Philosophy in the University of Hawaii.

Supported by President Sinclair and the Hawaii University Prof. Moore spent a year at the Banaras University and also at Oxford working with Prof. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan who collaborated with Prof. Moore in publishing the valuable "Source Book in Indian Philosophy (Princeton Univ. Press 1957) Prof. Moore is also the Editor of the learned journal "Philosophy East and West." Another colleague of ours was Dr. Wing-tsit Chan (now Professor of Chinese culture and Philosophy, Dartmooth College, U, S. A.) is preparing "A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy." He visited me while I was editing and publishing Dr. Carsun Chang's "China and Gandhian India" (1956) and revising my "India and the Pacific World" which I planned while lecturing at the Oriental Institute of the University of Hawaii. I presented to the library the Golden Book of Tagore published by me in 1931 ; and thanks to our friend Seth Jugal Kishore Birla, I could leave behind in the Hawaii University a few standard books on Indian Philosophy, to mention among others, the works of the late Dr. Surendranath Das Gupta and of Prof. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan who is the chief inspirer of a new group of American thinkers, like Prof. Moore, the first to attempt a synthesis of the Philosophies of the East and the West.

THE HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS

Founded in April, 1927, the Academy completed the first decade of its existence when it invited me to deliver a series of lectures on the "Art and Archæology of India." It owes its existence to the munificence of Mrs. Charles M. Cooke, whose beautiful dream is expressed in the following significant paragraphs :

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"That our children of many nationalities and races, born far from the centres of art, may receive an intimation of their own cultural legacy and wake to the ideals embodied in the arts of their neighbours, that they may grasp that composite heritage accumulating for the new generations of Hawaii ;

That Hawaiians, Americans, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, North Europeans, South Europeans; and all other peoples living here, contacting through the channel of Art those deep intuitions common to all, may perceive a foundation on which a new culture enriched by all the old strains, may be built in these islands ;

That it may contribute to such understanding and mutual respect, the Honolulu Academy of Art, opens its doors to this community so situated that it calls East the West and West the East, perhaps in happy continuance of that ancient Polynesian custom of exchanging the names of close friends."

A special feature of the activities of the Academy has been that of public education through the observance of national festivals with appropriate art exhibits, dance and music. The Chinese Moon festival, the Japanese Boy Day, the Korean Spring festival, the Filipino folk dance, among others, attracted thousands of men and women of different nationalities developing spontaneously a sympathy for and appreciation of the deeper emotional and cultural life of nations. It is significant that over half of the entire collection of its Museum is oriental : Chinese and Japanese with a few Indian pieces also. Before the War of 1939 a loan Exhibition of Indian Art-objects from America was organized by the Academy with the expert help of Dr. A. Coomaraswamy. So, when I opened my course of lectures on "Indian Arts and Crafts," I was agreeably surprized to find numerous friends of India in Honolulu, who followed my courses with close attention. Dr. C. M. Cooke, and Mrs. Philip Spalding, the son and daughter of the late Mrs. Cooke, received me warmly and Mr. Edgar C. Schenck, the energetic Director and his talented wife Mrs. Dorothy Schenck, Director of the Educational Department of the Academy, were very friendly to me. Through them I came to know the quiet little group of devoted workers at the Academy ; Marion Morse, the Librarian, Alyce Hogs and Marvel Allison, assistants in art education, among others who helped me in every

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possible way to make my lectures and illustrations as attractive as possible. Through my lectures at the Academy I had the privilege of knowing many American and European artists interested in India and her epic landscapes, among others, the renowned musician, Mr. Fritz Hart, Director of the Honolulu Symphony Orchestra and admirer of my friend Romain Rolland.

THE BISHOP MUSEUM

Bernice Pauahi Bishop, a Hawaiian Princess, born in 1831, was the great-granddaughter of Kalaniopuu, King of the Island of Hawaii at the time of its discovery by Captain Jones Cook. She married Charles Reed Bishop in 850 and he founded, after her death, in 1889, the now famous Bernice P. Bishop Museum. Its first Director, Dr. W. T. Brigham (1898-1918), patiently watched over the collection of, and publications on, Hawaiian antiquities : feather-work, mat and basket weaving, carving, bark-cloth, stone implements, etc. Dr. H. E. Gregory was the second Director (1919-36) whose services were loaned to the Museum by the Yale University which maintains a most fruitful and friendly collaboration between their Faculty and the Museum experts. Dr. Gregory organized several expeditions into Polynesia and was made President of the first Pan-Pacific Scientific Congress of Honolulu in 1920. The regional survey of the various island groups comprising Polynesia was nearly complete when Dr. Gregory retired ; but before that he had the satisfaction of sending the reputed author of *Polynesian Religion*, Dr. E. C. Handy, ethnographist to the Bishop Museum, as its delegate to All-India Science Congress of 1928 held at our University of Calcutta Dr. Handy, with the intuition of an expert ethnologist discovered soon that to understand some aspects of the "Polynesian Origins" (*Vide* Bishop Museum, Occassional papers Vol. IV, No. 8, 1830) one cannot help turning to India. He procured a research fellowship for our late lamented friend and colleague Dr. Panchanan Mitra and he returned to India saturated with Polynesian lore. He started publishing a series of articles in "Man in India" (1931-32) but was snathed away by the cruel hand of death at the very prime of his life. His death was regretted by many of his friends of Honolulu, epecially of

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the Bishop Museum group, whom I often met during my stay at the University of Hawaii. The University keeps close contact with the Bishop Museum for research work and I was deeply touched by the uniform courtesy and co-operation shown by its veteran Director, Dr. Peter H. Buck, and K. P. Emory, Dr. A Mettaux, Mr. E. H. Bryan and other scholars. Dr. Buck hails from New Zealand and is proud of his Maori heredity, which he proclaims through this name Te Rangi Hiroa and he was trying nobly to develop the activities of the Museum, extending it outside the limits of Polynesia proper, now that the general survey of the Polynesian group was complete. Our friend and colleague, Dr. B. S. Guha of the Indian Museum, kept in touch with the anthropologists of the Bishop Museum and I hope that other Indian scholars and research institutions would exchange their publications with this premier research laboratory of Polynesian culture in the North Pacific.

Two other associations of major importance originating in Hawaii are the *Pan-Pacific Union* and the *Institute of Pacific Relations*. The former is working for years, like an international Rotary for the Pacific World holding meetings, reunions and fostering cultural relations and good neighbourly policy. The Institute of Pacific Relations, on the other hand, is working as the major research organisation of the Pacific basin publishing a journal *Pacific Affairs* and also data papers for periodic conferences and other valuable studies into the economic, social and political life of the nations bordering on the Pacific. Founded originally in Hawaii, the headquarters of the Institute of Pacific Relations was transferred to New York but the Pan-Pacific Union continues to function from Honolulu, as its centre, publishing an illustrated magazine called the *Pan-Pacific*. Both the *Union* and the *Institute* welcomed me to participate in many of their proceedings. India came to have her legitimate representation in the Pan-Pacific Union, when I had the honor of being invited to serve as one of its Honorary Trustees. In view of the projected "East and West Congress of Philosophy" to be invited to Honolulu, I was requested to participate in a symposium on "The Eastern and Western Thought," led by Prof. Dr. Charles Moore of the University of Hawaii. Few can argue with impunity today that the Pacific and the Indian oceans are but very remotely connected, for India is fast being drawn into the vortex of the Pacific problems.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE PEOPLES AND CULTURE OF THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippine Islands were discovered by the famous Portuguese navigator Magellan (Magelhæs) who, then in Spanish service, rounded the whole of South America, passed (28th November, 1520) through the Strait named after him, and after three months of most trying voyage across the Pacific reached Micronesia. He landed in the Philippines on the 16th of March, 1521, and tried to conquer the Islands by diplomatic alliances with the rival factions till he was killed while fighting a native chief of Mactan (near Cebu). Sixty years after, in 1581, the Spanish General Legaspi managed to conquer the Islands which came to bear the name of the Spanish King Philip and, for over three centuries, the Spanish language and culture dominated over the indigenous Malayan language and culture of the islands. In 1898, with the termination of war between Spain and U. S. A., the Filipinos came to be American subjects and English language began to partially replace Spanish.

Amidst all these political and cultural vicissitudes we must remember that the Filipinos are Asiatics and that their history is intimately related to that of the mainland of Asia with which the Philippines were connected by land (like England with the Continent) towards the end of the Old Stone Age, some 25,000 years ago (*Vide* Keesing : "Who are the Filipinos ?"—*Mid-Pacific Magazine*, January-March, 1936). Prof. Felix M. Keesing through many of his valuable contributions has thrown light on the dark problem of the Filipino origins. The earliest migrants were the Negritos, a black pigmy race which probably came across the land-bridge which, later on, was engulfed by the sea and the Philippines became a floating triangle of more than 7,000 islands which came to be visited by a second race, the Indonesians or Proto-Malays. They were a tall brown-skinned people, experts in navigation, who in their canoes visited the islands towards the end of the New Stone Age (about 5000 B. C.). Some of them came from Indonesia and some

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from Indo-China. A few centuries before the Christian era the third race, the Malayans, came by the way of Borneo from Java and Sumatra, where, as we know, pure Hindu culture came to dominate about the beginning of the Christian era. With Hindu culture gradually came the Sanskritic languages which had influenced very largely Tagalog, the *lingua franca* of the Philippines. The Chinese and the Arabs also came in due time, adding new elements to the composite culture of the Filipino people. With the conquest of the Spaniards, the vast majority of the Filipinos were converted to Roman Christianity and to some occidental manners and customs; but more than a million resisted conversion, and about half of them live in the southern zone known as the Moros, who are Muhammadans.

An interesting paper by Mr. Alber W. Herre of the Stanford University, U. S. A., gives the important clues with regard to the "Sources of Philippine Culture" *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, January-March, 1936). Mr. Herre opens his survey with the movement of the dwarfish Negritos or Aetas, who were food-gatherers of the most primitive type who reached the Philippines by the lost land bridge. The next were the Indonesians, an early Caucasic brown folk who came in their canoes. They passed through Indonesia and the Sulu Archipelago to Mindanao and through Palawan and the Visaya group of islands to Luzon, and even beyond to Formosa and malayo-Polynesian South Japan. These Indonesians, speaking dialects of the Austric group, belonged to the Neolithic Age (*circa* 10,000-5,000 B.C.) and brought with them rice, banana, cocoanut and other food plants. They were expert fishermen and builders of canoes *(barangays)* and knew a kind of rude clay-pottery. They were the pioneers in farming *(caingan)* and in raising upland rice.

Then Mr. Herre draws our attention to the discovery of archæological sites which belong to the Early Iron age but which, according to him, are partly derived from the Chalcolithic culture of India. Human settlements have been discovered on the hills of Novaliches, to the north-east of Manila and also along the north coast of Laguna de Bay. The tools and weapons of these people were made out of the obsidian stone from cliffs on

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the north side of the lake. A similar settlement and quarry have been found to the west of the town of Lipa in Batangas province. Thousands of artifacts have been discovered and were carefully preserved by Prof. H. Otley Beyer who kindly showed them to me while I was lecturing in Manila as a Guest-professor of the University of the Philippines. Prof. Beyer is a firm believer in the cultural relations of India and the Philippines from the pre-historic days, and Mr. Herre, following him, also made the following significant observations:

"From these we know that they (the Indonesians) derived their primary culture from India, Mother of Nations From the Novaliches burial urns are obtained green glass bangles exactly like those figured in the Reports of the Indian Archæological Survey and made at least 5,000 years ago. . . . . Even in those far off days there was an interchange of commodities (glass and stone jewellery, beads, ear-plugs, ornaments, etc.) from tribe to tribe and island to island. . . . . Somehow the art of writing was also brought from India, and was known to most of the Philippine tribes until it was wantonly destroyed by the Spanish priests. Now the ancient writing survives only among the Pagan Mangyans of Mindoro and the Bataks of Palawan.

In the first millenium B. C. fresh wave of migrants pushed back the Negritos as well as the Indonesians and many tribes like the Igorrotes moved into the hills as did the Ifugao who developed a marvellous system of rice terraces to grow lowland rice in the high mountains. This third group of invaders were a mixed race, the Mongoloid or Continental Malayas who brought with them the cultivation of lowland rice, bamboo, mangoe, chicken and the *carabao* or buffalo.

Towards the beginning of the Christian era, Chinese traders and pirates began to appear and through them came iron, glazed-pottery, porcelain, huge and beautiful jars, lovely beads, silk and delicate cloth. This Chinese penetration was interrupted by the conquest of entire Malayasia by the great Malay empire of Sumatra or the Indo-Malay empire of Sri-Vijaya which held the Philippines for about 150 years and which was replaced by the Indo-Javanese Madjapahit empire on which Mr. Herre makes the following remarks: "The rulers of the powerful state were of Hindu blood who brought an advanced civilization to the Malayas. Brunei in Borneo became a great colony and distributing

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centre of Indo-Javanese culture among the remote islands to the north and the east. The Philippines became a dependancy of Brunei. The Javanese obtained gold in the Agusan valley of Mindanao and mined in Masbate and Southern Mindoro. . . . Their cultural influence was very strong in the Visayas. . . . But with the downfall of the Madjapahit empire, the Philippines were conquered by a Chinese General. . . . when there was a tremendous increase in Chinese influence. . . . With the death of this general, the Overseas Chinese empire fell apart, and Muhammadan traders and missionaries (14th-15th centuries A.D.) became dominant in Java and Borneo. From Brunie and Johor they converted the people of Sulu Islands and much of Mindanao. Later they established themselves in Luzon with headquarters at Manila which was ruled by a Muhammadan Raja from Brunei. With the Muhammadans came in Arabic influences."

Those who are interested pursuing the anthropological problems in greater detail should follow the various publications of the scientific societies of the Philippines as well as of the United States of America. Twenty years after the American occupation a regular *census* of the Philippine Islands was complied in 1918 and in the second volume of the Census report Prof. Beyer contributed the first systematic survey of "The Non-Christian People of the Philippines" (Manila, 1921). We know therefrom that the total number of persons designated as "Non-Christians" was 821,982 or about 8 per cent. of the total population. Of this number 402,790 were Pagans, 372,464 Muhammadans and 740 Buddhists. Prof. Beyer devotes special sections to (1) the Pygmies, remnants of three distinct aboriginal Melanesoid races—Negrito, Proto-Malaya and Australoid Ainu, (2) the Indonesians like the Ibanags, Gaddangs, Kalingas. and Apayaos, etc., and (3) the Malayas who are sub-divided into Pagan and Muhammadan groups. The native Pagans were converted to Islam subsequent to the 11th century A.D. Before that, for about 1,500 years, the Filipinos were influenced by the Chinese in their economic life but their social and religious life was throughout influenced by Hindu civilization, according to Prof. Beyer who points to the "Sanskrit elements in Philippine languages." Hindu influence is

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also felt in the native mythology, folk-lore, early literature, codes of law, art and design and other symbols of the cultural, social and political life of the Philippines (*Vide* Krœber: *Peoples of the Philippines* 1919, p. 10).

Since this valuable report of Prof. Beyer, there has been a surprising progress in the study of the palæ-ethnology and pre-historic archæology of Asia as evidenced by three important Congresses for Pre-historic Research in the Far East—one in French Indo-China (Hanoi), another in the Philippines (Manila) and the third in British Malaya (Singapore). Before 1932 few suspected that concrete archæological materials could be unearthed, proving conclusively that, long before the use of metals, the Philippines were inhabited by peoples using the New Stone Age and the Old Stone Age tools. Prof. Beyer, who studied these problems more than anybody else, gave us important landmarks of this pre-historic culture in some articles published in the *Philippine Magazine* (October, 1928; October, 1935). In the early Palæolithic Age when the primitive pygmies reached the islands, the Philippines were connected with Asia, at least with the larger Malaysian islands to the south. Then came from Borneo the Proto-Malay (Indonesian) people in the Mesolithic Age with stone arrows-heads and tools flaked from obsidian, flint, chert, etc., and a great number of these artifacts have been discovered in the lower foot-hills of Rizal and Bulakan province.

Between 6000 and 1000 B. C., the Neolithic people came in two distinct waves: the early Neolithic people (4,000-3,000 B. C.) used a type of stone-axe with a round or oval cross-section and they practised dry agriculture and their remains have been found in the valleys of the hilly parts of Rizal and Bulakan. The late Neolithic people (2,000-1,000 B.C.) manufactured rectangular or trapezoidal stone-axes and practised a more extensive and sedentary agriculture; turning of the soil and fertilization enabled them to use the land continuously and to build fairly big villages spreading over south-western Luzon. The best examples of their culture have been found in Batangas, and most probably this late Neolithic people came direcly to Luzon from Indo-China, then of Bronze Age culture. Thus three bronze celts have been found in Batangas associated with typical stone

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implements, and the shape of those stone-tools "suggests a derivation from earlier metal forms," according to Prof. Beyer.

Some of these tools were used for the manufacture and decoration of "bark-cloth" which has such a long and interesting history among the Polynesians and other Pacific races, right up to New Zealand. Another interesting thing which connects New Zealand with Indo-China through the Philippines was the "jade-cult"; tools, amulets, beads and other ornaments of true jade or of a variety of green stone have been found; and these artifacts and some small images suggest that these New Stone Age people from Indo-China had well-developed religious beliefs of their own which could be traced right up to the land of the Maoris in New Zealand.

A little before the beginning of the Christian era, the Iron Age people entered the Philippines both from the South and the North. Those who came from Northern Indo-China into Luzon brought with them the rice-terrace culture, irrigation and many other arts. Those who came from the South brought the use of betel-nut, metal-work, weaving, glass-making and pottery. When they settled in the Novaliches district of Rizal Province these early Iron Age people not only mined and smelted their own iron ore but also worked other metals, gold and copper. Earrings, bracelets, amulets etc., were manufactured from gold. Their pottery of many shapes and sizes were excellent; the pottery is wheel-turned, not hand-moulded, with red tint and decorations incised or scratched. In shapes and forms they resemble the later polished or slip-covered potteries, with moulded designs, appearing in the Transitional Period. The decoration of certain pieces shows a close kinship with that found in the Iron Age graves of Japan and Korea which are also of southern origin. The most interesting art, however, was the working of artificial glass: a green variety coloured with iron and a blue glass coloured by some copper derivatives. During this age *iron* was still scarce and used by the wealthier people and the common people used stone-tools. These people knew the art of irrigation and intensive cultivation. Their jewellery consisted of green and blue glass bracelets, with rounded or bevelled edges, and beads of such semi-precious stone as agate, carnelian,

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amethyst, rock-crystal, and sapphire. With regard to these finds from the Iron Age site of the Novaliches river valley, dating approximately from the first millennium B. C., Prof. Beyer observed ("A Pre-historic Iron Age in the Philippines"—*Philippine Magazine*, October, 1928) :

"When we learnt that all this material was not Chinese, we looked around for its nearest relatives elsewhere and found them in the Indian Peninsula. : . . . All of the Iron Age material is very much like that found in Southern India, Eastern Java, Northern Borneo and in parts of the Malay Peninsula. . . . . When the pre-historic glass beads and bracelets found in India are of some fifteen different colours, only two colours of beads are found here, green and blue. . . . . All this supports my view that the *motherland of this culture was India.* With the coming of the Chinese, the people began to buy their jewellery from them and forgot the art of making glass, just as our native weaving industry is dying out to-day because of the importation of cheap foreign textiles."

At the end of the Iron Age several new races of people came whose remains are being discovered in the old village sites and burial grounds in Rizal province and in the central Visayan Islands. Some of them practised *cremation* as in India, while others introduces coffin burial and other peculiar customs showing contact with Chinese culture. The earliest Chinese porcelain found here is of the 10th century A.D., and procelain objects of rich variety continued down to the 16th century. During the Middle Ages the Filipinos were mainting active cultural relations with the neighbouring countries of Java and Indonesia on the one hand and with Indo-China and China of the Sung and Ming dynasties on the other. Most of the early porcelains found in the Philippines belong to the Sung dynasty showing the green glaze known as 'celadon'. While most of this valuable pottery came from China, some also came from the famous porcelain factory of Sawankalok in Siam. Thus this *Porcelain Age* of Philippine history touches the well-documented periods of contact with China-Japan and terminates with the invasion of Arabic Islam and the settlement of the Moros in the 16th century when Spanish domination began.

Years ago the famous American anthropologist Prof. A. L. Kroeber whom I met in California drew our attention to some aspects of Indo-Philippino cultural relations in the book *The*

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Peoples of the Philippines (New York, 1919). As the book is not easily available today, I summarise his conclusions in his own words as far as possible ; Back of Islam and Christianity lies a deeper movement, the most determinative of Philippine civilisation. This is an influence or rather a set of influences emanating from India : "A mass of religious ideas, practices and names, a considerable body of Sanskrit words, a system of writing, the art of metal working, a vast body of mechanical and industrial knowledge and unquestionably a much greater degree of civilization and refinement than had existed previously."

Of the Pagan Tribes, two big groups resemble one another, inspite of distance : (*a*) the tribes of mountain Luzon and (*b*) the tribes of Mindanao, unaffected either by Islam or Christianity. They aggregate about a million in number, or twice as much as the number of American Indians in U. S. A. The Mindanao Pagans, probably owing to their proximity to Java and Borneo, absorbed more of Hindu civilization than the Pagans of Luzon ; yet, strangely enough, the proportion of Sanskrit words is larger in the Tagalog of the North Island. So Hindu influences must have reached Luzon also ; and the second largest Pagan group there is the Kalinga which meant 'enemy,' possibly of the older natives who had to face the Indian colonists from the Eastern coasts of India. A similar process in noticeable later on when the Sailodbhavas of Kalinga conquered Java, where also we find a class of people called the Klings, precursors of the great Sailendra Empire. The Tagbanua in Palawan and the Magyan in Mindoro succeeded in preserving forms of an old native alphabet of Hindu origin. It is found incised on bamboo slips written vertically or horizontally. But this script has everywhere given way to the Arabic or Roman script. The last and declining phase of Hindu influence entering from the South could be traced as far as the Visayan Island ; for Magellan found the chiefs of Cebu with the Hindu title of Raja. The great Pagan gods were grouped into families in the Hindu manner. The chief deity of the Tagalog was Bathala, derived from Sanskrit *Bhattara* =Javanese *Batara Guru* (=Siva). The Sambol folk name their god *Akasi*, the Visayans have as god *Sivapa*. Corresponding to Hindu Pasupati, we find *Abog*, god of the hunters, and the

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Creator is styled *Pamulak Manobo*. Along with the gods came the cult of *Anito* or the *Soul*, the carved wooden figure of the Spirit, together with prayers and sacrifices, *mantras*, explanatory myths and fables, mostly of Hindu origin. The Tinggian people preserve down to this day fragments of romances, of battle, love and magic, of hidden birth, intrigues, and adventures, "patterned on Hindu example." Prof. Beyer is of opinion that both the Ramayana and the Mahabharata stories were partially adapted, but such exalted literary pieces could not be assimilated so fully by the Filipinos as by their more gifted brethren the Javanese. We find also the Hindu belief in a monster Rahu causing the eclipse ; the Magindanao Moro people named the five division of the day as *Maheswara*, *Kala*, *Sri*, and *Bisnu*, and Hindu astronomical names are still preserved among the Moslem population as in Java.

All the lowland Filipino dialects contain a stock of Sanskrit words. From the coast these words have spread to the interior districts specially in the South. In the North, Sanskrit was imported, in recent centuries, by the intrusive Ilokano people. Sanskrit words are about twice as numerous in Tagalog as in the Visayan and the Mindanao dialect. This can be explained by the probable direct relations of the Tagalog zone with Indo-China, Siam and Malay Peninsula. Sanskritic elements also penetrated Mindanao and Visayan Isles *via* Borneo, and thus a comparative study between the Northern and the Southern Sanskritic elements may reveal more important evidences.

The most remarkable monograph on this subject was published, in the last quarter of the 19th century, by the great Filipino doctor-patriot Don T. H. Pardo de Tavera. He was a voluntary exile from his mother country, then under the despotic Spanish regime and, being in Paris, he possibly came in personal contact with the great French Sanskritists like Barth, Senart, and others. Thus he might have been induced to compile a list of those words in Tagalog which appeared to him to have been derived from Sanskrit. His list was completed in 1884 when he was informed by Prof. F. Blumentritt that a similar list had already been compiled and published by the renowned Dutch

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Sanskritist H. Kern.* Dr. Tavera published his monograph in Spanish: *El Sanscrito en la Lingua Tagalog* (Paris, Impremerie de la Faculte de Medicine, 1887). In 1889, he published his second comparative study with regard to the Numerals in Tagalog: *Consideraciones sobre el Origin del Nombre de los Numeros en Tagalog.* Special importance, therefore, should be attached to the opinions expressed by Tavera, who pointed out that the words that were taken into Tagalog signified "intellectual acts, moral conceptions, emotions, superstitions, names of deities, of planets, of numerals, of botany, of war, of titles and dignities, of the instruments of industry etc." Hence he argued that the Filipino religion and literature, industry and agriculture were at one time in the hands of the incoming Hindus.

Tavera, who thus came to be the pioneer in this line of study, was also probably responsible for rousing the interest in these subjects in his junior contemporary Dr. Jose Rizal (born 19th June, 1861 and executed 30th December, 1896). The great patriot-martyr adored by the Filipino people, Rizal also came to be interested in the study of anthropology, of myths and legends and frequently used the word *Indios* as a synonym for the indigenous people. It is of special interest to us to know that Rizal's uncle Don Jose Alberto was brought to a Calcutta missionary school, spending eleven years in Calcutta, thanks to the kindness of an English Naval Officer who visited the Philippines in 1820. Returning to the Philippines as an ardent champion of English literature, Don Jose Alberto welcomed in 1871-72 Sir John Bowring (who was Governor of Hongkong concluding treaty with Siam

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*I. Sanskritsche woorden in het Tagala (1880).
II. Sanskritsche woorden in het Bisaya (1881).
III. Over de taal der Philippinsche Negrito's (1882).
IV. Eene bijdrage tot de kennis van't Oude Philippinsche letterschrift (1885).

Prof. Kern published all the above papers in the famous Dutch Journal *Bijdragen tot de Taal. Land- en Volkenkunde va Ned. Indie.* In his last paper, dated 1885, Prof. Kern refers to Tavera's Spanish article "Contrsbucion para el studio de los antiguos alfabetos Filipinos" (published from Lausanne), and also to the article of Mon. Jacquet on "Consideration sur les Alphabets des Philippines" already published in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique.*

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State Museum
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in 1854), a famous translator of foreign poetry into English. Rizal as a boy had the good fortune of meeting Sir John as a guest of the family, and aspired to be a polyglot like him; and when he was barely nine or ten Rizal got a prize of two *pesos* (Rs. 3) by composing a verse- playlet in Tagalog. His last poem, composed in the cell before his execution, on the order of the cruel Spanish regime, lives in the heart of every man and woman of the Philippines

Privileged to travel in the same boat *(S.S. President Hoover)* with the enlightened President of the Philippine Commonwealth, Manuel Luis Quezon, who generously received me, I came to gather valuable information from him and from his learned officers like Dr. F. Benitez, and Prof. Conrado Benitez of the National University of the Philippines. They kindly furnished me with valuable information in course of our voyage back from Honolulu. The oldest University on an U. S. A. territory is the University of St. Thomas in the Philippines founded in 1611, and therefore, by several years, senior to the University of Harvard. Transformed into a modern institution, it has now about three thousand students. About 1620, the College of San Juan de Letran was established by the Jesuits who founded also the *ateneo* of Manila. Temporarily suppressed at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Colleges revived, ever since 1880, when the Jesuits were permitted to return, and now each of the above two colleges have over one thousand students. The Nationul University of the Philippines was established in 1901, having now over two thousand students. In 1908, the University af Manila was established, and although a private corporation, commands two thousand students. In 1918, was founded the Far Eastern University, originally a business college but now grown into a real University with all the Faculties and over three thousand students who invited me to lecture to them.

All these institutions carry on their work now through English and therefore are very conveniently placed for cultural exchange with India and the English-speaking world. The Filipinos like their Javanese cousins are naturally sensitive to music and art; and from the Filipino students, boys and girls at the University of Hawaii I gathered that a veritable revival of folk-dances and music

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is taking place. I found President Quezon deeply interested in Tagore and Gandhi and in the revival of arts and crafts of the nation. The older generation of scholars in the Philippines used Spanish, as we find in the works of Dr. Tavera who showed how the original Filipino alphabet was borrowed from India and how their most important vernacular (near about Manila), the *Tagalog* (a sort of Filipino *lingua franca*) was strongly influenced by Sanskrit. Dr. Sixto Grosa, an authority on the Sulu Archipelago, also showed how the Indian or Indianised races entered the Philippines from Borneo, which links up Indonesia with the Philippines. Study of the folk culture of the Lanan Province has revealed survivals of Indian culture in riddles and folklores, games and festivals, arts and crafts, laws and morals. In the Middle Ages, the Moslems from Malaya also entered the Philippines, and on that subject a book has been written by Dr. M. Saleeby, M. D., who knew Arabic and was an authority on the Muslims of Mindanao. Dr. Beyer of the University of the Philippines was collecting materials for the last 15 years which are now treasured in the University Museum (*Vide* : D. N. Roy, "Indian Influence on Filipino Culture"—*Prabuddha Bharata*, May-June, 1934).

The National Museum of the Philippine Islands was established in 1901 for the study of ethnology, natural history and commerce under the department of public instruction. Assuming an independent status in 1929, it is growing into the Central Museum of history, ethnology and art of the Philippines containing also sculptures, paintings and other materials from Indonesia, the South Sea Islands and other parts of the Orient.

Thus from the recent history of the emancipation of the Philippines to the earliest Stone Age culture, we find so many points of comparision and contact between the Filipinos and the Indian people. Thanks to the kindness of President Bocobo and Prof. H. Otley Beyer of the University of the Philippines, I came to have access to materials on this subject which otherwise would have remained unnoticed. I draw the attention of the public, in this connection, to the latest and most authoritative *resume* of the subject contributed by Prof. Beyer to the *Encyclopœdia of the Philippines* which is in course of publi-

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cation since 1936. Between 1926-30, the archæological survey of the Rizal province alone has yielded about 50,000 stone artifacts. Between 1931 and 1936 the exploration work has extended to the Batanga province in the South and to Bulakan in the North. Most of the finds are, as in India, of the late Neolithic or Chalcolithic culture ; only the Philippine folk "has not progressed to the stone building, city-dwelling and writing stage" as we find in the Indus Valley. Before these late Neolithic agriculturists (4000-1000 B. C.), the Philippines were probably inhabited by Negrito hunters and food-gatherers or even by an earlier Australoid race that left flint tools and flake obsidian (volcanic glass of *circa* 5,000 B. C.). During the first two millennia B. C. late Neolithic culture prevailed. This has been fairly demonstrated by the exploration of the former Governor F. C. Foth and Prof. Beyer, who came to the following important conclusoins ;

During the first millennium B. C. a new race came to the Philippines who used cut-out or stepped tools showing that they knew the process of drilling and sawing. They were beaters of bark-cloth (*balkala*) like the Hawaiians ; and, like the Maoris, they cherished jade-tolls and ornaments Then we find a "transitional form" of tools entering with bronze articles from the mainland, probably of the late Chou or early Han period, and their co-types have been found near Hongkong by D. J. Finn. Thus while the Mesolithic or early Neolithic cultures entered the islands from the South (Indonesia), the late Neolithic cultures came from Indo-China or South China. The Filipino "stepped" adzes came to be the prototype of all Polynesian adzes, for we find them in Indonesia, whence they migrated eastwards to all the Pacific islands from New Zealand to Hawaii. The New Zealand forms resemble closely those of Batanga and South Philippines. The Hawaiian adzes, however, show some local modifications.

Chronological indications must necessarily be of a provisional character. But there is little doubt to-day in the assumption that the Indonesian ancestors of the modern Polynesians must have passed through the Philippines which "stand at the cross-roads of two great highways of Stone Age migrations, one running North and South from the East Indies to Japan, and the other, East and West, from Indo-China to Polynesia.

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Archæological research in the Philippines is still in its infancy, and we hope that under the enlightened support of the rulers of the Free Philippines more and more important treasures would be discovered and scientifically displayed in the National Museum of the Philippines. But, even with the modest data at our disposal, we may say that the Filipino civilisation is one of the most valuable links connecting the history of cultural migration from the Indian Ocean on the one hand to the vast Pacific on the other.

In conclusin I give a list of the Sanskrit words in Tagalog compiled (1884) by Don T. H. Pardo de Tavera and published from Paris in 1887.

Antala = अन्तर
Asa = आशा
Astacona = अष्टकोण
Aya = अय
Bagyu = वायु
Bangsi = बंशी
Bani = बाणी
Banig = वनिंग
Calunia = करुणा
Catha = कथा (history)
Cosa = कोष (dictionary)
Daya = दाय
Ducha = दुःख
Gadya = गज
Gunita = गणित (mathematics)
Hari = सूर्य
Laba = लाभ
Lasa = रश
Linga = मूर्ति
Mana = मन
Mandala = मण्डल
Manusia = मनुष्य
Mucsa = मोक्ष
Naga = नाग
Palibhasa = परिभाषा
Papa = पाप
Salita = चरित्र
Samala = सभर
Sandana = चन्दन
Sampaka = चम्पक
Sangsala = संसार
Sila = शील
Sinta = चिन्ता
Sirhi = सिद्धि
Susi = सूची
Talaga = तर्क
Vastu = वास्तु
Vica = विवेक
Yambu = जम्बु

* Many valuable facts and theories have been presented by Dr. D. N. Roy, in his book "The Philippines and India" (1930). He spent several years lecturing at the University of the Philippines and he observed that while most of the ancient manuscripts or books in Indian script, were destroyed by the Spanish priests, a few had been recovered in the

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island of Negroes and other parts of the Archipelago. According to Prof. Beyer Mindoro appears to have been the very centre of Hindu influences. He also traced the survival of many *Vedic* beliefs among the present folks of Mindanao and the Bisayas. This is of special interest to us because we know that one of the earliest epigraphs of Borneo, the Yupa inscription of King Mulavarman, refers to *Vedic* rituals there in 4th century A. D. Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby in his "Origin of the Malayan Filipinos" (1912) considers that there were immigrants from India to the Philippines long before the Hindu-Buddhistic penetration of Sumatra and Java. Mr. C. E. Russel in his "Outlook of the Philippines" also refers to several scrolls in *Indian scripts* and to images (as in the Celebes) of Hindu gods in bronze, copper or gold, all destroyed or taken away from the old temples of many settled towns. We hope that the United States archives and museum authorities in collaboration with the National Museum, Manila, would soon arrange to publish descriptive catalogues of such Indic materials from the Philippines as have escaped the ravages of time. The migration of the Pallava script and Dravidian culture, followed by the introduction of Arabic script and Muslim influence, should attract groups of scholars from our Indian universities to visit the beautiful Philippine Archipelago and to initiate a most promising line of comparative study of Indo-Filipino culture, in collaboration with our colleagues of the University of the Philippines whom I found very sympathetic to India and her hoary civilisation.

A Filipino lady attached to the Calcutta Consulate, contacted me—after the war—to complete her study on Tagore; for she attended my lecture on "Tagore and Gandhi" at the convocation of the University of the Philippines (1938).

I found in the National Library many books on India and the names of our Sage Manu and of Kalidasa inscribed on the walls.

Even in the schools of rural areas and specially in the Colleges of Bagyo (hill station), I found the boys and girls deeply interested in the civilisation of India and also that the American scholars are collaborating fruitfully with the Filipino teachers through English. Thanks to American initiative—so different from the Dutch and the French colonialism in Asia, the Filipinos showed the highest percentage of literacy in Asia.

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CHAPTER FIVE

MALAYSIA AND INDONESIA

It is only recently that we are realizing the importance of the Malayan world for researches in anthropology and archæology. The ethnic history of the Malay peoples is still far from being clear. We find them mostly in Indonesia as a maritime race whom we may call the Oceanic Malayas. But they have got their cousins on the mainland as well, spreading over the Malay Peninsula and Indo-China, who may be called Continental Malayas. The Proto-Malayas are sometimes called Oceanic Mongols spreading westward over the vast "Oceanic domain of Further Asia from Formosa to the Nicobars and Madagascar." And as Dr. Hutton observes in his paper on "Races of Further Asia,"[1] the Proto-Malayas are found "forming hybrid groups by fusion with Negritos, Papuans, pre-Dravidians or Indonesians." The present day Malays with dark-brown skin may thus very probably be the result of the fusion of the Yellow races from the North with the Melanesian black races of Southern Asia. Thanks to the researches of the French scholars, we now know that the far off island of Madagascar is culturally and linguistically connected with the Malayan world ; and the devoted workers of the *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient* in Hanoi (Indo-China) are supplying valuable materials for the study of the archæology of Malaysia. The history of the Proto-Malays will, therefore, when adequately treated, enable us to follow the striking lines of expansion of the primitive peoples from Africa to Melanesia, across the Indian Ocean to the Pacific.

The earliest, so far traced, of the dark races to spread over Malaysia and South East Asia were the Negritos, precursors of the Negroids or Oceanic Negroes as opposed to the Continental Negroes now in Africa. The Negrito as a submerged Pre-Dravidian element in our Indian population, has been definitely identified by Dr. B. S. Guha, in the extreme South-Western strip of

1. *Man in India.* Vol. XII No. 1, 1932.

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the Peninsula consisting of the hills and ranges along both sides of the Ghats. There we find such tribes as the Kadars, Irulas, Pulayans, etc., who are basically Negritoid in character but modified by other racial elements specially the Proto-Australoid, spreading from the Gulf of Cambay to the coasts of Orissa now speaking mostly "Austric" speech common to the Kols,—the Mundas, the Santal, the Juang and the Savara tribes. A few others like the Bhils, the Gonds, and the Oraons new speak corrupt forms of Dravidian or Aryan speech abandoning their tribal languages. These Proto-Australoids or Veddoids (as they are sometimes called from physical affinities with the Veddas of Ceylon) may be the earliest indigenous substratum interspersed with a mild filtration of the Negritos whom we find in South India, in the Andaman Islands, in Malay Peninsula (Semang races), in East Sumatra and in the Philippines (Aeta people). Agriculture and domestication of animals were unknown to the Negritos who were, mainly speaking, food gatherers and hunters with bow and arrow as their typical weapons (unknown to the Veddoid ancestors of the Australian aborigines).

After the Negritos we find the infiltration of the Oceanic Negroes represented by its Papuasian branch leaving their traces among the Naga and other tribes of Assam and those of Papua and Fiji in Melanesia. The earlier and later strands of this Melanesoid culture are just being distinguished as we shall presently discuss. Their cultural contributions may not be much but they supply valuable links in our study of the stone-age cultures of Asia.

Next to the Melanesian races come the Indonesians who were composed of a Caucasic stock modified by Mongolian infiltration. Racially the Indonesians were "submerged" according to Dr. Hutton ; but the area once covered by the Mon-Khmer languages of the Indonesian stock embraces Cambodia and Yunnan in French Indo-China, Wa and Palaung lands in Burma, Khasi Hills in Assam and the Munda zones of Chota Nagpur. In those areas have been discovered a special type (which we may call Indonesian) of polished stone adze "the tanged and shouldered celt." Other characteristics noted by Dr. Hutton are tatooing, canoe-drum megalithic culture, head-hunting "to secure souls to add

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to the general village stock of soul-matter which is required for the successful propagation of animal and cereal life," phallic cult terrace cultivation, buffalo and plough cattle, among others. These are found in Assam, Burma, Malay Archipelago, the Philippines and in Formosa, Papua and Oceania. Along with these there appeared totemism, taboo, exogamy, matrilineal society, bachelors' hall, priest-chiefs and prayer-houses developing into temples in Indonesia and Polynesia. We have noticed how often the students of Micronesian, Melanesian and Polynesian cultures turned to Indonesia for the explanation of many customs and institutions in the remote parts of Oceania. Now Indonesian and Mon-khmer cultures also are considered by an eminent authority like Dr. Hutton* to have their origin in Southern India (pre-Dravidian and Dravidian). Consequently, pre-Aryan India should be a most profitable field for those who aspire to contribute new chapters to the prehistoric and anthropological studies of Asia.

Next to Dr. J. H. Hutton's admirable survey of the "Races of Further Asia" prepared for the 14th Edition *Encyclopœdia Britannica* (1929), we should notice Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels' monograph on "The Melanesoid Civilizations of Eastern Asia."† Traces of Melanesoid civilizations were discovered also in French Indo-China by Mm. Mansuy and Palle and by Dr. M. Colani, to be critically examined at the First Congress of the Pre-historians of the Far East (Hanoi, 1932). The second session of that Congress was held in Manila (1936) when heaps of new materials came forth for examination and a third session of the Congress was organised by the Raffles Museum in Singapore (1938).‡

In 1935 Dr. Callenfels was entrusted by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, with the task of making a systematic survey of the palæolithic and neolithic sites and human remains of Melanesoid and Indonesian affinities. He completed his report

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* *Man in India*, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1932

† *Bulletin of Raffles Museum*. Singapore, Series B. No. 1, May, 1936.

‡ This information I gathered from the Museum and from Prof. Otely Beyer of the University of the Philippines on my way to and from Polynesia and Australasia (1937-38).

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(dated Kyoto, December, 1935) of the first year's work (1934-1935) in course of which he regretted that "both Siam and Burma are still blank areas on the pre-historic maps"*

The conclusions of Dr. Callenfels as recorded in this practically his last scientific communication on the subject, deserve close attention : Far from being confined to present Melanesia, the geographical extension of the composite Melanesoid culture takes us to the Tumba culture of West Africa where according to Dr. Menghin, we find "artifacts bearing a strong resemblance to the palæolithic types of Western Europe like Chellean and Levalloisian or Mousterian." These types have already been found in South India, Java and South China. So it seems probable that from Africa, the home of the Dark races, the oval or ellipsoid chipped implements reached Western Europe on the one hand and *via* India to Java and the Far East on the other. We quote in this connection the following significant remarks of Dr. Callenfels who seemed to support the hypothesis of Dr. Hutton : "It seems not improbable that influences from India played a part in the development of the Melanesoid civilisations ; and the theory that the cultures found in Malaysia had their origin solely or mainly from Tonkin (Hoabinhian) can no longer be maintained." In discussing a rare stone arrow head found in north-eastern Kedah, Dr. Callenfels opined that the arrow head, like the neolithic and bronze civilizations of the East coast of Sumatra, opposite Kedah, probably showed "Indian or Burmese influence." Another Dutch archæologist, Dr. G. H. R. von Koenigswald who published his results on the "Early Palæolithic Stone Implements from Java"† definitely correlated the Pleistocene hand-axe cultures of Java and India‡ while reviewing the *Stratigraphy of Java and its*

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* Callenfels collaborated with the French and the British workers and was preparing for a survey of Burma when suddenly he died in Rangoon, to the great loss of pre-historic studies in the Far East. His posthuneous papers should be published.

In the proceedings of the Singapore Congress (1938) of Pre-historians, some new lights on the ancient culture of Malaya, were thrown by Callenfels, Colling and Mijsberg.

† Bulletin of the Raffles Museum, May, 1936.

‡ Early Man, 1937.

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Relations to Early Man. To find implements comparable with the Javanese hand-axes we must go back, he says, "to the beginning of human industry, to the early palæolithic Chellean culture known from Europe, Africa and India, and indeed to the most primitive phase of this culture."

Dr. Callenfels, however, warned us against accepting mere typology as a reliable indication of age which can only be fixed by more convincing geological or palæontological evidence. But he agreed that probably the oldest wave of Melanesoid civilization reached Java. One of the earliest human fossils was found by Dubois in Trinil and another near Wadjak where probably a proto-Australoid type was discovered ; and within fifty miles from that site Dr. Koenigswald found stone-tools of the Chellean type. A very remarkable find was that in the rock-shelter called Gawa Lawa near Sampung (East Java). Here, between a layer with stone arrow heads below and one with polished stone-axes above, a culture was discovered using only bone and horn artifacts, nowhere else to be found associated with a Melanesoid culture. The proto-neoliths found near Malang, East Java resemble those from Celebes. Palæolithic tools have also been found in the Melanesoid remains near Galumpang in West Central Celebes and probably a Melanesoid bone culture reached Java *via* Celebes. Melanesoid Palæolithic artifacts have also been found in Sarawak and in West Borneo.

Thousands of such stone-axes have also been found in the East coast of Sumatra. This "Sumatra type" of tools consists of rounded pebble worked on one side only. Two other types could be distinguished : a broad flat axe and a thicker elongated pick. Polished neolithic axes and bronze axes have also been found in East as well as North Sumatra and in Nias, pointing to a later stage of culture derived from different sources. Grinding stones and slabs associated with hæmatite used as pigment have been found in Sumatra and in Malay Peninsula but are totally absent in Indo-China.

A very primitive type of culture has been found by the Swiss Anthropolgist, Dr. F. Sarasin, in the caves of Northern, Central, and Southern Siam. But systematic excavations have not yet been undertaken,

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In Indo-China valuable relics of Stone Age culture have been found in Bac-son and Hoa-Binh. Suffice it to say that the palæolithic tools from those sites are associated with Melanesoid human remains and the proto-neoliths with the Indonesian strata which apparently succeeded.

In the Kwangsi Province of South China an expedition sent by the Chinese Geological Survey discovered a late palæolithic culture with no polished celt or pottery. This Kwangsi culture appears to resemble the Stone Age cultures of Western Europe and it is described by Dr. W. C. Pei in his paper "On a Mesolithic Industry of the Caves of Kwangsi"* This may be the forerunner of the Bacsonian (early Neolithic) culture of prehistoric Indo-China.

Palæolithic and proto-neolithic implements have been found, as we have described above, near the Laguna del Bay in Luzon and other parts of the Philippines which wait for systematic exploration

Even far off Japan which is generally considered to be in the late neolithic zone, some apparently palæolithic tools were reported to have been discovered by Prince Oyama among the kitchen-middens of Liu Kiu Islands. In 1932, Dr. Callenfels could detect similar implements from Kiushiu, Hondo and Sendai islands. These tools have not yet received sufficient attention from the authorities of different Japanese Museums because of their preoccupation with ceramic materials.

Malay Peninsula is the natural land-bridge between India and Indonesia. Yet, owing to the cultural backwardness of the people inhabiting that country, few explorations have been undertaken. As early as 1880, Mr. L. Wray former Director of F. M. S. Museum discovered shell and bone deposits at Gunon Pongok, Perak. In 1886, he excavated some rock shelters at Gunong Cheroh near Ipoh and reported finding human remains (neolithic ?), red pigments and grinding stones but no palæolithic tools or flakes.

Between 1917-1921, Mr. I. H. N. Evans conducted excavations in several places; at Gua Kajang near Lenggong, he found tools of palæolithic type but no proto-neoliths, as

* Bulletin : Geol. Soc. China, XIV, 1935.

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observations of archæologists who worked in this much neglected field of Malaysian pre-history.

Dr. Callenfels warned us against accepting mere typology as a reliable indication of age for he showed how apparently old stone age culture and tools from Galum pung (Celebes), Gua Kerban, (Malay) and Kwangsi (South China) which abound in so-called "Chellean types", are probably "younger than Mesolithic." So proto-neoliths are often confued with neoliths and the neolithic culture has no clear chronological boundaries ; sometimes, as in the history of Japan and some other countries, the neolithic age and culture reached as late an epoch as the beginning of the Christian Era. Even the fossilization of bones, wood etc. is found to take different spans of years in different climes and countries ; and thus mere fossilisation is a most unsound criterion for age in case of a country like Java, (as observed by Dr. Callenfels), where, in some sites, bones and other objects get fossilised in a very short time. With all these reservations, we may nevertheless pursue the study of palæo-ethnology and pre-historic archæology of Malaysia.

Next to the Melanesoid Negritos, we notice the somewhat obscure group of pre-Dravidians spreading from India into the Malayan world. Dr. Hutton has identified them with the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, the Toalas of the Celebes and their cousins in East Sumatra, and the Ulu Ayar tribes of Dutch Borneo with the blow-gun as their distinctive weapon. This pre-Dravidian Austric strain in some of the hill tribes of Assam and Burma is admitted by Dr. Hutton. He considers the Indonesians as introducing the earliest and the most abiding cultural elements in Further Asia, from Assam to Fiji, from the Munda zone to the Polynesian world. The Indonesians were probably composed of a Causasic stock which, according to Hutton, occupied South-East Asia at a very early date and was modified by Mongolian infiltration. These Indonesians were submerged by the flood of South-Mongoloid races, called by Dr. Hutton, as the Pareœan invasion represented by the North South drive of the Shan and other Thai tribes, the Burmese, the Annamites, down to the Kuki-Cachins of our own days. As a result of such racial fusions there emerged the Oceanic Mongols, the Proto-Malays or the

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Indonesians. Leaving the mainland to the indigenous pre-Mongol folks and to the invading Southern Mongols, the Indonesians with a rare audacity and adaptability spread over Malaysia and Micronesia and again through Melanesia reached the farthest confines of the Polynesian world. This forgotton history has been partially reconstructed by W. F. Perry in his *Megalithic Culture of Indonesia* and by Loeb and Heine-Geldern in their studies on *Sumatra.** Recently Mr. Sheppard in his paper on the "Megaliths in Malacca territory"† concluded that "a wave of Megalithic culture may have passed through Malacca, *en route* for South Sumatra, Java and the South Pacific." He further pointed out that the megaliths of Talang Padang should be studied along with such other monuments found in Assam and Burma, in the Celebes, Nias and the little Sunda islands.

One of the best collections of Malaysian antiquities is to be found in the Raffles Museum of Singapore. Founded in 1844, it got a new building in 1887 with special galleries and departments on Zoology, Ethnography etc., of India, Malaysia and Indonesia. It is an institution for regional research containing a representative collection of finds from various expeditions in Malay Peninsula. The Museum has recently departed from its regional function by assembling in its new Hall of Asiatic Pre-history, a synoptical series of stone-implements and other objects from many regions in the east and South-East Asia. Its *Bulletin* was mainly biological in character but it has, from 1936, opened its pages to non-biological research in its series, B, which gave the first survey of pre-historic research in the Peninsula.

The Perak Museum has been collecting tools and specimens from the Perak state, Kelantan, Pahang, Kedah and Negri Sembilan.

The Selangor Museum contains artifacts from Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang. Neolithic stone stools are very common in Kuala Tembeling, Kuala Kangsar and other places. Mr. Evans has classified them into four common types :—

(1) Stone adze-head with chisel-like edge.

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* Robert Heine-Geldern, Pre-historic Research in Indonesia in *Bibliography of Indian Archæology, Leyden*, 1934.

† *Bulletin of the Raffles Museum*, May, 1936.

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(2) Stone adze-head with slightly hollow ground at the point on the 'under' surface.
(3) Large stone adze-head.
(4) Short adze-head ground on both sides towards the point.

Among the rarer types Mr. Evans refers to "quoit shaped" objects in black and greenish blue stone and also to a kind of "shouldered" tool found in Taiping. The latter is well-known from north-east India (Munda-zone), Burma, Siam and Indo-China. These neolithic implements followed the invasion of Malaya by a Cro-Magnon race (Indonesians), who subjugated the palæolithic cave dwellers using Celleo-Mousterian tools.

While there are plenty of axes and adze-heads, no stone knives, spears or arrow heads so far have been discovered. These, according to Evans, probably came to be made of hard wood or bamboo as we find in New Guinea ; but in the Admiralty Islands, where obsedian (volcanic glass) is available, we find chipped points, so well known to the Maoris.

Some late neolithic objects are found mixed up with bronze or iron age finds *e.g.*, in the Iron Age graves of granite slab, discovered at Changkat Mantri (near Bernam river, Perak) where have been found rough pottery, with carnelian beads, bronze vessel, iron tools ; and stone bark-cloth beaters are also found in Passo, middle Celebes and in so many places of Polynesia which developed the *bark-cloth* industry transmitted by their Indonesian forbears. Some dolmens and cists have been found also in East Java where the culture objects range from late neolithic to the iron age strata. Mr. Evans mentions granite megaliths at Linggi, Negri Sembilan and compares them with the megaliths found in Indonesia and those in north-eastern India "which are so intimately connected with Indonesia and Malay Peninsula." With this remark he refers to the standard works like *The Khasis* by P. R. T. Gordon and to *The Historg of Upper Assam.* by L. W. Shakespeare as well as to the Mikirs, Nagas, and Ho-Munda tribes who erect memorial stones for departed spirits as we find among many races of Malaysia and Oceania. This megalithic culture, according to Dr. Hutton, takes the form of menhirs and dolmens, intimately connected with the cult of

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the dead and also with a phallic cult: "The general theory underlying it seems to be that the soul of the dead takes up its abode in the erect or the recumbent stone,* according as the sex is male or female and that the fertilization of the crops and propagation of all life is dependent on the action of soul which is assisted by a process of sympathetic magic dependent on the symbolic form of these megalithic erections." The survival of this cult in Chota Nagpur, in Assam, in parts of Indo-China and in Madagascar suggest thats it originated at a very early date and "perhaps preceded the expansion of the Proto-Malay race." Thus although the origin of the Mon-Khmer culture is still obscure, it is possible, says Dr. Hutton, that India was "the source of the Indonesian and Mon-Khmer cultures." He compares very significantly the *aren* or soul-matter of the Ao-Nagas with the Polynesian *mana* or dynamic soul-principle. He refers also to the cance-drum and canoe-cult spreading from the Naga and Khasi Hills, Burma and Malay Peninsula to Borneo, Melanesia, Fiji, New Fealand and even to South America.

In their cult of the Dead, we find platform exposure (as among the Australian aborigines), burial and burning (without any reference to Hindu influence), the ideas of "the Village of the Dead," and of the "overseas" colony of the Dead'. Dr. Hutton refers also to urn-burial in Naga Hills, saying that the "boat-shaped coffins are used, some times where boats are unknown," and that the construction of the was canoe is "attended in the Naga Hills by *tabus* identical with those attending the construction of canoes in Melanesia." (*Man in India*, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1932).

Anothar *tabu* among the Malays refers to the eating of the buffalo which has been definitely associated with Mon-Khmer culture and the irrigated terrace cultivation in Assam, Borneo and the Philippines. Head-hunting and tatoo patterns referring to rank or to head-hunting exploits are found among the Assam-Burma Hill tribes, the Thai races, the Kayans of Borneo and other tribes of Oceania.†

* Cf. The "guardian stones "used by the Nias' Islanders, the Dusuns of British North Borneo and the Tingnians of the Philippines."

† Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of Malaya Peninsula*, 1906.

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Thus we find again and again traces of Indonesian races and cultures following in the wake of Melanesoid races, as we notice in so many ethnic and cultural survivals of Malaysia, Polynesia and Oceania. Definite chronology is out of the question but, as we have noticed in our chapter on the race migrations into the Philippines, the Negritos reached there in the Old Stone Age, while the Indonesians or Proto-Malays appeared with the New Stone Age cultures about 5000 B. C. Their history can thus be studied rarely with reference to surviving monuments ; but their tools and implements are being classified, helping us further in the study of palæo-ethnology of Oceania. It is significant that the Negritos still survive in Malay Peninsula, in Siam and the Philippines and Mr. Evans refers to a story reported by a Negrito woman to the effect that their people "came originally from Lanka when it was burnt." Hence are their curly hair and monkey affinities ! These Negritos were pushed up into the hills by the invading Sakai people who were pre-Dravidians, With the Indonesian invasion, possibly both the Negrito and the Sakai began to borrow from the Mon-Khmer or Austric languages which influenced the Negrito and Sakai dialects. The Proto-Malay Indonesians or Austronesians fused with other races to form the present Malays who were pushed into the sea by the aggressive South Mongolian races, notably the Thai, and thus the overseas colonies and empires of the Malays gradually emerged in in recent history to be studied in the new University of Malaya.

Mr. Evans refers, in this connection, to the three pre-historic types of men so for traced in Indo-China : Negrito, Cro-Magnon and Melanesian. He further institutes a close comparison between the pre-historic finds of Indo-China and Malaya. We summarize below his conclusions so far as they relate to Malay Peninsula :

(1) A Melanesoid palæolithic culture with chipped and grounded tools and flakes from the caves at Lenggong Nyik (Pahang) and Gunong Pondok. This rude lithic culture, without any transitional type as we find in Indo-China, was followed by—

(2) A Neolithic culture of an invading Cro-Magnon people at Gunong Sennyum (Pahang) and in two places in Perak.

(3) Stones for grinding spices colours and red paint to anoint the body.

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(4) Cord-mark pottery followed by coarse glazed wares with basket design.

(5) Pounders with grip-depressions, associated with the lower neolithic culture of Malay.

(6) Ashes overlying human remains.

(7) Associated fauna not of the types extinct but of the surviving species. Fish bones are not common but plenty of Melania shells and turtles used for food are found together with marrow-bones of monkey, deer, pig, rhinoceros, etc.

Evans and Callenfels traced a new "Sumatra" type of palæoliths made of pebble with only one face chipped. These are found in Sumatra, in Upper Peark and in the caves of Indo-China.

That the crude palæolithic Chelleo-Mousterian culture was followed by a neolithic culture with polished tools is fairly clear. But Malay Peninsula is as yet imperfectly explored and its pre-historic study is still in its infancy. Hence we are often confused by contradictory reports which may be cleared up with further excavations on scientific lines. At the end of the Neolithic Age we find plenty of metal objects as we may expect in this land ever famous for its mineral resources. But the systematic survey of the Metal Age of Malay has not yet been attempted. So we do not know yet what progress in metallurgy was made by the old aborigines of the Malayan world which came to be dominated by the Proto-Malay (Indonesian) and the Malay races.

Thus it is clear now that Malaya served, in the pre-historic ages, as the transmitter of races and cultures from India and the Pacific world. So in the historic epoch the same process continued. Yet strangely enough, the Malaya remained, till quite recently, almost a totally neglected field. Thanks, however, to the initiative of Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales the Greater India Research Committe, of which he is the first Field Director, was formed. He undertook the systematic exploration of Malaya and Indo-China a few years ago, obtaining promising results. Dr. Wales published a summary of those results in his books and in many papers on the "Art and Archæology of Ancient Malaya" in course of which he observed : "The object of the work was

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primarily to gain by practical means a fuller understanding of the processes of ancient Indian cultural expansion which led ultimately to the flowering of the Indo-Javanese and Khmer civilizations in the Further East."

Malaya was on the main *sea route*, of all times, between China and the West, as Dr. Wales rightly observed. But we must remember at the same time that Malaya was a most important *land route* for the migration of Indian culture into Siam and Indo-China. The Indian colonists often avoided the stormy and risky sea route round the coast of the entire Peninsula and preferred to pass through Kedah (=Sanskrit *Kataha*) into the South Siam and thence into Upper Siam. Laos, Cambodge and Champa, (Viet-Nam) where we often find traces of simultaneous penetration of Indian culture by the land as well as by the sea routes.

During his excavations (1937-38) in the Malay States of Kedah, Perak and Johore, Dr. Quaritch Wales made valuable additions to our knowledge of Malayan antiquities : In Kedah alone he excavated some thirty ancient sites, dating from 4th to 13th (Gupta-Pala) century A.D. In an isolated hill on the Sala river (twenty miles north of Kedah peak) he discovered a stupa with a stone inscription of the usual Buddhist formula *Ye Dharma* etc., in South Indian script of 4th century A.D. In another laterite stupa-base on the left bank of river Bujang (? Sanskrit *Bhujanga*), he discovered a sun-dried clay tablet inscribed with three stanzas of a Mahayana text ascribed to the 6th century A.D. Thus it "antedates by more than a 100 years the dated Mahayana inscriptions from *Sri Vijaya* or Sumatra previously believed to be the earliest evidence of the Great Vehicle in this region."

The palæographical examination of the numerous clay-tablets in the Raffles Museum and other epigraphic documents in Malay will surely reveal that to reach the remote regions of Indo-China and Indonesia, Indian cults (both Vedic, Brahmanical and Buddhistic) must have passed through Malay where more copious traces thereof, would be found, under the new free regime, with systematic explorations.

Kedah was at first a dependency of ancient Malayan state known to the Chinese as *Lang-ya-hsin* which was renamed as

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Lankasuka with the assertion of independence of the Hindu colonies strengthened by the coming of the Pallavas towards the end of the 6th century A.D. This Hindu city of Lankasuka, on the river Bujang, after incorporating the older capital of Port Ligor, flourished in the 7th and 8th centuries. Remains of ruined Siva temples of this period have been found, and Dr. Quaritch Wales is of opinion that "there was sufficient evidence to establish beyond doubt the Pallava affinities of the art of the colonies." He further observed that the shape and form of the roof of a miniature bronze shrine reminded him of the Sahadeva Ratha of Mamallapuram. It shows the Chaitya window design, the Kalasa or flower-pot on the top and four Saivite ascetics sitting cross-legged at the four corners of the bronze shrine found in the bed of the Bujang river.

Another beautiful Siva temple has been discovered on a low spur of the Kedah peak and constructed with carefully shaped granite blocks, quarried nearby. In its foundations have been discovered many precious objects resembling silver capsules each containing a ruby and a sapphire. Among the foundation deposits have also been found stone caskets with gems and gold objects. Gold and silver discs, jars with cult-objects have also found. While excavating the foundation of a pillared hall Dr. Wales found within an earthen jar an inscription on silver, in the South Indian script of 9th century A.D. and also some Arab coins, one definitely dated A.D. 848. Another such pillared hall is ascribed to 9th-10th century A.D. when the Sailendra kings of Java dominated over the state of Lankasuka and constructed many Buddhist temples including the great Borobudur in Java of Mahayana denomination specially favoured by the Sailendras.

Inside the brick-lined chamber of laterite flint was discovered a rare type of a bronze casket of South Indian design. It contains a silver bull, a bronze horse, a tin lion ; and the shape of the miniature weapons deposited remind us of those represented on the bas-reliefs of Borobudur which show a special type of dagger depicted on the Mahishasura Mandapa of Mamallapuram.

After the Pallavas, the famous Chola kings, specially under Rajendra Chola the Great, extended not only the cultural but

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political domination over Malay as is well-known to students of Chola history and epigraphy. So it is natural that traces of a revival of Hinduism in Kedah during the 11th-13th centuries are found on the lower reaches of the Bujang river. Buddhism also probably lingered but several brick temples with Hindu images, terracott Ganesa and other cult objects seem to explain why the Malays were called *Hindus* when they were conquered and converted by the Islamic invaders in the 15th century.

In an earlier communication on the subjet published in the *Indian Art and Letters** Dr. Quaritch Wales threw a new light on the route of migration of Indian culture into Indonesia through Malay Peninsula.† He supports substantially the theory of Dr. R. C. Majumdar on the origin of the Sailendras of Indonesia,‡ concluding that a state named Srivijaya existed in South-east Sumatra in the 7th century A.D. dominating the Malay Peninsula as far as Ligor or Sri Dharmaraja. In 775 A.D., the Srivijaya kingdom was displaced and absorbed by the great Indianised empire of the Sailendras who probably belonged to the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga and Mysore and were Mahayanists by religion. Reaching Ligor about the middle of the 8th century they spread their power over Further India, Cambodia, Champa and Ceylon bringing with them the Nagari script and the new name of Kalinga for Malaya.

They ruled over Malaya Peninsula and Indonesia for nearly six centuries (8th to 14th). The Chola inscriptions refer to the Sailendra dynasty as reigning over Kadara (Kedah) and Srivijaya came to the named as Javaka (=Zabaj of the Arabs). It is quite likely that the Sailendras adopted the name Srivijaya after conquiring the earlier Sumatran state of the same name near Palembhang which was considered by Cœdes and Ferrand to be the capital of the Srivijaya empire. Prof. Majumdar, who was for shifting the political centre of gravity to north Malay, suggested that the capital might have been at Ligor or Nakon Sri Thammarat; but Dr. Quaritch Wales concluded on the strength of archæological evidence that Jaya (abbreviation of Srivijaya) or

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* 13. Vol. IX, No. 1, 1935.

† 14. *A Newly Explored Route of Ancient Indian Cultural Expansion.*

‡ 15. *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. I. Part II. 1939.

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Caiya was the earlier capital which was displaced later on by Nagara Sri Dharmaraja. The early Indian colonists, after crossing the Bay of Bengal, appeared to have settled near Kedah. Their onward march was partially impeded by the Malay pirates swarming the straits of Malacca, forcing them to discover some safer land-routes to the eastern coast of the Peninsula. According to the theory of Dr. Quaritch Wales, contested by M. G. Cœdes, the 'Takuapa harbour on the west coast formed a very good anchorage leading to the Bay of Bandon on the east coast.

Near Takuapa has been discovered the ancient site of Tung Tuk which was identified by Gerini with the Takkola mart mentioned by Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.). Here the brick work of the vestibule of a temple site has been unearthed where stone sculptures and inscriptions have been discovered and ascribed to the eighth century A.D. Close by is the Pra No hill from the top of which a four-armed Visnu image, over 6 ft. high, with Gupta or Pre-Khmer affinities, has been discovered. It is now kept at the National Museum of Bangkok. The ancient Sanskrit name of Giri-Rastra still survives near Ta Khanon. Another purely Indian settlement is Wieng Sar or the city of the lake. At its centre lay the site San Pra Narai where three Brahmanical statues were discovered and removed to the National Museum of Bangkok. Here a small sand stone figure of Buddha has been found dating from 6th or 7th century A.D. This Buddha image, only seven inches high, is of the later Gupta style. Several statues of Vishnu and of Siva have been discovered in this area and these might have served as models to the makers of the earliest Indonesian images of the Dieng Plateau, West Java. The male and female figures from opposite the Pra Narai hill, Takuapa, are charming samples of Gupta or Pallava art, proving thereby that successive waves of Indian art and culture reached Indonesia through these Malayan colonies.

To the north of the Bay of Bandon lies the important city of Jaya or Caiya with many remains of Brahmanical cults later submerged by Mahayana Buddhism. Here a small bronze Tara of Indo-Javanese style has been discovered. The temple of Wat Phra That bears according to Mon. Parmentier, close resemblance to the miniature edifices appearing on the bas-reliefs of

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Borobudur. Another ruined monument Wat Keu was discovered by M. Cœdes in 1926. This is a big shrine "constructed on a plan analogous to that of Chandi Kalasan in Java, but of which the architecture recalls closely the cubic art of Champa and the Pre-Khmer art of Cambodia." From Caiya several Brahmanic sculptures have been discovered which remind us strongly of Indian proto-types. Bronze Mahayana figures have also been discovered. The next important site on the east coast is the famous Buddhist city of Nakon Sri Thammarat. Some of its architectural features remind us of Chandi Kalasan of Central Java and the Cham towers of Dong Duong and Mi-Son.

In summing up the results of his investigations Dr. Quaritch Wales observed that there was a strong local tradition in favour of an early migration of the Indians across the route from the West and that colonies of Brahmins of Indian descent survive at Nakon Sri Thammarat and Patalung. Through this country the far off Khmer colony of Fu-nan (Cambodia) was Indianised by a sage Kaundinya as recorded in *Liang Shu* about the end of the 4th century A.D. The most primitive prototypes, of the Indian colonial temples of Camboj and Champa are to be found near the colony of the Brahmins who traced the arrival of their ancestors from India by an over-land route across the Malay Peninsula and not *via* Java or Sumatra. The primitive non-specialised types of Indian colonial architecture, just as the sculptures found in this Trans-Peninsular zone, could have served as inspiration to the development of local forms in an Indonesian environment. Indian administrative ideas, ceremonials and the drama also most probably came to influence Siam and Cambodia on the one hand and Java and Bali on the other.

It goes without saying that there were possibly other land-routes and sea-routes in the propagation of Indian culture. It is probable that there were two stages in this cultural migration in the earlier period. There was a slow dissemination from the Bay of Bandon (Pan-Pan), to the then receptive and politically backward states in Fu-nan, Champa, and in western Java which, in the second period, gradually became politically and culturally conscious and creative. Then they were capable of pursuing within their borders the evolution of their own distinctive art

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and culture inspired by India. The Pan-Pan of Malaya probably collaborated with Java, developing the great Sailendra empire. From the inscriptions we learn that the Sailendras were masters of the northern part of the Malaya Peninsula in the 8th century A.D.

They were Mahayanists arriving fresh from India and looking out boldly for fresh conquests beyond the seas. Thus gaining control over the Malay states they organised their conquests of Java and Sumatra. The few sculptures that have been found near Palembang in Sumatra are almost all of the late Javanese style. On the other hand, at Caiya, probably the first capital of the Sailendra empire, we have a range of sculptural types beginning with almost purely Indian forms. Scarcity of stone limited the architecture to bricks as was also the case in Champa. From the inscription on the Buddha of Wat Hua Wieng (1183 A.D.) we learn that Caiya was temporarily overrun by their aggressive neighbours the Cambodians ; and probably that was the reason why the capital was transferred further south to Nakon Sri Thammarat in 1230 A.D. The great Sailendra empire which included Java in the 9th century was weakened gradually by the disastrous war with the Cholas in the 11th century, by the attacks of the Khmers in the 12th and by an unfortunate expedition to Ceylon in the 13th century. It finally collapsed as a result of the simultaneous attacks led by the Dai or Thai (Siamese) from the North and by the Javanese from the South.

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CHAPTER SIX

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE THAILAND (SIAM)

Recent progress in the study of pre-historic archæology of the Far East has been recorded in the proceedings of the three pre-historic congresses held in French Indo-China (Hanoi), in the Philippines (Manila) and in the Straits Settlements (Singapore). Thus we are sure today that long before the appearance of the Mongoloid Dai or Thai people, the country was occupied by diverse races of different grades of civilisation, Palæolithic implements of the Sumatran type have been found in Malaya as well as in Indo-China ; and in the intervening region of the Trang-Patalung hills of Peninsular Siam, neolithic polished tools have been found. This area is still occupied by the ever-dwindling Negrito folks who, in the dim pre-historic Stone Age, crossed over to Siam from South India *via* the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. These curly haired tribes still cherish the legend that their ancestors were the *monkeys* of the Ramayana who escaped from the burning Lanka !

North Siam was colonised by the Lawas, a race different from the Southern Negritos, who were displaced by the more advanced ancestors of the present Cambodians, speaking the Austric Khmer language and connected with the Mundas of Eastern India and the Mons or Talaings of Pegu. From this time onwards this country came to be influenced, for better of for worse, by the Cambodians on the one side and the proto-Burmese on the other. The Thai people displaced the Khmers, but both received the first gleam of civilization from India through the Buddhistic and Brahmanical religions. As early as the third century B.C., we hear of Buddhist missionaries being sent to Burma by emperor Asoka. By the 3rd—4th centuries A.D., we find Buddhist and Brahmanical inscriptions in the Hindu colonies of Champa and Cambodia inhabited by the Khmer people. By that time the virile Tibeto-Burman Thai race who occupied the Yang-tse valley was migrating southwards and began to be

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influenced simultaneously by Burma and Cambodia. The Thai founded in 8th century A.D. a powerful kingdom in Nan-Chao in Yunnan, South China, whence they emigrated into the fertile plains watered by the Menam and the Mekong rivers. The Khmers were already occupying Cambodia to the East. The Mons (500 A.D.) formed the kingdom of Dvaravati to the West which maintained independence until 1000 A. D. when the Khmers conquered Siam. The Malay people founded the vast Hinduized kingdom of Sri Vijaya to the South, and to the North the Lawa tribes of the Mon-Khmer family built up their centre at Labapuri (Lopburi), one of the most ancient sites of North Siam. They used both Hindu Buddhistic art conventions.

The Thai people asserted their individuality remarkably in the 13th century A.D., driving away the Mons and founding the city of Chieng Mai. So one of their Kings, Indraditya, waged successful wars against the Khmers and established the dynasty of Sukhodaya. His son Rama Khamheng conquered the whole of Menam valley and the Malay Peninsula as far as Ligor (Nagar Sridharmaraj). They thus "paved the way for the formation of the Kingdom of Siam properly so-called. Its role in the history of Indo-Chinese arts and institutions is not less important than its political role: inheriting as it did the civilisation of the Khmer kingdom which sank in part under the blows that the Thai Kingdom administered, it transmitted to the Siam of Ayuthiya (Ayodhya) epoch good number of Cambodian art-forms and institutions which still subsist in the Siam of today" (G. Cœdes, "Origins of the Sukhodaya Dynasty": *Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XIV*). After a century, Sukhodaya was eclipsed by the new dynasty of Ayuthiya, founded by Ramadhipati in 1350, and during this epoch the famous Sinhalese Buddhist reformer Saranamkara visited Siam with a view to bringing back to Ceylon the purer Thai traditions of *Theravada* Buddhism. Ruling Siam for four centuries the Kingdom of Ayuthia was utterly destroyed, in 1763, by its traditional enemies, the Burmese. This ruthless destruction of Ayuthia partially explains the lamentable lack of dated materials for the history of early Siam.

In 1782, the modern and well-known Chakri dynasty established its capital in Bangkok. The greatest king of this line was

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Chulalongkorn (1868-1910) after whom the University of Bangkok has been named. A son of this King, Prajadhipok, reminded us of the constitutional revolution of 1932, which led to his abdication followed by the insecure regime of his nephew King Ananda Mahidol who was mysteriously murdered.

King Rama V or Chulalongkorn had the mortification of seeing one of the richest archæological sites of Siam, with the famous monuments of Angkor, snatched away by the French who had already captured Indo-China. He gave to the Siamese the first public museum (1874) which is known today as the National Museum of Bangkok, adjoining the National Library founded as early as 1905 named after the Prince-monk Vajiranana (Vajrajnana) who became the supreme Patriarch of the realm and who was also a poet of renown. The National Library named after him contains the richest collection of Cambodian Pali manuscripts and old Siamese MSS. kept in magnificent lacquer and guilt book-cases. The Vajiravudh (Vajrayudha) Library of printed books contains over 25,000 volumes.

King Prajadhipok founded the Royal Institute for Literature, Archæology and the Fine Arts, with the veteran Siamese scholar Prince Damrong as president. He published volumes on "the Burmese Wars," on "Classical Dancing" and on "Buddhist Monuments in Siam." Damrong warmly received Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and his party visiting Bangkok in 1927.

During the constitutional regime, the Royal Institute was abolished and the National Museum and the Library were placed (1936) under the Ministry of Public Instruction paying over 30,000 ticals per annum. When I visited Siam in 1938, I found that the National Museum controlled ten regional branches : (1) Ayuthiya, (2) Lopburi. (3) Bisnulok, (4) Lampun, (5) Chaiya, (6) Phechaburi, (7) Nagor Pathom, (8) Korat, (9) Singburi, (10) Wat Bencha. These field museums are daily making important discoveries, both Buddhistic and Brahmanical. Archæological activities in Siam have been stimulated by the recent discoveries of the Greater India Research Commission financed by the late Gaekwad of Baroda. The Director of Research, Dr, H. G. Quaritch Wales, as we have shown above, have published several reports on the discoveries of the Hindu

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monuments in Malay Peninsula, where pre-historic as well as historic sites and objects are being discovered, showing the intimate connection of Siam and the Malay Peninsula with India and the Indonesian world. Systematic and scientific explorations of historical sites have yet to be arranged for and funds are not always forthcoming. Lopburi has yielded to epigraphists Hindu inscriptions of 5th-6th centuries A.D. ; and, inspite of ravages of foreign invasion, a huge quantity of Buddhistic and Brahmanical antiquities has been found and more may be expected from Ayuthiya, Bang Pa-In, Chaiya and other sites. Already the National Museum of Bangkok appeared to be overcrowded, as I found it during my last visit in 1938. It is a real palace fittingly consecrated to the preservation of national monuments. The Budhaiswan Hall has in its centre the famous bronze image of Buddha Sihing which (like Dong-duong Buddha of Champa) is said to have been cast in Ceylon. Here we find also the beautiful *frescoes* adorning the walls, and a unique collection of Buddhist votive tablets. Behind this hall, there is another large building devoted entirely to bronze objects and statues of Siamese, Cambodian and Indian workmanship. Along with the Buddhist images the specimens of Brahmanical iconography could also be found, but unfortunately these have not yet been properly catalogued. The bigger statues are exhibited in the varandah and the last building Phra Viman contains in its nine rooms the best exhibits of modern Siamese art : royal thrones, conveyances, weapons, musical instruments, dress and masks of the dancers, etc. The Siamese, like their neighbours the Cambodians and the Javanese, are extremely fond of dance and the drama, with the proper costumes and musical accompaniments. The marionette (Hun), the shadow-play (Nang) the mask-play (Khon) and the maskless normal drama (Lakon) are all represented here. We find a good deal of similarity with the Cambodian ballet dancing. We also know that the present Burmese drama got an impetus from the invasions of Burma by the Siamese and of Siam by the Burmese ; but inspite of occasional outbreak of hostilities there was a large exchange of art and culture between the various people inhabiting this Trans-Gangetic peninsula. With a little more of governmental

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security and technical guidance we may expect great progress in the superb traditional arts and crafts of Siam, like wood-carving, inlaying, mosaic work, decoration with coloured enamels and glazed tiles, metal work, jewellery, pottery, weaving and embroidery, etc. The Government School of Arts and Crafts in Bangkok is trying to fulfil partially this nation-wide programme. Siam, next to Japan, is the only independent country in Asia which in literature, art and religion stands nearest to India; and any one surveying Siamese art from within will agree with the Siamese scholars who observed: "Most of the motives of the Siamese ornament originate in a combination of religious symbolism and a love of nature, and characteristic Siamese pattern-work usually contains mythological beings illustrative of some episode of the Ramayana and story of the 'Life of the Buddha'" (*Siam*, Vol. I, p. 66; published by *The Bangkok Times Press*).

A great service to the systematic study of Siamese and Asian Art has been rendered by Dr. Reginald Le May through his *Buddhist Art in Siam* (Cambridge University Press, 1938), which we recommend to all serious students of Indian and Greater Indian Art.*

ART OF INDIA AND SIAM

Dr. Reginald Le May, our leading authority on Siamese Art, classifies the sculpture and art objects of Siam into nine schools: (1) Pure Indian, (2) Mon-Indian, (3) Hindu-Javanese,

* "In conclusion, may I express the hope that one day, in the far distant future, our descendants will recognise that our present histories are all wrong. The true greatness of a people does not lie in the recounting of victories won on the battlefield and in the so-called "glory" of heroic deeds of arms. Such vauntings of human physical force only serve to feed our national pride and lust for conquest. The deeds themselves have their little day and vanish, leaving ashes and ruins in their train. No, the real greatness of a people lies in its contribution to that expression of the human spirit which is called by the name of "art", and there can be no doubt that, in the last, by that contribution will the people be judged. The question will be asked—not, whom have you conquered and how many have you killed in battle, but, what have you done to enrich and develop the spirit of mankind? If only the will to create were greater than the will to destroy, no height of glory would be unattainable and man would cease to be a savage."

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(4) Khmer and Mon-Khmer, (5) Khmer-Thai transition of U-tong, (6) Thai of Lopburi, (7) Thai of Sukhodaya, (8) Thai of Chieng Saen, and (9) Thai of Ayuthiya.

The small images dug up at Ponp Tuk (near Bangkok) have been ascribed by Dr. Cœdes to the early Amaravati school of India. These are the earliest Indian images discovered so far in Siam, proving that Indian immigration into *Suvarna-bhumi* had begun by the 2nd century A.D. Another very old Buddhist settlement Pra Paton has yielded many *Dharma-chakras* and other Buddhist symbolic figures. The *Sanskrit* language was diffused over the extensive area from Siam to Borneo and Sumatra to Champa as attested by their early inscriptions. Chinese travellers of the 7th century A.D. refer to the country between Burma and Cambodia as Dvaravati and its capital was at Lopburi. The early sculptures from this area bear a close affinity to the contemporary Gupta art; but very soon, about the 4th century, a strong Mon influence came to be felt in the features of the Siamese Buddha. The Mon sculptors at first carved figures from quartz, and we find a huge Buddha about 30 ft. high in Pra Paton. Blue limestone came to be used in the 6th and 7th centuries when the Mon artists were creating stone and stucco images of the Buddha imbued with Indian feeling. From Lopburi, capital of the Khmers of 10th-11th centuries, have been recovered beautiful tinted bronze and stone figures reflecting mixed Mon-Khmer spirit, which was followed by pure Khmer types in sand-stone and bronze from Lopburi of 11th-13th centuries. The Mon people occupied for nearly six centuries the whole region from Bangkok in the South to Lamphum in the North. But while Hinayana forms prevailed in this part of Siam, the Mahayana Bodhi-sattva and Lokesvara figures abound in Peninsular Siam and Malaya, dominated, from 8th century onwards, by the Hindu Kingdoms of Sri Vijaya and of the Sailendras of Java and Sumatra. Wat Kukut at Lamphum was erected by the Mon king Dittaraja (1120-50) showing strong influences of India and Ceylon.

In the eastern parts of Siam and the Malay Peninsula (Dvaravati) have also been discovered the Brahmanical figures of Vishnu, the Ardha-narisvara and several Yaksha types developing

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probably under the influence of Fu-nan (Cambodia). Towards the end of the 10th century a Prince of the Indo-Javanese Sailendra dynasty conquered the lower Menam Valley (capital Lopburi) and also overthrew the Khmer King of Cambodia ; but Khmer art and culture spread over the whole area from Cambodia in the East to Swankalok lake in the North. The conquering Prince himself may be a Cambodian who overran Siam after getting re-inforced by his Javanese allies.

From now on there was gradual transition from the Mon to the Khmer school of art at Lopburi. The two peoples moreover were racially akin, and the influence of the one need not eliminate the other totally. But while the Mon artist tended to evolve the abstract from of an ideal Buddha, the Khmer artist began to represent truly the human form with an intense individuality of expression which makes such a strong appeal to art-lovers. The Khmers occupied central and eastern Annam or *Champa* (Viet Nam) for nearly three centuries (10th-13th centuries) when the Thai people had been migrating from China and the Shan States towards Siam ; and when the Mongols invaded China, they displaced the Thai people, invaded the Khmer empire and established the first Thai kingdom at Sukhodaya and Sawankalok (13th century), producing a complete break with the Khmer traditions of art in Siam and inducing the growth of an indigenous Thai school of art.

There was no sudden break, however, from the Khmer tradition, as we notice in the sculptures of the school of U-tong marking a most happy fusion of the Mon-Khmer and the Sino-Thai types. Most of the Buddha figures of this age of transition (13th-14th centuries) were in bronze. The colossal size of some of the bronze images, according to Dr. Cœdes, is a proof of active commercial relations with the ore-producing districts of South China. Chinese tombs also may have supplied some designs for the Siamese temple-towers. From the 13th century, the Northern Thai or Lao people settling in Laos, took possession of the North where we notice the first clear change from the Khmer to the Thai styles in the districts of Supan, Kanburi, U-tong, etc., and such toponyms mean "golden land" (Suvarna-

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Bhumi) which according to Dr. Cœdes applies more to Siam than to Burma. But the Thai people must have occupied many parts of North Siam and the Shan States long before the 13th century. It is significant, therefore that Dr. Le May recommends the comparative study of the Buddhist images of the Tagaum group of Upper Burma with the northern school of Siam. Through Siam's contact with Ceylon in the 14th century probably came the flame-like ornament on the head of the Buddha.

In Lopburi, the Khmer tradition continued almost down to the 15th century, when there appeared to be a complete break with the Khmer type.

The regular Thai Kingdom was founded in Siam in the 13th century with the cities of Sawankalok and Sukhodaya as its capitals during which we noticed perceptible influence of Ceylon. The Sinhalese form of Buddhism, was introduced into Northern Siam by Ven Saranamkara of Ceylon and his disciples and by the missionaries from Sukhodaya who profoundly influenced the Northern culture.

We notice also a veritable revolution in art reflecting the conception of a new race quite different from the ideals of the Khmer people. The human realism of Khmer art was slowly replaced by the abstract idealism of the Thai Buddha type.

In 1350, we notice the foundation of the Thai capital of Ayuthiya "in which all the earlier forces and currents of art coalesced and came together to from a national sculpture of Siam." Siamese art gradually drifted towards conventional and symbolic representation, which afforded tremendous scope to the decorative genius of the Siamese artists and craftmen. If in the delineation of human form Thai art could not compare with the splendid Khmer specimens, the Siamese artists could nevertheless infuse a rare mystery and almost superhuman grace in the figuration of the best Thai Buddhas.

Another branch of study which may lead to fruitful results is the tracing of the Indian motifs in Siamese minor arts like those in lacquer, in gold and silver ornaments, in niello-work and in wood-carving. The Yaksha, the Kinnara, the Garuda, and many such themes entered Siamese art from India. In deco-

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rative art also, the Siamese textile stands in close connection with Indian art. These along with other valuable suggestions have been discussed by Dr. Cœdes in his paper "India's influence upon Siamese Art" (*Indian Arts and Letters*, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1930).

Dr. Cœdes divides Indian influence into *three* successive phases:

(1) Direct Indian influence, up to the end of the 8th century A. D., from pre-Gandhara period, through the Amaravati epoch, down to the Gupta era, when Buddhist as well as Brahmanical sculptures were found in many places. The architectural remains at Pong Tuk and Pra Paton may belong to this period.

(2) From the 9th to the 13th centuries, Indian intercourse with Siam did not cease but Indian artistic influence was exerted indirectly through the Khmer empire of Cambodia and the Sailendra empire of Java and Sumatra. Khmer architecture and sculpture profoundly influenced the formation of Siamese art, importing to it the massive design of Indian Sikhara tower.

(3) A new type of tower, possibly of Chinese origin, appeared with the emergence of the Thai people as an independent nation. Siamese Buddhist images now appear strongly influenced by the Pala Bengal Art, which from the age of Nalanda, was influencing the art of Eastern Asia, from China in the North to Java in the South.

Through Burma and Southern China, the Pala art helped the formation of Siamese Art which also inherited the motifs from the Gupta Art of Dvaravati, from the Khmer Art and from the Art of Ceylon. From Sinhalese Art, the Siamese most probably derived the flame-shaped Ushnisha, the *paryyank-ashana* the drapery arrangements on the left shoulder and the *stupa* erected on a base representing a row of elephants. Near Chieng-mai (North Siam) we find a huge brick temple Wat Chet Yot which is a copy of the Maha Bodhi temple in Pagan which was visited in 1790 by the Siamese King Meng Kai.

INDIA AND SIAM

Passing out of the domain of anthropology into that of art and archæology, we find that Indo-Siamese relations have got to be studied with close and constant reference to developments in

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Greater India as a whole. This, as we know, comprised the important cultural zones of the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula from Burma, Siam, and Cambodia to Malaya and the Suvarna-dvipa (Sumatra-Java). Thanks to the researches of scholars like Cœdes and Dohring, Salmony and Le May, we can study Siamese architecture, art and archæology with reference to Indian and Greater Indian history. Reginald Le May has recently made a substantial contribution, as we have shown, to this branch of study through his *Buddhist Art in Siam*. He has shown how, owing to its geographical situation, Siam has been the meeting ground of the cultural influences from all directions, although the predominating influence has of course been from India. The earliest remains belong to the Mon race who brought Hinayana Buddhism and the Pali scriptures. The original home of the Mon people or rather of their aristocracy was probably some part of Telingana (Andhra-Kalinga) whence they colonised Lower Burma and thence they settled in Siam in the early centuries of the Christian era. From Amaravati on the Krishna and from Tamluk at the mouth the Ganges the Indian merchants, missionaries and artists went out in Indian ships to colonise various parts of Indo-China and Indonesia. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien, who travelled by this route, attests admirably to this line of cultural migration. Most of the temples and sculptures of Siam of this early epoch have unfortunately disappeared. A few rare bronzes and sculptures in blue lime-stone are obviously Gupta in style and inspiration. Some terra-cotta heads of great delicacy and beauty have also been discovered, and all these may be classified as the Andhra-Kalinga phase of Siamese art. The early wooden buildings of Burma, Cambodia and Siam, while showing great originality, partially derive inspiration from Indian designs in wooden structure.

The next great cultural influence was that of the 7th century art of the Gupta-Pallavas dominating the history of the then Asian art and architecture. The Pallava capital was at Kanchi and the researches of Quaritch Wales have demonstrated that the Pallava Indians from Kanchi "usually landed at Jaya on the upper part of the Malay Peninsula, and crossed overland in order to avoid the long and perilous sea-voyage." Between the

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7th to the 12th century, we find the growth of the Hinduised Kingdom of Sri Vijaya, professing Mahayana Buddhism and including in its domain, the whole of the Malaya and Southern Siam. The Sri Vijaya Kingdom was overthrown or absorbed by the Sailendras whom Dr. Le May considers to be "a branch of the Gangâ dynasty who ruled in various parts of Indian from Kalinga to Mysore from the 2nd to the 11th century." According to Quaritch Wales, the Sailendra capital was not Palembang (in Sumatra) but Jaya (in South Siam) whence radiated the inspiration of a new school of sculpture in Java to the South and in Siam and Cambodia (pre-Khmer) to the North.

Towards the end of the first millennium A.D. the mighty Khmer empire of Angkor conquered central Siam, and the Khmer viceroy ruled at Lopburi. That is why some of the temples and sculptures of Lopburi show undoubted Khmer influence. Like the Indian rulers, the Khmer kings were impartial patrons of Brahmanism and Buddhism, both tending to fuse into one another under Mahayana influence.

The Khmer rulers were driven out by the ancestors of the Siamese, the Dai or Thai people, who established, about 1100 A.D., their capital at Bisnulok dominating over the territory which had hitherto been Cambodian. During this early Thai period Siamese art was greatly influenced by contact with the neighbouring Kingdom of Pagan, which rose to be the centre of Burmese revival in religion, architecture and painting under the great Kings Anoratha (1044-1077) and Qyanzittha (1084-1112) who were in cultural touch with the Palas of Bengal (750-1100). The classical Siamese art, specially the sculpture of this period, "shows marked traces of Pala influence." This was also the time when the Siamese Kings of the Sukhodaya Dynasty conquered the whole of the Menam valley and the Malay Peninsula, where a little before the great Chola Kings had introduced the influences of South Indian art and culture. So in this Pala-Chola phase of Siamese art we may expect to find, with the progress of Siamese archæology, some striking parallelisms in art and culture.

In the mediæval period of Siam with Ayuthiya as capital (1350-1763), the Indian influence would be on the wane, and

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Siam would come more and more under the influence of Chinese art, specially in architecture. Discussing some of the temples of this period, Dr. Le May observes : "The buildings are splendid examples of the period, especially the massive, solid *stupa*, the beautiful facade of the *vihara* which is of wood, the pinnacled entrance gateway gleaming white in the sun, and the long eaves of the roof which come down low and lend an air of mystery to the interior." Burma being connected with Ceylon through the Hinayana, the Buddhists of Ceylon began to visit Siam as the repository of ancient Budddist scriptures and pure traditions of Buddhism. In the reign of Surya-vamsa Mahadharma-rajadhiraja, a series of Jataka engravings were made for the temple of Wat Si Jum (*circa* 1361 A.D.) which, according to Dr. Coomaraswamy "exhibits a very close affinity with the Jataka frescoes of the northern temple at Polonnaruva in Ceylon, datable in the 12th or 13th century." From a contemporary, inscription of 1361, we know that a very learned Sangharaja (Saranamkara ?) came to Siam, by invitation, from Ceylon, and possibly some Sinhalese artists began to visit Siam, introducing their own technique and draftsmanship.

Before the Ayuthiya regime we notice that Gupta-Pallava influences dominated over the art of Siam. Unfortunately only a few specimens have survived the ravages of time, specially from the twin capitals of Sukhodaya and Sajjanalaya called in Siamese Sukhotai-Sawankalok, which under the Hinduised Khmers reached the zenith of their power in the 11th century A.D. The Cambodian influence extended over the vast area from Lopburi to Kedah and Ligor in Jaya. From Jaya, Gupta-Pallava influences penetrated southern Cambodia through Southern Siam as evidenced by the Vishnu from Vien Srah, Lokesvara from Jaya. Buddhas from Dvaravati and other art relics from Rajapuri. Prapathom, Chantaburi, Kedah, Takua-Pa and Ligor. At Pechaburi, there are ruins of Brahmanical and Buddhist temples, and at Nagor Pathom, the biggest temple Pathom Chedi resembles Indian *stupas* dated *circa* 500 A.D.

Though the official religion of Siam today is Buddhism, yet there can be no doubt that there was perfect tolerance of non-Buddhistic cults like Saivism, Vaishnavism, etc., as we find

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in the ancient Hindu colonies of Indo-China and of Indonesia. In the early 5th century A.D. all these countries were under the ministration of Buddhism as well as of Brahmanism. Hinayana probably reached earlier by way of Burma which, so long considered to be purely a Hinayana country, is yielding many important relics of Brahmanical religion and art (*vide* ; Dr. Niharranjan Ray, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, Calcutta University, 1932). During the 5th and 6th centuries we find Hinayana dominating over the whole Central Siam, including the States of Ratpuri, Kanchanaburi, Nagor Pathom and Lopburi. The fine stone statues and sculptures discovered plentifully in Nagor Pathom and Lopburi clearly show that the influence of Gupta art was very strong in Siam from the 5th to the 7th century. During the 7th century, Hinayana Buddhism spread from Lopburi to Northern Siam through the zeal of a Mon Princess. The Mons dominated over North Siam from the 7th to the 13th century, and built splendid towns like Haripunjaya and Nagor Lampang, adorned with gorgeous Buddhist temples, some showing "a marked Ceylonese influence," as for example, the Wat Kukut (Kukkutarama ?) near Lamphum. So far few Brahmanical sanctuaries have been discovered in North Siam, but copious evidence of Brahmanical culture has been traced along the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, in the present circle of Bhuket where fine stone sculptures representing Vishnu and other Brahmanical deities have been found. They probably date as far as back as the 5th or 6th century (*vide* : *Siam*, Vol. I, p. 62 and pp. 126-136). In some famous shrines of Lopburi there are images of four-armed Vishnu (Narai), Indra, Lakshmi, Narayana on the Ananta Naga, and several Rishis.

Most of the Siamese states during these epochs were under the suzerainty of Fu-nan, the great Khmer empire embracing Cambodia, Siam and the whole of Malay Peninsula. In the 10th-11th centuries A.D. Cambodia conquered the empire of Fu-nan including South Siam, and tried, though without success, to conquer Northern Siam also. The Cambodian influence was specially manifest in patronising stone architecture. Hitherto the material used for the sacred buildings was generally well-burnt bricks, stone being rarely used. Now we find imposing stone

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temples with towers (*prang*) in the cities of Sukhodaya, Svargaloka, and Labapuri. Eastern Siam which adjoins Cambodia naturally showed later on domination of the Cambodian style of architecture with *prasada* or tower surrounded by walls or galleries, adorned with beautiful reliefs in sand-stone or laterite. Sometimes when the stone was rough, a kind of stucco was used for decorative purpose, in which fine paintings and moulded reliefs were executed. Many Hindu gods and goddesses appear in the Siamese iconography of this epoch, although Mahayana sculptures are found in the splendid temple of Bimai, which can easily be confused with a Cambodian temple.

A new style of architecture emerged during the 11th-13th centuries which is the combination of the Cambodian and the Thai styles—a natural reflexion of the regime where we find the Thai dominating over the Mon and the Khmer peoples. The best examples of this new style of architecture are found at Sajjanalaya, Svargaloka, Sukhodaya and Bishnuloka.

During the Ayuthiyan period the earlier religious styles were partially continued, but bricks came to replace stones, and that is probably the reason why so few shrines of the period have survived. The inscriptions, however, continued to be engraved on stone, and the images of the Buddhist and Brahmanical deities carved in bronze or stone. The biggest bronze image of a sitting Buddha is to be found within the crumbling walls of the Jayamangala temple (Wat Jaiya Mongkol) in Ayuthiya. The date of its casting is not definitely known, but it is recorded that a Siamese king transferred the colossal image to the present site in 1603. Ruthless destruction of monuments and records followed the conquest of Ayuthiya by the Burmese after three years' siege (1763-1767). That temporarily ruined the creative freshness of Siamese art which met the eclipse of decadance or endless repetition of traditional formulae.

BANGKOK AND HER MONUMENTS

Within a few years of the destruction of Ayuthiya, Bangkok was founded by King Rama I (1782-1809), who drove back the Burmese invaders and gained some victories in Cambodia. The Royal Palace and two famous temples Wat Phra Keo and Wat

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Phra Jetubon (commonly known as Wat Po) were built by him. His son Rama II (1809-1829) constructed Wat Sudat and Wat Arun. During the reign of Rama III modern Siamese art and poetry reached its climax. He paid special attention to the conservation of temples and buildings. His brother Rama IV (1851-1868) who was a Buddhist monk for 27 years before his accession was a man of profound learning. As King Mongkut he began the work of modernizing Siam, the work which was carried further by his son King Rama V Chulalongkorn (1868-1910). By his varied and many-sided activities Chulalongkorn is remembered and loved by his people as their greatest King. But he had the mortification of losing some important parts of his territory, through a collusion (1893) with the French, in Indo-China, and with the conclusion of the Treaty in 1907, Siam was obliged to cede to France those Cambodian provinces, where the grand ruins of Angkor are situated. The progress of Siamese art and archæology during the reigns of King Vajiravudh and King Prajadhipok has already been described. The Sesqui-centenary of Bangkok (1782-1932) was celebrated by King Prajadhipok, who repaired many of the historical structures.

Towards the end of the 18th century, King Rama I built several imposing edifices of which two are in good condition : the Dusit Maha Prasad and the Phra Tinang Amarindra, both within the precincts of the Grand Palace. The visitors are admitted by the Gate of Supreme Victory or *Pratu Vises Jaisri.* The Dusit Maha Prasad in considered to be the first specimen of modern Siamese architecture, and ever since the reign of King Rama I, the palace is being used both for the coronation of the kings and for the lying-in-state of royal remains. It also contains an interesting relic in the stone carved in 1292 by King Rama Khamheng of Sukhodaya, son of King Indraditya who liberated the Thai from the Cambodian yoke. It was discovered by the learned King Mongkut among the ruins of the old capital whence he brought it to Bangkok. A series of halls were marked as places for distributing *dakshina* (*taksin*) or offering to the monks made by the sovereign King : *Chakrabati Taksin.* In the interior part of these halls of the Amarindra palace and in one of its *sala* or rooms, King Rama I was offered the crown by the people in

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1782. Brahmanical ceremonies of *abhisheka* and other rituals were practised here in continuation of Cambodian traditions, and a garden to the east of the palace is still called Shivalai or Shiva's abode.

Next in importance stands the temple of the Emerald Buddha or Wat Phra Keo. Containing as it does the jewel image of the divine teacher, this grand edifice contains nevertheless, carved figures of Vishnu or Garuda as well as many interesting scenes from the *Ramayana* painted on the walls. In the holy of holies we see on the top of a gorgeously decorated altar and under a golden canopy, the much venerated *jasper* image of Buddha known as the Phra Keo Morakot. The transparent greenish jasper which goes to make the image is a single piece 60 cms. high, quite unique in the world of gems. According to tradition this image was made by the King of the Gods for the famous Indian monk Nagasena. Passing from India to Ceylon, it reached the Thai city of Chieng-rai about 1436, and after several peregrinations through the capitals of the North-Eastern Thai Kingdom, was finally installed in Bangkok. The walls of this temple are covered with frescoes representing the life or legends of Rama or of the Buddha. The style of these paintings no less than their subject-matter, sometimes Buddhistic, sometimes Brahmanical, should be compared with the pictorial traditions of the Burmese and the Cambodian neighbours of the Siamese. In the Maha-mandapa or the library of the Pantheon (Prasad Phra Debbidorn) a valuable collection of the Siamese *tripitakas* is kept. It was completed in course of a famous religious council held at Bangkok in 1788.

Wat Phra Jetubon or Wat Po (Bodhi) is the most extensive temple in Bangkok to the south of the Grand Palace. It was built in 1793 on the site of an earlier temple called Wat Bodharam. Over 400 old images, brought from ruined or deserted temples of Siam, have been conserved in the galleries of this temple. *Ramayana* scenes are represented on the wonderfully carved teak-wood doors inlaid with mother of pearl. The walls and ceilings of the shrine are covered with Buddhist paintings, many of which were sadly damaged but have been repaired. In the eastern *vihara* there is a huge standing Buddha in bronze

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10 meters high. It was brought down from Ayuthiya, just as in an adjoining room we find another image brought from Sawankalok which was Siam's capital during the 13th and 14th centuries. Other images, of Buddha Jinasri with *naga*-hood, perhaps were brought down from Lopburi. Along with Cambodian, the Chinese influences also penetrated Siam, and we find therefore numerous traces of the simultaneous existence of the Brahmanical, Buddhistic and Taoist cults.

The Wat Mahathad or the great relic shrine is the oldest sanctuary on the east bank of the Menam. This temple was the seat of the great religious Council of 1788 which purified and re-established the authoritative edition of the Siamese *tripitaka* copies of which were distributed free. 112 guilt images of the Buddha as well as those of his chief disciples are found within this temple. Wat Sudat is decorated with carvings representing Indra mounted on his three-headed elephant. There is a huge brass Buddha, 9 meters high, attributed to the Sukhodai regime, and on the base of the altar are stone sculptures in Gupta style hailing from Nakon Patom and representing the great miracle of Sravasti. The doors and windows are decorated with painted figures of Rama, Vishnu, Siva, Skanda, Ganesa, Uma, Lakshmi and other Brahmanical deities. In the front of Wat Sudat is the Brahmanical temple Bot Phram in which we find many *Hindu* deities hailing from Cambodia, Ayuthiya and Lopburi, the most remarkable being a statue of Dancing Siva. Buddhists by profession, the Siamese Kings nevertheless, keep Brahmanical priests and astrologers who play an important role in all state functions in Bangkok. There is another colony of the Brahmins in the Southern capital, Nakon Sridharmaraja, in Siamese Malay.

Wat Sraket on the Golden Mount marked an important sanctuary, and on the long side-walls we find frescoes and reliefs of religious and historical interest. There is a place for *cremation* in Wat Sraket, and probably that is why the Hades of Buddhism, with Yama-raja judging the evil-doers, is represented in the wall-paintings. On the Golden Mount the faithfuls assemble by thousands in the month of November to worship the bone-relic of the Buddha which was discovered at Piprawa in U. P. in

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India in 1898. The Government of India distributed portions of these precious relics amongst the four leading Buddhist countries of Ceylon and Burma, Siam and Japan.

On the river bank just opposite Wat Po we find the famous Wat Arun. Its central tower is 74 meters high and all the five towers are crowned with *trisula* symbol of Saivism while in the niches we find the figures of Indra, Chandra and other deities. To, the South of Wat Arun, lies the Temple of the Gracious Friend or Kalyanamitra, named in Siamese Wat Kalayanamit. Its central *vihara* boasts of the tallest and the largest roof among the numerous temples of Bangkok.

It is not possible in a brief survey to enumerate fully the architectural and other art remains of Siam, and to discuss adequately their special features. Geographically as well as artistically, Siam appears to be the meeting-ground of the Cambodian, South Chinese and Burmese art traditions ; and if Siamese architecture appears to be much less impressive than the superb monuments of Cambodia or Java, yet none can deny that the Thai people have made a great contribution to the decorative arts of Asia. Their wood-carving, painting and other branches of applied arts, when thoroughly studied, would reveal new secrets in the domain of Asian decorative technique ; and we hope that before the valuable old materials crumble away, the progressive Government of Thailand would arrange to publish adequately illustrated studies on the various branches of Siamese art, in collaboration with *connoisseurs* of Oriental art.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY OF INDO-CHINA

The Indo-Chinese Peninsula, by its very name, is expected to bear traces of the inflow and inter-mixture of two principal currents of culture, those of India and of China. During the last centuries before the Christian era; as pointed out by M. Cœdes, the influence of China and India began to operate on the peoples of Indo-China who just entered their Metal age. Before they knew how to make general use of metal, they continued to live in a sort of late Stone Age, which as in Japan, was very much less ancient than the Stone Age of Europe. That probably explains why the Indo-Chinese stone implements are often found at a slight depth associated with bronze and even iron objects. Two distinct types of stone tools have so far been recognized : (1) implements of cut-stone with polished edges, and (2) shouldered axes which are supposed by some pre-historians to be connected with a people belonging to the Mon-Khmer linguistic group.

The earliest studies on these subjects were published by the workers of the Geological survey of French Indo-China led by M. Mansuy. His collaboratrice Dr. Miss Colani was specially commissioned by the *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient* to make a systematic survey of the pre-historic antiquities of Indo-China, partially explored by Dr Van Stein Callenfels (in 1932 and 1935). In the north of Annam they discovered shell-mounds and kitchen-middens containing bone tools, broken earthenwares, etc., which may testify to the culture of a Melanesian population, whose traces Dr. Callenfels found from Indo-China and Java up to Japan and possibly beyond.

Dr. Colani has also studied the megalithic civilization of upper Laos which may be connected with the megalithic culture of the Malay Archipelago specially that of Sumatra. With the Stone and Bronze age remains, monolithic jars and stone burial places were discovered in Laos which have been attributed to the Iron Age of the early centuries B.C. The menhirs, on the contrary, may belong to the Bronze Age and

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some imported articles have been noted to be of funerary character: coloured glass-beads, stone-axes, bronze-ornaments, knives and agricultural tools, etc., which the dead persons might wish to utilize in future life.

Towards the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., on the fall of the Ts'in dynasty, a Chinese general who became independent of the Central Government, conquered Tongking and Annam; and Chinese rule lasted there for nine centuries or up to the advent of the Mongoloid Annamite dynasty of the Dinh in 968. Thus it is quite clear today that the primitive populations of Indo-China were connected with those non-Mongols who people the Pacific islands now-a-days and that the Mongolians were late-comers in Indo-China.

The earliest traces of the Stone age culture of Indo-China were discovered by Verneau, Mansuy, Patte and Colani. In the caves and rock-shelters of the Bac-Son limestone massif in North Tonking, a type of neolithic Indo-Chinese culture called Bac-Sonian was discovered and discussed at the First Congress of the Pre-historians of the Far East at Hanoi (January, 1932). But owing to the lack of systematic methods of excavation, the palæolithic tools were found lumped together with proto-neoliths, just as the human remains were found to be of Melanesian Australoid and Indonesian affinities.

This mixture may be found to have an additional significance when we consider that a veteran anthropologist in the Polynesian field like Dr. E. C. Handy *(vide* E. S. C. Handy. "The Problem of Polynesian Origins" *Bishop Museum Occasional Papers*, Vol. IX, No. 8, 1930) refers to the theory that the *Arii* or *Alii* culture of Polynesia may be traced back to the river population of Kwang-tung (South China). They are supposed to be an intrusive Oceanic folk from Indo-China or Indonesia who, as refugees of some disrupted civilization, established themselves as the ruling class in Polynesia, tracing the origin of the Polynesian race and culture to Indo-China as their original home. *(Congress of Pre-historians*, Singapore, 1940, pp. 51-58, 313-316).

Dr. Colani discovered Palæolithic culture in the caves of the Hoa-Binh province of Southern Tongking, and this has been classified as follows:

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(1) Hoa-Binhian I—big, crude palæolithic tools;

(2) Hoa-Binhian II—smaller palæoliths together with proto-neoliths;

(3) Hoa-Binhian III—more improved tools and with gradually disappearing proto-neoliths; we notice also the absence of the Indonesian racial type associated with proto-neoliths.

The bone implements discovered in North Annam may be quite different from the cultures of Hoa-Binh and Bac-Son, and a more intensive research is necessary to ascertain the exact position of the folk using bone implements. We are not yet sure if they were related to the Melanesians using tools of Palæolithic type, or to the Indonesians generally associated with proto-neoliths. At any rate we are fairly certain today that the present day cultures of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia could be ultimately connected with the pre-historic peoples and cultures of Indo-China.

[*Note* :—On the pre-history and proto-history of Indo-China, some valuable papers have been communicated by Dr J Fromaget, M. E. Saurin and Dr. Colani and published by the Congress of Pre-historians of the Far East, Singapore, 1940.]

HINDU CULTURE IN INDO-CHINA

The exact date of the penetration of the Hindus and of Hindu Culture in Indo-China is not yet settled. But we have noticed that an eminent authority like M. Cœdes, the Director of the French School of Hanoi, is inclined to believe that the Hindus had already colonised that area during the second and first centuries B.C.; and his conclusions are strongly supported recently by Mr. O. C. Gangoly adducing independent evidence from Indian literature which strongly corroborated the archæological evidence ("Relation between Indian and Indonesian Culture": *Greater India Society Journal*, Calcutta, 1940). The late Prof. Sylvain Levi also in a brilliant paper (*Ptolemee, le Niddesa et la Brihat-Katha* : *Etudes Asiatiques, II*, 1925) expressed his opinion that the occurrence of *Sanskrit* names of some parts of the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula and of the sea-ports of the Far East, in the Indian texts of the 1st century A.D., proved, beyond

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doubt, that Hindu Culture might have penetrated there at least a couple of centuries earlier. Modern Indo-China was the meeting ground of many early cultures : Chinese Han dynasty settlements have been found in Annam (Champa), Roman lamps, and medallions of the Antonines (2 cent A.D.) have also been discovered (1927-47) with Sassanian and Gupta art objects from Iran and India. Later Andhra styles of sculpture have been found in Cambodia, Malay Peninsula, Java and the Celebes.

CHAMPA : VIET NAM

The earliest Hindu colony comprised Cambodia, Cochin-China and Southern Siam, called by the Chinese as *Fu-nan* (? Vana-rajya), and it was visited, according to local traditions, by the Brahmana Kaundinya who married a native Princess called Nagini Soma and he became the Lord of the Country in 1st century A.D. This was the beginning of the Indo-Khmer dynasties ruling Cambodia for over 1,000 years, sharing the Peninsula with the Indo-Cham rulers of Cambodian (and probably of Indian) origin. This explains why the oldest Hindu monument there is the Sanskrit inscription of Vo-Canh (2nd-3rd centuries A.D.). It records the name of a King of the Sri-Mara dynasty ; and gradually we find that the Hindu colony of Champa came to be divided into Kauthara (Nahtrang), Panduranga (Phanrang), Vijaya (Bin Dinh) and Amaravati (Tra-Kieu Simhapura or Indrapuri). The last place with its gorgeous temple-city of Mi-son was founded by Bhadra-varman I (400 A.D.) who ruled Champa about the same time that Srutavarman ruled over Cambodia (Fu-nan). The Classical Period of Cham Art extended from the 7th to the 10th century A.D. when the art of Champa showed a rare plastic grace and power of modelling, as we find from the sculptures of Mi-son carefully conserved in the Museum of Tourane. The images of Siva and Uma, of Skanda and Ganesa, testify to the Saiva preponderance. In the 9th century, the first brick temple of Parvati replaced the wooden temple of Po Nagara near Nahtrang (817 A.D.) which I visited in 1924.

About 900 A.D., the grand Buddhist shrines in Champa, those of Dong-Duong were founded by the Buddhist King Indra-varman in honour of the Lokesvara. Here a fine bronze standing Buddha

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was discovered which may be of Indian or Sinhalese origin reflecting the style of Amaravati and Anuradhapura of the 3rd or 4th century A.D. The Dong-Duong shrines belonged to one period while the monuments of Mi-son were erected at various dates (7th-10th centuries). As in Cambodia, there was in Champa the cult of the Deva-raja or King-God. The Hindu culture of Champa was gradually overwhelmed by the Chinese Annamites who became masters of the whole country (now Viet Nam) by the 14th century A.D.

While the Indo-Cham styles of the art of Champa has not yet been clearly traced, there is a distinct evolution of Indo-Khmer or pre-Khmer style of the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries A.D. The main centre of Pre-Khmer art was located at Sambor and Prei Kuk, now in the dense jungle, between Saigon and Angkor. The Bayang temple resembles the Bhumara (Saiva) shrine of the Gupta period with the Sikhara in the Dravidian style of Kanchi. Upto the 7th cent. A.D., the art of Cambodia and Java shows simultaneous and often alternate influences of Hinduism and Buddhism. Krishna, Harihara, Siva, Bhadresvara and Buddhist Lokeswara appear side by side. These differ from the classical Khmer art of 9th-12th centuries. Of the Indo-Khmer period we find a Bull capital (Sivaite) at Vyadhapura and the figure of a four-armed Vishnu in Ananta-sayana pose at Han-chei near Sambor, the capital of Fu-nan. Many other shrines in brick and laterite have been discovered, which resemble the Gupta-Pallava shrines of the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. The Buddha figures form Romlok, Trakeo (5th or 6th century A.D.) resemble, according to Dr. Coomaraswamy, the rock-cut Buddhas in the precincts of Cave XIX at Ajanta, and also some later Gupta figures from Sarnath. The Pre-Khmer Art of Cambodia has given some remarkable specimens of Brahmanical iconography, like the Hari-Hara preserved in Paris and in the Sarraut Museum at Phnom Penh, which remind us of the Pallava art of 7th century A.D.

CLASSICAL KHMER ART 800-1200 A.D.

The Kingdom of Fu-nan appeared to have been overshadowed by another Kingdom called *Chen-la* by the Chinese, owing allegiance in some form to the Hindu-Javanese empire

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of Sri Vijaya. With the establishment of Khmer autonomy in the 8th century A.D., we notice not only a political but an artistic revolution as well. The earlier Indian style was characterised by a rare sense of modelling and concentration possible only in the assertion of individuality of the artists in their creations. The classical Khmer art, on the contrary, is a colossal co-operative venture in art-creation, producing sculptures and architectural types that baffle our imagination in variety no less than in grandeur. There is a sort of resemblance with the evolution of the Sikharas of Indian temples of the North and of the South ; but the Khmer architecture proper—towers joined by walled galleries—was mainly derived from the indigenous wooden types as well as from the samples of Chinese architecture which partly influenced the classical art of Cambodia as well as of Champa. Some of the new elements are, as pointed out by Dr. Coomaraswamy, towers with human faces, Garuda caryatides and Naga balustrades. A national, almost racial, element asserts itself in the sculptures of this period. But the religion and mythology remained dominantly Indian, pertaining to Siva, Vishnu, Lokeswara and other gods of Tantric Mahayana Buddhism. To these were added the cults of Deva-raja or deification of royal ancestors which formed the common custom in Cambodia and Java' ; and it is significant that the inscription of Soda Kak Thom (1042 A. D.) states that the Deva-raja or King-God statue was first erected and the cult was initiated by King Jaya-varman II (832-869 A.D.) expressly with the object that Cambodia should be independent of Java or Sri Vijaya. Pyramidal temple (often five storeyed) came to be built in honour of God-kings residing in Meru or Kailasa.

M. Trouve, conservator of Angkor, has discovered a sanctuary built upon a three-stepped pyramid on the terraces of which are some pavilions ; and this pyramid is pierced, from top to bottom, by a well which, according to inscriptions, was dedicated to Siva Gambhiresvara. This temple of Prasat Ak Yom may belong to 6th-8th centuries and classified as primitive Khmer or pre-Angkor monument.

The entire chronology of Cambodian monument has been revolutionized by intensive researches of the last few years. In

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the wondering maze of theories we thank M. Cœdes for his first clear and convincing presentation of data in his admirable paper "Archæology in Indo-China" (*Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. VIII, pp. 22-35). He agrees with M. Goloubew that the original site of Yasodharapura, founded towards the end of the 9th century by the Saiva King Yasovarman I (889-910), was not covered by the present town of Angkor Thom ; it was, on the contrary, a much larger area which has yet to be surveyed and excavated. The central mound of this city is identified now in Phnom Bakheng with a Siva temple crowning its summit. So the earliest monuments of Angkor, like the Bhadresvara Siva of Champa, were of Saiva denomination. The unfinished Saiva temple of Takeo (founded 889) shows 8 separate towers arranged on the top platform of a stepped pyramid. This style of architecture found its sublimation in the Vishnu temple of Angkor Vat which baffles our imagination and expression. From the Sanscrit inscriptions on the walls of the later temple-city of Angkor Thom, M. Cœdes could prove that, centuries after the Saiva construction of Yasovarman I, Angkor Thom or Bayon came to be the next capital which was hurriedly covered by Buddhistic monuments created by the Buddhist king Jayavarman VII (1181-1201) towards the end of the 12th century after the sacking of Cambodia by the Chams in 1177. The walls and galleries of Angkor Thom with its four-faced central temple of the Bayon were crudely and hurriedly built (causing disintigration) ; but it is lavishly decorated. Like the Ellora rock-cut temple, the Bayon architecture is daringly *sculptural*. The revised dating of Angkor Thom, as the last phase of Khmer art, is based on epigraphic readings and more intensive analysis of the forms and decorative styles.

Thus we get two definite dates, that of Yasodharapura (end of 9th century) and that of Bayon (end of 12th century). In between came a series of monuments which we mention chronologically : Mebon, Pre Rup, Banteay Srei, etc., belonging to the 10th century ; the Vishnu temple of Ba-phuon (end of the 11th century); the colossal Vishnu temple of Angkor Vat (12th century) followed by a series of buildings : Prah Khan, Ta Prohm, Banteay Kedei, Banteay Chamer—distinguished by towers with

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human faces which characterise also the later Angkor Thom representing Siva-Buddha, the last flowering of Khmer art under the Buddhist king Jaya-varman VII.

Unlike the hard stone temples of India and Java, the crumbling Khmer monuments were built either of brick or sand-stone of bad quality; moreover, their foundations were weak, and their construction defective. Inspite of that M. Henri Marchal, after visiting the scientific reconstruction work of the Dutch archæological survey, repaired effectively several dilapidated shrines and galleries of Bayon, and reconstructed parts of the *Gopuram*. So the beautiful 10th century temple of Banteay Srei, formerly called Isvarapura which was badly damaged, has been successfully repaired, as we find from the splendid volume on the temple published in the Archæological Memoirs. M. J. Y. Claeys, inspector of the Archæological Survey, has published special articles on the restoration work in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, (1927-1947). The Buddhist shrine of That Luong at Vieng Cham in Laos has also been repaired, according to the principles of restoration admirably put into practice by the Dutch archæologists in Java. Buddhist Laos, placed between Cambodia and Siam, bear the cultural influences of her neighbours.

Jaya-varman II who is reported in inscription to have come from Java, ruled over Cambodia from 802-869; and the last notable Cambodian King Jaya-varman VII, as we know, reigned from 1181-1201. Thus the history of Classical Cambodian Art extends over 400 years, naturally passing through various phases of progress and retrogression. Jaya-varman II was a great builder who founded three capital cities: Amarendrapura (Banteay Chamer), Hariharalaya (Prah Khan), and Mahendra-parvata (Beng Mealea). Ignoring the imported foreign styles of South Cambodia, the King and his Khmer architects showed real creative genius and originality by utilising in stone the national wooden architecture of the Khmer people, with their wooden forms, galleries and tiled roofs reproduced in stone.

Indra-varman I (877-889) claimed to have been the descendant of an Indian Brahman named Agastya, probably suggesting his South Indian origin. He planned and constructed some brick towers within old Angkor Thom and also a Siva temple of

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Ba-kong with a pyramidal base in five receding stages crowned by a *lingam* shrine. The whole foundation was enclosed by a wall and moat with bridges guarded by many-headed *Nagas* on both sides as elaborotely described by M. Parmentier in his treatise on "The Art of Indra-varman."

King Yasovarman (900 A.D), hitherto considered to be the builder of Angkor Thom, may be credited with the construction of the Vaishnava shrine of Phimenakas, a three-storied pyramid with a stone gallery above, occupying the court between the royal palace and the terrace. Yasovarman is credited with the excavation of a huge artificial lake holding the shrine of Neak Pean in the centre. Rajendravarman (944-968) built two Brahmanical shrines Pre Rup and Mebon in the middle of this great lake. In the Mebon shrine five brick towers were dedicated to Brahma, Siva, Parvati, Vishnu and a *lingam*.

To the north-west of Angkor Thom and to the south of the palace lies the remarkable Vaishnava temple of Ba-phuon constructed by Jaya-varman VI (end of the 10th century). Of the three receding terraces, the two upper ones are decorated with reliefs from the *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana* and *Krishnayana*, proving beyond doubt that Krishna legends and stories of the Vishnu Purana and Srimad Bhagavata migrated to Indo-China before 10th century A.D. Buddhist and Brahmanical cults were in a process of fusion as we notice specially in the reign of Surya-varman I (1002-1050) who was a great and zealous builder of many temples : Ta-keo dedicated to Siva ; Prah Khan containing Buddhist as well as Saiva deities and Prah Vihear dedicated also to Siva.

Surya-varman II (1112-1152), gained immortality by starting the design and construction of Angkor Vat, the biggest stone temple in the world. It covers a ground plan nearly one mile square, with more than 12000 Sq. yards of exquisite has reliefs attracting generation of students of comparative art (like the Maya temples in Yucatan and Hondurus). The Khmers derived their early literature religion and iconography from Hindu-Buddhist India (*Vide* "Angkor, Art and civilisation," by B. Groslier and G. Arthaud, 1957). Angkor Vat was built under the guidance of the Raja Guru Divakara. It is encircled by a moat 2½ miles in

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State Museum
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circumference. The central spire is over 200 ft. and the vast galleries decorated by lovely reliefs 2500 ft. in length. It was probably finished by his nephew and successor Dharanindra-varman (1152-1181). According to M. Finot, the Angkor Vat was originally a smaller Nagara temple beside the larger shrine of ancient Angkor Thom. Later on it was converted into a grand palace temple, colossal in dimension and extraordinary in artistic designs and decorations. The master artists and sculptors of the age of Surya-varman II were really responsible for the synthesis of Indian and native arts and all the phenomenal progress in the architectural and decorative art. It came to be mechanically copied and hurriedly multiplied by the mediocre artisans of that ambitious King Jaya-varman VII (1181-1201) who, according to the latest revised chronology, was responsible for the construction of Angkor Thom or Bayon. Nearly a century ago the noted French traveller-novelist Pierre Loti visited Cambodia and wrote *Le Pelerin d' Angkor*.

Volumes have been written, with plates and illustrations, on these two gigantic Cambodian foundations. Angkor Vat was originally a Vaishnava shrine, and Vishnu occupies a prominent place in the superb stone reliefs, but some are devoted to Saiva and Yama-Raja legends. So it may be partly a local funerary monument. There is a perceptible falling off from the high standard of Angkor Vat in the execution of Bayon or Angkor Thom under Jaya-varman VII (1181-1201). He was a Buddhist introducing Buddhist sculptures and motifs, and still we find a veritable eclecticism in the Ramayana reliefs and in the 34 deities found in Bayon, classified into (1) Hindu (Vishnu, Siva, Uma etc.), (2) Buddhist (Bhaishajja-guru and other Bodhisattvas), (3) Patron deities, (4) Deified human beings represented by portrait images making a sort of National Pantheon, and (5) the Deva-raja-lingas.

So we find the 4-sided colossal figures of Lokeswara or Buddhist Devaraja, facing the four cardinal points and the chapels of the Bayon are inscribed with dedication from the various provinces of the Empire.

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LAST PHASE 1200—1450

In 1195, Jaya-varman VII, extended the power of Cambodian arms as far west as Pegu, and Cambodian influence may already have penetrated Laos, Siam and Burma, for we find that the Khmer language was still in use at Jaiya about 1250 A.D. But the Thai or the Siamese began to grow in strength occupying a large part of Cambodia and introducing Siamese Buddhist sculptures in the 13th and 14th centuries. In 1296, as described by the Yuan dynasty Chinese traveller Chou Ta Kuan who visited the country, Cambodia was ravaged. Centuries after, a French botanist in Siam, Henri Mouhot was the first European to rediscover Angkor (1860) lost in the jungle. Thus from the mid-19th century the French explored and described the arts and monuments of Indo-China till the civil war of 1954 leading to partition and freedom of Indo-China from the French yoke. The famous Angkor Thom was deserted before the end of the 15th century, and from the later inscriptions of Angkor Vat we get unmistakable evidence of the penetration of Hinduism and Buddhism from Siam. Yet by 1300 A.D. we get the graceful temple of Banteai Srei (old Isvarapura) and the Lake temple Neak Pean ; Isvarapura (1304) shows the influence of South Indian Saivism ; so the Ellora figure of Ravana trying to uproot the Kailasa mountain is reproduced in this 14 century Khmer frieze. Later on, Siamese Hinayana soon replaced the older Mahayana. In the court of the modern Cambodian King at Phnom Penh some Brahmana priests still continue (as in Siam and Burma) to perform some special ceremonies and rituals.

The world-famous monuments of the temple city of Angkor passed into the hands of the Siamese kings but after a brief Franco-Siamese struggle the French took the monuments back to the present boundary of Cambodia, by the treaty of 1907. Nine years before, in 1898, the French Government transformed the Archæological Commission of Indo-China (started after the French conquest towards the middle of the 19th century) into the now famous *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient.* Up to 1929, this brilliant research school was under the direction of M. Louis Finot, who was followed, for the next

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ten years by M. Georges Cœdes, its second Director, who developed the research department, the library and the museums in diverse ways. The sculptures and other archæological objects have been treasured in the Museums of Hanoi, of Saigon, of Phnom Penh, of Hue and of Tourane. There was a project of establishing an Ethnographic Museum at the hill station of Dalat in South Annam partly controlled still by France.

The most valuable collection, as I found after my two visits to Indo-China, was that of the Museum in Hanoi, which has been reorganised and renamed since 1932 as the Louis Finot Museum. An admirable catalogue of the Khmer collection of this Museum by M. Henri Marchal has been published. He wrote also a big volume on the Comparative Architecture in India and the Far East (Paris 1944). Coral Remusat wrote a splendid book on the stages of evolution in Khmer Art (Paris 1940). Outside Indo-China a select and valuable collection of Khmer art has been beautifully arranged and exhibited at the famous Musee Guimet of Paris on which Madame Odette Monod-Bruhl has published an excellent catalogue which will be of help to the students of comparative art. So, a good account has been given by H. G. Quaritch Wales in his *Towards Angkor* (London 1937).

The school of Hanoi had no teaching department, and it confined its activities exclusively to researches into the domain of archæology, philology and history of Indo-China and other countries of the Far East : India, Insulindia, China, Japan. Its library has a rich collection of Chinese texts comprising about 4,000 works in over 18,000 volumes. The Annamite texts number about 4,000, and the Japanese collection numbers 10,000. There are over 1,500 manuscripts in Cambodian, Cham, Laotian Siamese, and Burmese. All these have been taken over by the Communist Govt. of North Viet Nam.

As early as 1900-1901, eminent French scholars like Paul Pelliot and Edouard Chavannes visited China and brought valuable collections. So Japan was visited by M. Maitre and M. Peri: and M. E. Gasperdone was collaborating with the Japanese scholars in compiling the famous cyclopædic dictionary of Japanese Buddhism in French, the *Hobogirin*. So Java, Ceylon and India,

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Burma and Siam were also visited by the scholars of the school, and it is well-known how valuable are the contributions of French savants like Foucher, Finot, Parmentier, Cœdes, Goloubeff, Marchal and others. The *Bulletin* and *the Memoirs* of the School are monuments of original research.

Out of the valuable collections of the Hanoi Museum we may mention the following as of special interest; The Stone Age and the Bronze Age tools found in the Peninsula; the historical bronze drums from Tonking; funerary articles from the ancient tombs of Annam; ceramic products of the Sung dynasty; porcelain and bronze statues from Cambodge and Siam; wood sculptures and bronze Buddhas from Laos; the famous bronze Buddha of Dong Duong, and the Bodhisattvas from Champa; jade, lacquer, bronze and porcelain objects from China; wood-carving and Buddhist figures from Japan; copper-gilt figures from Tibet; and sculptures from Gandhara, Magadha and other parts of India.

The old Museum building was thoroughly reconstructed between 1922-1926, and was finally inaugurated in 1932. The art of Champa being mainly represented in the Tourane Museum, and Cambodian art being housed in the splendid Museum of Phnom Penh (Albert Sarraut), only the choicest specimens of those two schools of art are exhibited in the Hanoi Museum now in the Communist Zone. It contains, a rich and representative collection of the art objects from Siam, Burma, India, Tibet, China, Korea and Japan. Thus the *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, together with its valuable Library, the *Bulletin* and the Museum, was honoured as one of the most important research centres for Asiatic Art and Archaeology.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY OF SUMATRA

In the history of Malaysia we find Java deservedly getting major attention. But thanks to the researches of anthropologists and pre-historians, we have come to discover the importance of Sumatra as well; and we must remember in this connection the splendid services rendered by Edwin M. Loeb and Robert Heine-Geldern.*

Of the three old races found in Southern Asia, the first, the Negrito, has not been found in Sumatra, being limited to certain zones of the Malay Peninsula, the Andamans and the Philippines. The second, the Veddoid people, are seldom found unmixed with races of other blood, the purest remnant so far traced being the Senoi or Central Sakai who may be connected with the Toala of Celebes, according to the Swiss anthropologist Sarasin. Traces of Veddoid blood are found from the sources of Irrawaddy to south-west China, according to Heine-Geldern, Kleiweg de Zwaan considers the Veddas of Ceylon to be the survivals of the pre-Dravidian races once occupying the whole of India. In Sumatra, the more primitive Malaysians are pronouncedly Veddoid. They represent the pre-agricultural economy, using bows and arrows, wearing *tapa* cloth, but lacking pottery, metal-work and weaving.

The third race, the Indonesians or Austronesians, are believed by Heine Geldern to have migrated from South China after 2000 B.C. Those who are relatively free from racial mixtures are called proto-Malaysians, dwelling in the hilly interior of the Island, like the Bataks, the Dayaks (Borneo), the Toradja (Celebes) and the Igorot (Philippines). The mixed Malays are best represented by the modern Javanese and are mainly coast-dwellers. They brought tropical plants, sugarcane. banana, bamboo, especially rice or *beras*, meaning fruit or food. According to Dr.

* "Sumatra : Its History and People" by Edwin M. Loeb ; "The Archæology and Art of Sumatra" by Robert Heine-Geldern : Published by the Verlag des Institutes fur Volkerkunde, University of Vienna, (1935).

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Krom their language contains both the words for boat and sail, and Henie-Geldern holds the opinion that they had some form of outrigger canoe. Thus these Indonesians probably knew both river-craft and ocean-craft which enabled them to explore the Pacific. On archæological and ethnographic grounds Heine-Geldern has attributed the following traits to the primitive Indonesians: non-coiled pottery, mats, bone lance-points, bone tools and arrows, stone and mussel rings (as coins or decorations), stone-beads, pile-dwellings, megalithic monuments, head-hunting, cultivation of rice and millet, and the possible use of *tapa* or bark-cloth—in common with their younger Oceanic cousins, the Polynesians.

According to Loeb, the Indonesian social organization was similar in from to that of the Negrito and the Veddoid folks which ignored the "unilateral descent and the accompanying exogamy." Autocratic kingship was absent. The divine descent of chiefs is a Polynesian concept prevailing partialy among the chiefs of Nias. Summing up the problem of the races and cultures of Sumatra, Loeb observes that "wave after wave of cultural influence had swept over the island from the direction of India, bringing certain of the groups to a high state of civilization." The primitive Malaysians of the Peninsula, so far as we could judge by the Jakun tribes, refused to assimilate any culture from India, pre-Hindu or Hindu. They had no system of sacrificial feasts, but they evolved some kind of pottery of neolithic origin, though this art found little favour. With the advent of more Malaysian settlers from the mainland, the Negritos were exterminated and the Veddoids pushed back into the more barren parts of the Island. Among the earliest traits of culture received by the Malaysians of Sumatra we find the pile-house, outrigger canoe, sail-boat, taro, yam and sago and domestication of pigs and chicken. Many of these things will migrate from Malaysia and Indonesia to far-off Polynesia, supporting thereby the theory that many important items of Polynesian culture could be traced back to the region extending from Indo-China to Sumatra-Java. The most common feature is the "men's house" which grew out of the pile architecture. The people divided their villages into several hamlets each under its own leaders. They learnt the dry cultivation of rice and domesticated the buffalo, and possibly evolved

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iron-working, before the intrusion of Hindu culture, towards the beginning of the Christian era.

The Hindus suppressed head-hunting and megalithic cults, introducing a different variety of stone-work and more refined cultures as could be gathered from the religion and the soul-concept (*tondi*) of the Bataks, wet-rice culture and plough, the cotton and the spinning wheel, together with the higher Hindu concepts of religion and life which enabled the primitive Malaysians to develop their crude villages and hamlets into vast commercial and cultural empires. The Malayans like the Hindus were a composite of all races and could march ahead with the time, while the Mentawei islanders, who refused to admit stranger in marriage, remained in a most backward state, like the Kabu and allied people of Sumatra. The Mentawei has animal sacrifice and augury but lacks the ideas of higher gods, creation and shamanism which came with Hindu culture. In this connection we quote the following significant remarks of Loeb ; "The Bataks and the people of Nias have derived practically all of their more advanced forms of religious beliefs from India, for the most part in post-Hindu times. Certain of these higher forms of beliefs, cults and philosophies have traversed Indonesia and have passed into Polynesia, and perhaps even, as some ethnologists believe, into the New World." One significant difference lies in this that in Indonesia the important factor in religion is *tondi* or soul-concept, while in Melanesia and Polynesia it is *mana* or supernatural power.

While in Java, the land of the *Pithecanthropus Erectus*, human skeletal remains of the early palæolithic period have been found, no such discoveries have been made so far in Sumatra which is still largely a vast unexplored area. Heine-Geldern, however, has classified (culturally, if not chronologically) the late palæolithic tools as belonging to a flake-culture and a hand-axe culture. So far the traces of the flake-culture have only been discovered in two caves of Central Sumatra. These have been connected with the flake-cultures of Ceylon and of the caves in South-West Celebes, belonging to the late palæolithic age.

Traces of hand-axe culture were found in many places in the northern part of the east coast of Sumatra. These stone tools

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are different from the old palæolithic hand-axes of Europe and India, being worked almost without exception on one side only. The hand-axe culture of Sumatra is now admitted to be "related to the Hoabinhian and early Bacsonian of North-Eastern Indo-China and the hand-axe cultures of Siam and the Malay Peninsula." And from this analogy Heine-Geldern considers it probable that the bearers of the Sumatran hand-axe culture belonged to the group of Papua-Melanesoid races and that they may have been followed by the Indonesian or primitive Malaysian peoples who transmitted the earlier neolithic or later proto-neolithic tools with rough ground edges and rubble-axes. The late palæolithic flake-culture, on the contrary, was probably introduced by the people of Veddoid origin.

The late Neolithic culture is represented, both in Sumatra and in the Nias island, by quadrangular adzes which were probably brought by the Malayo-Polynesians (Indonesian) to Malay Peninsula and Indonesia by way of China, Laos and Siam, between 2000 and 1500 B.C. With these we also find beaked adzes, stone sawing, megalithic monuments, ancestral figures, head-hunting, rice-cultivation, domestication of cattle and the out-rigger canoe. This late Neolithic culture is the same in Java and Sumatra both showing preference for semi-precious stones and refinement in stone-cutting which reflected a keen sense of beauty as well as perfection in craftsmanship.

MEGALITHIC ART OF THE NIAS ISLAND AND OF SOUTH SUMATRA

The quadrangular adze culture is closely connected with the megalithic system and it still survives, according to Heine-Geldern, in many regions of Further India and Indonesia, specially among the mountain tribes of Assam and of North Luzon (Philippines) and in the island of Nias. Connected as it is with ancestral cults and magic, the art of Nias is predominantly plastic and monumental, with symbolical reliefs and statues of the deceased which play an important part in the megalithic cult of south-east Asia. The sculptural reliefs decorating some of the stairs in Southern Nias are considered to be the most beautiful creation of primitive Indonesian architecture. The people of

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South Nias showed a remarkable preference for stone reliefs as for example, in the scene where monkeys are catching a shark. In Central and North Nias we find stone monuments to be more and more rare. Many stone sculptures like the conventionalised figures of stags and horn-bills appear to be copies from wooden models, and Nias is specially rich in wood-carving of ancestral and guardian figures, mostly naked though wearing ornaments. Mang of these figures holding cups with both hands remind us of the beaker statues of Eastern Europe, Siberia and Central Asia.

The wooden architecture of the houses of the chiefs appears to strive after creating the imposing architectonic forms of the megalithic art of Southern Nias. The pre-Hindu megalithic art came to be influenced later on by the Indian and Javanese motifs.

In South-West Sumatra, on the plateau of Pasemah, have been discovered a very important group of megalithic monuments —menhirs, dolmens, cist-graves and stone images. But unlike the art of Nias which is primarily monumental and static, the sculptures of Pasemah, in the rendering of the physical world, display a wonderfully dynamic conception. The native racial types are rendered in a naturalistic style which, through an exaggeration of movement and passion, look like caricatures. In carving the images these South Sumatran sculptors utilise as far as possible the natural form of the stone medium. Fragments of paintings (in black, white, red and yellow) found on the inner walls of the cist-graves display the same violent movements as of the stone sculptures. These Pasemah monuments have been linked by Van der Hoon with the late bronze culture unearthed near Dong-Son, in Annam, which may be dated between 600 to 300 B.C., when this bronze culture began to penetrate Sumatra and South-East Asia from the North.

SUMATRA, CHINA AND INDIA

According to Heine-Geldern, the Pasemah sculptures do not belong to the megalithic culture which reached Indonesia in the late neolithic age but they are related to the Chinese sculptural art of the early Han period. Both the sculptures and the paintings remind us of the decorations of the tombs of the Han period ; and most possibly the Pasemah art, like the art of the

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Batak, would be found on deeper analysis to be composed of heterogeneous elements of the different epochs. Heine-Geldern characterised the three chief stylistic strata as (1) the old megalithi symbolic style, (2) the bronze age style of Dong-Son (*circa* 300B.C.), and (3) the Hindu Sumatra style following the Dong-Son and Han epochs. Specially in the art of the Bataks we find Indian influence becoming more and more pronounced : elephant (*gadja*), horned-lion (*singa*), as in Pallava art, Indian magical and astrological figures in the Batak books of divination with figures of Brihaspati, Rahu. etc. Lastly, we must mention the representation of the Kalmashapada-Sutasoma Jataka which the Bataks, like their Burmese and Shan neighours, use in two variants.

Thus we see that even at this infancy of Sumatran archæology we have remarkable documents to illustrate the transition from the Late Neolithic to the Bronze Age culture and thence to the Indian and Indo-Javanese phases. About 300 B.C., Sumatra received the Late Bronze and early Iron Age Dong-Son culture : socketed bronze-celts, drums, daggers. lances and figurative painting. It was brought to Sumatra probably by marchants and colonists from South China and North-East Indo-China, A later phase of this culture shows the stone cist-graves and the Pasemah sculptures closely related to the art of the early Han period (3rd century B.C.).

From the beginning of the Christian era to the 14th century A.D., the Hindu-Sumatran culture flourished under the influence of Hindu colonists and missionaries, both Brahman and Buddhistic, from Burma and Siam, Cambodia and Java.

Sumatra was not only colonised by the Hindus but, through more than a thousand years of close connection, it became an intergral part of the Greater Indian culture zone : the Pallava influences in the 7th century, the Chola domination of the 11th century, together with other intrusions from the Tamil and the Kerala countries, signify South Indian contributions. Dravidian tribal names are still to be found among the Bataks, who, however, follow the father-right economy as against the mother-right of the Minangkabau. So far as North India is concerned, we should remember the close connection of Buddhistic and Tantric cultures of Eastern India with the empire of Sri Vijaya : the

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relation of the Sailendras with the Pala empire and Nalanda, with Nepal and Tibet, all collaborating to develop the extreme Tantric Kala-chakra-yana, combining Buddhistic with Saivite elements, during the reign of Kritanagara, Maulivarman and Adityavarman.

The earliest Hindu-Sumatran stone image of Buddha found near Palembang has been considered by Prof. Krom to be influenced by the Amaravati School. Other remains found at Palembang and Diambi have been attributed to the 5th century A.D., nearly 200 years before the foundation of the Sri Vijaya empire (7th century A.D.) which readily came under the influence of Pallava art. A stone torso and the life-sized statue of Avalokitesvara bear the impress of 7th century Pallava art. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the four inscriptions, in Pallava script of the 7th century A D., found in Sumatra and Bangka, we find Sanskrit words interspersed with the Old Malay idiom. The Sailendra dynasty of Sri Vijaya contributed greatly to the propagation of Mahayana in Indonesia and Malay Peninsula. Two Buddhist statues from Djambi show clear affiliation with the Gupta art of 7th century A.D. Three charming bronze images of Buddha, Avalokitesvara and Maitreya, found in the Komering river near Palembang, show the style of similar icons in 8th-10th centuries. In this period Central Javanese influence is traced also in some architectural remains and in the Sivaite architecture and sculptures found in the Great Saiva temple of Prambanan. Lokanatha with two Taras, in a bronze group, dated 1024 A.D., is found in the Batak territory of Padang Lawas. According to Dr. Bosch, the Hindu-Sumatran architecture like that of Kamboj and Champa, had a special preference for brick construction interspersed with stone sculptures and brick reliefs : and from the North-Indian Nagari inscriptions, these brick structures are attributed to 12th century A.D. Gradually, the Tantric cults and degenerate Mahayana and Kalachakra-yana were overwhelmed by Batak cannibalism, with the worship of Heruka and the Kapalika cult of human flesh and blood as we find from the inscriptions of King Adityavarman, who died towards the end of 14th century, when the creative art of Java also suddenly ceased to function.

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CHAPTER NINE

JAVA IN ASIATIC HISTORY AND CULTURE

PRE-HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY OF JAVA

The importance of Java in the study of Asiatic pre-history can hardly be exaggerated. As early as 1889-91, Prof. Eugene Dubois (former Curator, Palæontological Museum, Haarlem) was excavating, on the Trinil river banks the remains of fossil mammals. In 1890, he discovered the earliest traces of fossil man associated with fossil mammals of the Pleistocene age. Later on, he changed his opinion, characterising it as "Ape Man." although later researches tend to treat the *Pithecanthropus Erectus* as really a primitive type of *man*, on account of its exceedingly large brain volume and of its definitely erect posture. In 1909-10, a German expedition excavated at the Trinil site and confirmed the theory of Dubois that the fossil mammals found therein belonged to the Old Stone Age. In 1922, a new site of fossil mammals was discovered in the bed of the Glagah river near Cheribon in Western Java. These fossil-bearing sites have been systematically surveyed by the Geological Survey of the Netherlands East Indies and the latest report on the findings of the Dutch archæologists has been furnished by Dr. G. H. R. von Koneigswald (*vide* "A Review of the Stratigraphy of Java and its Relations to Early man"—*Early Man*, New York, 1937). We are thankful to him for his able and up-to-date monograph communicated to the symposium on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia.

While Eastern and Central Java still remained submerged, Western Java, emerging out of the sea, served as the cradle of the oldest mammals ; and in the Tji Djonglang zone have been discovered typically Indian Siwalik fauna : hippos, pigs, antelopes, small cattle, and the stegodon of the primitive elephant family. This zone of Java has, therefore, been correlated with the Tatrot zone of the Siwalik series of India. In 1936, a Javanese collector found a fossilised human skull in the Djetis zone near Modjokerto, west of Surubaya. This *Homo modjokertensis* was found in a layer older than that of Trinil. The Trinil zone fossils,

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showing stegodon, a large elephant very similar to the Indian *Elephas Nomadicus*, may therefore belong to the middle Pleistocene. Remains of stegodon and elephant, discovered also in Formosa and the Philippine islands appear to suggest that the migration of these animals to Java was from the north to the south, and that "the first pliocene migration of the Indian *Siva-Malayan* fauna was completed by a second Chinese *Sino-Malayan* immigration. It is not unlikely that the *Pithecanthropus Erectus* came to Java from China with the Sino-Malayan immigration, during which were added to the old Siwalik mammals, orang, gibbon, tapir and Malayan bear, all appearing in the Pleistocene fauna of South China. It is significant to point out in this connection the recent observation by Dr. Weidenreich (*Nature*, February, 1937) saying that the *Pithecanthropus Erectus* is more advanced than the *Sinanthropus*, and that the skullcap of Trinil may even belong to a small female of the younger Solo Man. In 1935, the first series of stone implements were found in the Trinil level (*vide* Koenigswald, "Early Palæolithic Stone Implements from Java, "*Bulletin of the Raffles Museum*, Series B, No. 1, Singapore, 1936), Near the south coast of Central Java, not far from Patjitan, stone tools of the old Palæolithic types were discovered on terraced surface in 1935. Here were found the same types of flakes as in the Trinil, as well as true hand axes, which came as a great surprise. For, the farthest eastern point at which these implements were known until now was Madras. Dr. Helmuth de Terra, however, discovered hand axes of the same type in the Narbada Valley and in other localities in north-western India. It can therefore be expected that the old Javanese stone implements will make for good correlations between the Pleistocene of Java and of India.

In 1931, the late Mr. C.Ter Haar of the Dutch Geological Survey discovered another rich fossil site near Njandong on the Solo river. Various fossil remains of the Solo Man more developed than the Trinil Man, appear to show great affinities with the Rhodesian Man from South Africa, and both may belong to the early Neanderthal group. The stone tools of this Solo Man are crude, but his bone implements are beautifully executed. The newly discovered Wadjak Man probably belonged to

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a proto-Australoid population living in Java (Sampung cave) in the Neolithic period.

Thus we may agree with Dr. Koenigswald when he says that the fossil mammals of Java bear relations with those of India and China. Probable cousins of the *Pithecanthropus Erectus* have been found near Peking in 1929-30 and near Khol-Larsen in South Africa in 1936. Relations of the Rhodesian Man, or the African type of Neanderthal Man have also been found in Java, and the stone implements, too, show the same wide distribution of early human cultures. Thus we are sure today that the Chelleo-Acheulean hand axe cultures of England and South Africa, of Portugal, India and Java testify to the migration of the culture of Early Man over an enormous area. The relationship of the Solo Man with the Neanderthal Man has, however, been contested by Oppenoorth (vide *Early Man*, 1937); and Keith, in his *Antiquity of Man* considers the Rhodesian Man as different from the European Neanderthal Man, who is characterised by stone tools, while both the Solo Man and the Peking Man have bone tools as well, and the two probably represented independent cultures of the Far East which have not yet been successfully correlated with the cultures of the fossil man of Europe.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL STUDIES IN JAVA

In 1935-36, Dr. P. V. Van Stein Callenfels made the first systematic survey of the *Melanesoid Civilisation of Eastern Asia.* I regret the premature death of this pioneer whom I had the privilege of meeting in the galleries of the splendid museum of Batavia. He found evidences of a Melanesoid civilization in a rock shelter called Gua Lawa near Sampung (East Java). The bone tools discovered there have been compared by him with those found in Hoa-Binh (French Indo-China) and also with those found in the kitchen-middens of northern Annam as well as in Celebes, whence the bone culture appeared to have reached Java from the North. Thanks to his pioneer researches, there is now a trained pre-historian on the staff of the Archæological Service of Java; and we are in a position to distinguish Palæolithic, the Proto-neolithic and the Neolithic layers of Javanese

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cultures. Dr. A. J. Van der Hoop by his valuable study on the *Megalithic Remains in South Sumatra* drew our attention to the fact that there are several peoples in the Archipelago whose cultures can still be characterised as megalithic. Their cults and traditions should be promptly studied before being submerged by the invading modern culture. Collaboration of foreign scholars has therefore been invited by Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, the Dutch Director of Archæology in the Netherlands Indies (*vide Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. XIII, pp. 90-101, 1939). He links up the pre-historic with the historic periods of Javanese culture by characterising the next important epoch as "Hinduistic." As against the older theory that the Hindus conquered and populated Java between the first and the sixth century A. D., Dr. Stutterheim opines that the Hindus were "disseminators of their culture," towards the beginning; but they were mixed with and absorbed by the native population which transformed and adopted the new culture, following the Javanese, the Sumatran or the Balinese conceptions, He concedes, however, that "constant contact with India perpetuated by commercial traffic in times of peace, infused an ever-renewed flow of Indian elements."

The learned Director gives us valuable indications with regard to the recent activities of the Department of Archæology. While there is little chance of discovering a second Borobudur, it is encouraging to note that more than thirty terraced sanctuaries have been discovered (1935) in the jungles on Mt. Penanggungan in East Java. So, very interesting architectural specimens have been found in Central and Eastern Java, including one rare type *stupa* so difficult to find in Eastern Java. Valuable objects of arts and crafts in wood, ivory or textiles are ruined by the humidity of the soil, and only stone and metal objects and pottery could be preserved, as we find from the splendid collection of the Museum of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. The Society has recently been enriched by over 3,000 specimens of Chinese and Further Indian ceramics, which, when systematically studied, are sure to throw valuable light on the chronology of Javanese antiquities.

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THE ROYAL BATAVIAN SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

A worthy tribute to the Society has been paid by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, the retiring Director of Archæology, who very kindly guided my steps during my tour through Java and Bali. He recounts the History of the Society (vide *Bulletin of the Colonial Institute of Amsterdam*, Vol. I. No. 2, 1938) and pointing to the date of its foundation, 24th April, 1778, characterises the *Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* as "the oldest scientific body of Western origin in Eastern Asia." J. C. M. Radermacher, a member of the council of the Dutch East Indies, founded the Society and gave it the motto "For the Common Weal." Meeting premature death in 1783, he left, nevertheless, a great legacy of idealism to his successors. Then the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded (1784) keeping in touch with the Dutch scholars and held its meeting once in Fast Indies when England took Java.

During the English occupation (1811-1816) Thomas Stanford Raffles, (who first explored the Borobudur) as Lieutenant-Governor of the Indies, came to be the President of the Dutch Society in Batavia and encouraged the study of ethnology, religion, art and antiquities of the Indonesian people which came to be the regular features of the Proceedings of the Society. In 1860, the Government, for the first time, decided to grant the Society the annual subsidy of 8,000 guilders ; and a few years later a royal decree enabled the Society to possess a suitable building to house its library and its growing collection of antiquities and ethnography. Thus before the celebration of its first centenary in 1878, the Society could proudly show a noble museum and a valuable record of research. Its rich library attends to five departments—(1) Native Customary Laws, (2) Language, Geography and Ethnology, (3) Law ; (4) Social Economics, (5) International Problems.

The Museum of the Society which probably sent some sculptures to the Indian Museum, Calcutta includes seven divisions devoted to ethnography, archæology, manuscripts, numismatics, ceramics, music and the pre-history of the Indies. The first two divisions display valuable exhibits giving a complete survey of the

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culture of the people from the Hindu period to the present day. The nucleus of the ceramic collection (dating from the 1st to the 18th century A.D.) was donated by Mr. E. W. van Orsoy de Flines. A remarkable collection of musical instruments and gramophone records helps the study of native music (*vide* Kunst, "The Music of Java," *Indian Art and Letters* Vol. VIII, 1934). The pre-historic collection, although last to be added, is no less important. In its "Gold Chamber" the Museum treasures precious gold images, ornaments, etc., from the ancient Hindu period to the heirlooms of the native princes and nobles of today. Some of the most important and beautiful specimens of Indo-Javanese art in stone, bronze and precious metals can be found only in the historic Museum of the Society. It publishes, ever since 1853, its periodical *Tijdschrift voor de Indische Taal, Land en Volkenkunde.* It publishes also the texts and translations of ancient Javanese works in the *Bibliotheca Javanica* and also the Archæological Reports in collaboration with the *Oudheidkundige Dienst* or the Archæological Service in the Netherlands East Indies which duly celebrated its Silver Jubilee. So the great Dutch Sanskritist Dr. H. Kern, collaborator of Max Muller, published volumes on Buddhism and Indo-Javanese culture as we find from his collected works. His tradition is followed by the Dutch Indologists specially of the famous University of Leyden.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICE

Though a regular service was started only in 1913, the Government made archæology a subject of state concern as early as 1901, following the example of British India reorganising its Archæological Department under Lord Curzon and that of French Indo-China founding its famous *Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient.*

At the suggestion of Mr. J. W. Ijzerman, the Committee in the Netherlands East Indies for Archæological Research at Java and Madura was formed in 1901. The renowned Dutch philologist Dr. J. L. A. Brandes was the Chairman of the Committee, which published 12 volumes of reports describing in detail the important statues and sanctuaries of the Hindu period (before 1500 A.D.). It attended also to the conservation of monuments, as we find from the excellent restoration of the Borobudur, under the super-

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vision of Col. van Erp. Dr. Brandes, before his premature death in 1905, laid the broad outlines of the study of Javanese Art and Archæology. In 1910, Dr. M. J. Krom, was appointed Chairman of the Committee, and restored order in the chaos of materials accumulated, as Head of the Research Service. On June 14, 1913, the Committee was dissolved, and Dr. Krom, a century after Governor Raffles, became the first Director of the newly founded Archæological Service. Serving in Java for five years, and publishing many books on Indo-Javanese history he returned to Holland (1915) and was appointed Professor of Archæology at the Leyden University. Dr. F. D. K. Bosch succeeded Dr. Krom as Director, and managed the Department admirably for twenty years. During this period many historical structures that were damaged past recognition or lay buried under the debris or layers of ashes were successfully restored. Thanks to the watchful care and expert guidance of Dr. Bosch, some of the great monuments of Indo-Javanese Art were thus restored and rebuilt without violating in the least the canons of scientific archæology or of aesthetic appeal ; so much so that archæologists from the famous *Ecole* of French Indo-China accepted the Dutch method of reconstruction as their model. Between 1901-1913, Tchandi Pawon and Tchandi Mendoet were restored and partially reconstructed according to the instructions of Dr. Brandes. The great temple of Borobudur was restored by Col. van Erp (1907-1911). We note here chronologically the restoration of the following important temples : the Naga and the Era temple at Panataran (1917-1918), Badoet (1926), Sewoe (1928), Kalasan (1929), Sari (1930), Singasari (1937). The most important and expensive restoration was that in connection with the famous temples of the Prambanan group. After ten years of preliminary operations, the enormous project of reconstructing the principal temple of the Loro Djonggrang group at Prambanan was taken up in 1937. Sustained work of such a type necessitated the establishment of an office of the architectural section of the Archæological Service at Prambanan (Jogjakarta). This temple (now completely restored) dedicated to Siva originally, was nearly 160 ft. high. Its reconstruction was interrupted through lack of funds, and when it was resumed in 1937, the Department could

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only hope that it would be completed within seven years, but the war stopped all work.

The temples of Bali had also to be attended to, and Sumatra, as yet indifferently explored, would also give plenty of scope to archæologists in the future. Organised revival of Balinese art is the aspiration of the 150 and odd members of the Association of Balinese Artists "Pita Maha" at Oeboed in South Bali (*vide* Kats, "Modern Art in Bali," *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. XIII, 1939).

In Bali as well as in Java, the cultural influences of India are decisively demonstrated not only in architecture and sculpture but in some important branches of decorative art, and, above all, in the noble art of dancing. The basis of this art may be traced to the primitive Malayo-Polynesian races and cults ; but the gorgeous super-structure and the soul of the art is admitted to have come from India, the land of the *Natya-sastra.* Dutch specialists like Dr. van Lelyveld and Dr. Bake (who spent years in Dr. Tagore's Santiniketan) agreed that Javanese theatre and dancing should be studied in close relation with the art traditions of India (vide *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. IX, 1935). The plastic art of Java and Bali could be best understood and appreciated if one is helped by the living commentary of rhythm supplied by their art of dancing. This I felt, from day to day, during my pilgrimage through Java and Bali (*vide*, "Greater India Revisited," *The Modern Review*, 1926). Discussing this subject with eminent Javanese and Dutch authorities like H. H. Mangkoenagara VII, the Sultan of Surakarta, Dr. Bosch, Dr. Schrieke, Dr. Callenfels and others, I came to realise what a vast field of research lies ahead of us, tracing the migration into Indonesia and transformation therein of the *Natya-sastra* traditions of India. The best schools of Javanese dancing are those maintained by the enlightened Sultans, H. H. the Mangkoenagara of Surakarta and the Pakoe Alam of Jogjakarta, to whom every lover of Asiatic art should be grateful for their artistic zeal and munificent patronage. They were my kind hosts during my first pilgrimage in 1924 and I sadly missed them when I revisited Indonesia in 1954.

Another most promising field of comparative study points to the bronze statues and cult objects of Java and India. From

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the Andhra-Kalinga period of the early centuries of the Christian Era, through the schools of early Ajanta, to the grand epochs of the Gupta, Pallava, Pala and Chola empires, Indian plastic arts have been influencing the Indonesian art of stone carving and bronze casting. We are thankful to Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers (*vide* "Hindu Javanese Bronzes," *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. IX, 1935), for having opened this promising line of research with a comprehensive monograph on the subject.* But our Indian bronze collections scattered in different museums, including even the most valuable finds in Bihar like those from Nalanda and Kurkihar, have not yet been adequately catalogued and photographed. This stands in the way of our work with the learned colleagues of Dutch East Indies and of French Indo-China who often fail to get photographs from India for attempting a comparative study. Compared with our Indian Museum and Art societies I found the photographic department and the news service of the French and the Dutch Archæological Survey more efficient and helpful and the quality of the photographic documents far superior.

INDIA AND JAVA

In our section on the "Art and Archæology of Malaysia" we have tried to demonstrate how it is no longer possible to discuss Indo-Javanese history and culture detached from the main current of the cultural migrations from India to Indonesia and Malaysia. Recent excavations in Malay Peninsula have proved beyond doubt that these migrations operated as much through the land routes as through the sea routes. As early as 2nd century A. D. a Greek geographer like Ptolemy was vaguely conscious of this fact, and that is why we find the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula occupying such an important place in his geography. Ptolemy refers to Java as *Jabadiou* (=Yava-dvipa) which is translated as the "Island of Barley proving beyond doubt that the Hindu colonists had already Sanskritised the name of the island. Prof. Sylvain Levi while discussing that part of the *Ramayana* where Yavadvipa-Suvarnadvipa

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* *Vide* Bernet Kempers, "*The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu Javanese Art*," Leyden, 1933.

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is mentioned in connection with the search for Sita, ascribed that passage of the epic to a date not later than the 1st century A.D. (*vide* Bijanraj Chatterjee, "India and Java," *Greater India Society Bulletin,* 1933). My esteemed friends Dr. Bijanraj Chatterjee and Dr. Niranjan Prasad Chakravarti had happily collaborated to demonstrate that, from the early Christian centuries, India and Java furnished documents relating to religion, art and literature as well as epigraphic meterials, down to Saka Era 1300, or 1378 A.D. Buddhist images of the Andhra style (2nd-3rd cent A.D.) have been found in Ceylon and Java, even as far away as Dong-duong in Champa (Viet-nam) and at Sempaga in the Celebes. The Sanskritic inscriptions from Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Malay Peninsula should be carefully studied along with the corpus of inscriptions found in Champa, Cambodia, Siam and Burma, and this line of comparative study is bound to enrich the domain of research into Indian epigraphy. This has been demonstrated through the valuable books of Prof. R. C. Majumdar, of Dr. Bijanraj Chatterjee on *Hindu Culture in Cambodia*, and of Dr. Bahadur Chand Sastri's monograph on *The Pallavas in Java.* The most outstanding work along this line is that on *Suvarnadvipa* (Vols. 1 and 2, 1937-1938) by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca. He has rendered a signal service to the cause of Indology by reproducing as well as enriching the discussions of the French and Dutch antiquarians whose writings remained so far inaccessible to our Indian scholars. He links the Sailendras of Java with a definite Indian princely line, the Sailodbhavas of Orissa, who most probably were the progenit ors of the Sailendra emperors of Java.

Starting with political and economic relations Dr. Majumdar has given an exhaustive survey of the culture and civilization, of art and archæolology of the whole Malay Archipelago, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes and the Philippines. Everywhere we notice the simultaneous existence of Brahmanical and Buddhistic cults, often tending to fuse into one another, and producing peculiar images of Vishnu, Garuda, Ganesa, Siva-Buddha complex, Bhairava etc., found in different parts of Malay Peninsula. Interesting specimens of architecture and

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sculpture of Indian derivation have been found in Palembang (Srivijaya), in Jambi (Malaya) and in the Tapanuli region in Padang Lawas, all in the vast island of Sumatra. In the island of Borneo, Sanskrit inscriptions were traced by K. F. Holle in 1879 in the native state of Kutei, East Borneo. The local Sultan presented four inscribed stones to the Batavian Society, and when they were published by Prof. Kern, they proved to be the now famous Yupa Inscriptions of King Mulavarman, son of King Asvavarman. These valuable Sanskrit records from Borneo were re-edited and published by Dr. Vogel in 1918. Since then, many specimens of Hindu architecture and iconography have been discovered in Borneo ; and these latest discoveries are promptly announced by that admirable publication, the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology* published by the Kern Institute of Leyden. The most interesting discoveries are the images, both Saiva and Buddhistic, found recently in Genung Kombeng in Borneo—Mahadeva, Kartikeya, Ganesha, and Varjrapani and other Boddhisattvas. Among the *regalia* belonging to the Sultan of Kutei there is a golden figure of a tortoise worn by the crown-prince on ceremonial occasions. The most beautiful bronze image of Buddha was discovered at Kota Bangun near Muara Kaman in Borneo. It may rank with the best Buddha figures of Barobudur. Dr. Majumdar is inclined to postulate "a direct Indian influence in the case of the bronze Buddha figure of Kota Bangun and in the figure of Ganesha at Sarawak" (*vide* Journal, Straits Br. R. A. S. Vol. 89, 1932). In the island of Celebes a fine bronze Buddha was found on the bank of the Karama river on the western coast. Dr. Bosch traced it to the Amravati school of sculpture, for it can be clearly distinguished from the Indo-Javanese and Indo-Sumatran types. Dr. Majumdar is inclined to characterise this bronze Buddha image from Celebes, as well as a similar one found long ago at Dong Duong in Champa (Annam), as belonging to the early Gupta period. He noted in his informing volume how, even the far-off islands of the Philippines, close to Borneo, have yielded some specimens of Indian iconography : as early as 1820, a Siva image of copper was found on the island of Cebu which may be of Indian or Indo-Javanese affiliation. The second

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is the figure of a female deity in gold sitting cross-legged and richly decorated with head dress and other ornaments. It was found (1920) in a ravine on the left bank of the Wawa river near the town of Esperanza, Agusan province, Mindanao which I visited in 1938. No wonder then that India has been considered, by most of the antiquarians working in this field, as the principal source of inspiration for the people of Malaysia whose art as well as literature bear strong impress of Indian genius. A preliminary study along that line has come from a zealous pupil of Dr. Majumder, writing on *Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali* (*by* Himansu Bhushan Sirker, *Greater India Studies*, No. 1, Calcutta (1934).

The earliest literary documents of Java are the Sanskrit inscriptions (4th century A. D.) in Pallava script of a King named Purnavarman of the Hindu Kingdom of Taruma (western Java). In middle Java traces of Indian influence are more extensive, as attested by the inscriptions of Cangala (732 A. D.) and of Dinaya (760 A. D.) and the inscription of Candi Kalasan (778 A. D.). The last inscription refers to the Mahayana cult of Arya Tara and the earlier inscriptions may have reference to the Deva-raja (God-king) cult originating in Java and extending to Cambodia and Champa, for the Javanese temporarily dominated over Indo-China. The Kalasan inscription possibly supports the theory that Prambanan might have been the capital of the Sri-Vijaya empire which in the 8-9 centuries extended its sway over Java, Sumatra, Indo-China and Malay Peninsula. Towards the beginning of the 9th century A. D., Cambodia under Jayavarman II asserted her independence of Sri-Vijaya. King Balaputra-deva of Suvarna-dvipa was applying (860 A. D.) to King Devapala who in his Nalanda copper-plate, ordered the building of a monastery and the granting of villages to maintain the same for the benefit of the pilgrims from Indonesia. Nalanda was the radiating centre of Indian culture to Indonesia. The Tanjore Chola inscriptions of Rajendra Chola (1030 A.D.) and Rajaraja Rajakesarivarman (1040) refer to the King of Kataha and Sri-Vijaya. In Kedah (Kataha) explorers have found remains of Hindu temples.

King Chudamani-varman of the Sailendra dynasty supported

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a Buddhist temple at Nagipattanam (Negapatam) which was called Sailendra Chudamani-varman Vihara in an inscription of Kullotunga Chola (1048 A. D.). Rajendra Chola claimed to have conquered Kataha and Srivijaya "beyond the moving Seas." In the 11th century the famous Bengali monk Atisa Dipankara spent ten years in Srivijaya spreading his Tantrik philosophy in Indonesia before starting for Tibet. From these chance discoveries we come to be confirmed in our conviction that cultural relations between India and Indonesia continued, with more or less vigour, through centuries. Purna-varman's inscriptions of 4th century A.D. referred to the cult of Vishnu. In the 7th century A.D. we find a series of isolated Vishnu and Siva temples and sculptures in the Dieng Plateau showing clear analogies with the Gupta, Pallava and early Chalukya styles of India. The temples are named (no doubt in later periods) after Arjuna, Bhima, Ghatotkacha, Sikandi, etc. The roof structure of Candi Bhima corresponds, according to Dr. Coomaraswami, with that of a typical Indo-Aryan *Sikhara* or dome such as that of the Parasuramesvara temple at Bhuvanesvara, the centre of Saiva revival in Orissa. These Dieng shrines, deserted since 915, have panels of Brahma, Siva and Vishnu and were therefore Brahmanical.

The first Buddhist temple in Java the Candi Kalasan surrounded by 250 small chaples (771 A.D.) was dedicated to Arya Tara ; and close by we find the large storeyed *vihara* structure Candi-Sari ; and further to the east the beautiful Candi Sewu of the early 9th century which is very similar to the plan of the Bengal temple of Paharpur. Candi Mendut with its Buddhist trinity in Gupta style and Candi Pawon in Kedu with their splendid Buddhist figures were related to and contemporary with Borobudur (about 750 A.D.), the greatest monument of Java, symbolising the glory of Sailendra culture. Coomaraswami refuses to accept it as a *Stupa*, and traces its origin to the many terraced pyramidal temples of Kashmir and Gandhara. Borobudur, apart from its architectural grandeur, offers superb sculptural illustrations of the life of the Buddha according to Sanskrit Mahayana texts like the *Lalita-vistara*, *Divyavadana*, *Jataka-mala*, (lower galleries) *Karma-vibhanga* (under ground gallery) and *Gandavyuha*, (upper galleries).

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Borobudur consists of 5 walled-in galleries depicting the exoteric life of the Buddha and above them are 3 round open-air platforms showing the figures of esoteric Buddhism ; and right on the top are 72 bell-shaped Stupas and a sealed Stupa on the summit. To these have been added the 9 hidden basments with sculptures on *secular* life, and it ends in Hell (*Vide* "Java" : Rowland : Art and Architecture in India 1952 and Paul Mus *Borobudur* Hanoi 1935).

The greatest monument in central Java is Candi Loro Jonggrang or Prambanan (860-915) which suggests Khmer temple-mount but the plan resembles that of Paharpur Bengal. Three of its shrines are dedicated to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, and the plinths are decorated by superb continuous reliefs of the *Ramayana* which are superior even to the reliefs of Borobudur. From middle Java, the centre of creative activity was shifted to Eastern Java (about 915 A.D.) where we find a different type of art removed from the classical Indian traditions and akin to the mediæval Javanese art. The great King Erlangga (1010-1042A.D.) appears in a portrait statue as Vishnu riding upon Garuda. In the 12th century, when King Kamesvara flourished, Java was the land of chivalry and romance, and the last phase of artistic culture as represented by the art and culture of the Majapahit Empire (1204-1487 A. D.). From the capital of the Singasari dynasty (1280-1292 A.D.) near Samrang comes the superb figure of Prajna Paramita removed by the Dutch to the Leyden Museum. On Candi Jago, a Buddhist temple, we find illustrations of the *Javanese Krishnayana* in Wayang-like reliefs and also of the Ramayana which became the characteristic feature of the Saiva temple group of Panataran (1370 A.D.) near Blitar. Java was already suffering from Islamic invasion and there was a general exodus of Hindu Javanese art and culture to the little island of Bali which might have already been colonised directly from India. The architecture and sculpture of Bali resemble very closely the styles of Eastern Java found in the Panataran temples. Inspite of general conversion to Islam and partial conversion to Christianity the peoples of Java have retained some of the finest traits of Hindu culture ; and Balinese art and life continue to be predominantly Hindu (over 2 million). Therefore the whole

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of Indonesia deserves to be studied with the utmost care and thoroughness by Indologists in general and by the Indian scholars in particular.*

Monuments apart, the peoples of Java and Bali offer so many excellent and praiseworthy qualities that any one who visits those lovely islands but once would feel tempted to revisit them. With the imposition of Western economy and government we notice the inevitable changes in the material life of the people ; but culturally they remain a part and parcel of Classical Asia and of Epic India. Hence the Balinese rituals and processions have all the simplicity and grace of a bygone age. Hence also the Javanese dance and drama transport us readily to the Heroic age of India with all its tragic contrasts its glamour and pathos. Our Indian universities will benefit immensely by sending research scholars to those not too far away cultural colonies of Indonesia, where they might discover many more links of our common artistic and spiritual life. The living traditions of their arts and crafts, when studied from within, will help undoubtedly to foster the artistic life of India. Promising scholars, boys and girls, from Indonesia, should be given special stipends and other facilities, enabling them to participate in the academic and artistic life of Young India. Dr. Tagore had already shown the way by offering hospitality to the Indonesian students in his school at Santiniketan. It is high time that our big Universities should extend similar courtesies to our cultural kinsmen of Indonesia.

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* I wrote my first paper on Bali after my visit in 1924 (vide *Modern Review* 1926 ; Greater India Revisited). My esteemed friend and colleague Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of the University of Calcutta, published in book-form his stimulating account of travels in 1927 in Malaya, Siam, Java and Bali as the *Dvipamay Bharat* or Island India, in *Bengali* (The Book Co., Calcutta, 1940).

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CHAPTER TEN

CHINA

CHINA AND THE DAWN OF ASIATIC CULTURE

China with her vast Mongoloid population is, as we have observed before, the connecting link between the Old and the New World from the very dawn of human culture. The oldest so far traced, ancestress so-called of the American Indians, was the Mongoloid "Minnesota girl" of the late paleolithic epoch. Her age, disputed by many, was only 15,000 B.C., as reported by some American archæologists. We shall open our section on China with the thrilling record of the discovery of one of her remote ancestors aged modestly 500,000 if not 1,000,000 years before the present era. The discovery of the Peking Man is a veritable sensation of twentieth century archæology ; and knowing, as we do, that the Peking Man is approximately of the same cultural epoch as the Pithecanthropus of Java, Asia today is holding a veritable world-record in antiquity, claiming two of the most ancient vestiges of the Fossil Man.

Here Archæology comes to shake hands with her elder sisters Geology and Paleontology and in all these branches of science, China and the Mongolian world have made contributions of outstanding historical value. We shall supply here a running narrative of the various lines of discoveries culminating in the detection and identification of one of the earliest types of man known so far. The geological background has been supplied by Dr. Wong Wen-hao, former Chief of the National Geological Survey of China. He is the well-known author of several important treatises on mountain-folding in the Pacific region and he prepared an excellent summary of the results of Chinese Geology for the Fourth Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, held in Hangchow (1931). Dr. Wong dates the systematic study of Chinese geology from 1872 when, in the lifetime of Charles Lyell, his "Principles of Geology" was translated into Chinese. It may be interesting to our Indian readers,

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however, to note in this connection that Dr. John Anderson, Director of the Asiatic Museum of Calcutta, proudly justified the title of that museum by undertaking in 1868-1869, a memorable scientific expedition to China through the upper Irrawaddy and Bhamo. He then entered the South Western Chinese province of Yunnanfu (north of French Indo-China) where he collected over 150 stone implements testifying to the activities of pre-historic man. These were described by the Italian scholar A. Giglioli of Florence. Later on, jasper and jade axes were discovered in the Fukien and Shansi provinces. So arrow-heads and other tools of Stone Age culture were recovered from Shantung. Eminent European geologists like Richthofen and Loczy worked in China during the last quarter of the 19th century and they were followed, in the early part of the 20th centuty by Bailey Willis, A. W. Grabau, J. G. Andersson and others. The Imperial University of Peking opened its Geological Department in 1906 ; and shortly after the foundation of the Republic, the National Geological Survey was established in 1913 with Dr. V. K. Ting as Director. The Survey with its headquarters in Peiping published geological and paleontological memoirs, the latter grouped under the name of *Paleontologia Sinica.* The National Institute of Geology under the Academia Sinica also publishes a Bulletin. In the Republican epoch, the Chinese geologists and archæologists were taking active part in the field of research and their spirit of sacrifice found a tragic expression in the career of a young Chinese scholar Y.Tchao who started from Peking in March, 1929, and, visiting various districts in Western Szechuan, reached Chotung in North Yunnan where he was killed by a group of bandits. Chinese scholars made notable contributions to the science of stratigraphical geology with special reference to the Carboniferous and Permian sections, the latter being the least understood system among all the major geological divisions. The best Permian sections in Asia were known to be in the Salt Range (Punjab) in India and in the Urals. But the Indian geologists betrayed so far an uncertainty in correlating the two. H. C. Tan made remarkable contributions to the history of Carboniferous Age in China. He also discovered the Cretaceous Dinosaurs of Shantung in 1921 a few months earlier than the discoveries

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made by the American Natural History expedition in Mongolia, led by Roy Chapman Andrews. Soon after J. G. Anderson's find of Eocene Gastropods in South Shansi. H. C. Tan discovered (1922) mammals and shells in Shantung. In 1928. Dr. Chi Li discovered Early Tertiary turtles and other fossil fishes and insects in Sichuan on the Honan and Hupeh border. Finally, W. C. Pei also discovered Early Tertiary mammals in the Changhsingtien gravel not far from Peking. The name of the Chinese geologist W. C. Pei will remain connected throughout history with the discovery of the Peking Man, and we quote below, as a fitting climax, the following words of Dr. Wong in this connection : "The chief interest in Cenozoic geology has recently been centered upon the discovery of *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* or the Chinese Ape-man, commonly known as the Peking Man. The first trace of this ancient man was found by Zdansky and Bohlin in the form of isolated teeth at Chouk'outien, situated about 75 kilometers southwest of Peking. But it was due to the skill and perseverance of W. C. Pei that several fragments of jaws and two almost complete skulls were found in 1928-29. Both the anatomical study by Davidson Black and the stratigraphical and paleontological study by P. Teihard de Chardin and C. C. Young, resulted in putting the *hominid* and its associated fauna in the Lower Quaternary, i.e., approximately contemporaneous with the *Pithecanthropus* of Java or, in other words, over 500,000 if not 1,000,000 years before the present era."

FROM GEOLOGY TO ARCHAEOLOGY

Workers in the Chinese field have demonstrated admirably how Geology helps the cause of Archæology. From the study of Fossil Fauna and Fossil Flora the natural transition is to the search of the Fossil Man. Step by step the geologists and paleontologists have led to the discovery of the earliest human remains in China, suggesting thereby the possibility of similar discoveries in Indonesia, where the Java Man had already been discovered as early as 1890, and in India, where the Yale University pre-historic expedition got good results. To continue the narrative of the important Chinese discoveries. we note that from

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1916, the National University of Peking reorganised its Department of Geology whence over 100 students were sent out for field work. Already in 1918, a distinguished Swedish geologist, J. G. Anderson entered China as Mining Advisor to the Chinese Government. He left a brilliant record of discoveries and of collaboration with the rising generation of Chinese scholars. In 1921 he discovered the neolithic dwelling sites at Yang Shao, the Eocene mammals on the Yellow River, the Sha Kuo T'un cave deposit in Fengtien province (Manchuria) and the still more remarkable discovery at Chouk'outien cave, the home of the world famous Peking Man. In 1922, he explored Shantung with H. C. Tan. In 1923-24, he linked the Honan finds with those of Kansu and Kukunor on the confines of the Gobi Desert. Thanks to the enthusiasm in archæology of his Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden, the Swedish Government founded the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm it 1926. An arrangement was made between the Swedish museum and the National Geological Survey of China under its two Directors Dr. V. K. Ting and Dr. Wang Wen-hao. Other Swedish scholars like T. J. Arne aed Nils Palmgren also entered into a line of collaboration strengthened by the late Dr. Davidson Black and by Dr. F. Weidenreich of the Peking Union Medical College, who indentified and scientifically described the Peking Man. The quest of the earliest man in China thus gradually assumed an international character. Dr. Anderson collaborated from 1921 with a brilliant Austrian paleontologist Dr. Otto Zdansky (later Professor at the University of Cairo) who with extraordinary skill helped Anderson in the excavation and treatment of the most important vertebrate fossils. In 1921 also there arrived in Peking Dr. Walter Granger from the American Museum of Natural History to act as the chief paleontologist to Dr. Roy Chapman Andrew's big expedition to Mongolia. A very remarkable event in the study of Asiatic pre-history was the first scientific symposium held in the auditorium of the Medical High School in Peking, in honour of the visit of the Crown Prince of Sweden (October, 1926). Wang, the President of the Geological Society, welcomed the royal guest and the Crown Prince courtiously recalled the hoary traditions of archæological research in China. The renowned political leader and scholar

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Liang Chi Chao (who was the President of our *Visva-Bharati Mission* Reception Committee in 1924) delivered a learned address on Chinese antiquities. The French contribution came through Prof. Teilhard de Chardin who described Fathet Licent's and his discovery of the Early Stone Age Man in the Ordos Desert. Prof. Wiman's account of the Dinosaur Hilopus was read. But the most sensational communication was from Zdansky saying that working on the Chouk'outien material he had found a molar and a pre-molar teeth of a creature resembling a human being. Dr. Grabau named this hominid the *Peking Man*, and a systematic study of the same was organised by the Geological Survey of China in co-operation with the Peking Union Medical College and the Rockefeller Foundation. The official direction was entrusted to the geologists, C. Li who was responsible for the geological and topographical observations while Dr. Davidson Black of the Medical College was requested to make anatomical studies. The excavation at the cave began in April 1927, but war broke out between Chang Tso Lin and Yen Hsi Shan and the archæologists worked while the thunder of the guns was heard from the caves. Dr. Black examined several pre-historic teeth and placed beyond all doubts the *hominid* character of this new genus *Sinanthropus* with the species name of *Pekinensis.* In 1928 Mr. Li who was collaborating with Dr. Bolhin (discoverer of an important tooth) was assisted by C. C. Young and W. C. Pei in the excavation of the cave and they brought back to Peking the richest harvest of prehistoric materials from the bone-bearing deposit of the cave. Up to 1929 they worked for 64 weeks bringing 1485 cases, of their collections. Mr. W. C. Pei who conducted operations at the cave in the autumn of 1929, discovered the most complete Sinanthropus skull. He published in the *Bulletin of the Geological Society of China* (Vol. VIII, No, 3), his "Account of the discovery of an adult Sinanthropus in the Chouk'outien." On this epoch-making discovery Dr. Black published an illustrated monograph, "An Adolescent Skull of Sinanthropus Pekinensis" (*Palcontologia Sinica* Vol. VII, 1931). Mr. Pei also published in the *Bulletin of the Geological Society of China* (Vol. XI, 1931), his "Notice of the discovery of quartz and other stone artifacts in the Lower Pleistocene Hominid-bearing sediments of the Chouk'outien deposit." In his thesis

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W. C. Pei was fully supported by Abbe Breuil of Paris, a leading expert on the stone technique of the Paleolithic Age. The French scholar also observed that some of the horn and bone objects showed traces of having been used as implements. After his visit and personal examination of the finds in 1931, Prof. Breuil pointed also to charred wood and burnt bones, proving that the Peking Man had also turned fire to his use. The two brilliant Chinese scholars, C. C. Young and W. C. Pei directed the excavation in 1930-31, making some of the most important anthropological discoveries. The *Bulletin of the Geological Society of China* (Vol. XI, 1932), published two more valuable papers : one by Pei and Teilhard "The Lithic Industry of the Sinanthropus deposit", and the other by Black on the "The Skeletal Remains of Sinanthropus other than Skull Parts." Thus the Chouk' outien Deposits came to give us the new theory of the early history of man and his use of *rice*. Eminent scientists like Elliot Smith discussed "The Significances of the Peking Man" (Edinburgh, 1931). So Sir Arthur Keith, in his "New Discoveries relating to the Antiquity of Man," devoted three chapters to the Peking Man. They substantially agreed with Black, who after exhaustive comparison between the skulls from Java and from Peking came to the following conclusion : "Whereas Pithecanthropus is a highly specialised, not to say in certain respects degenerate type, Sinanthropus is a remarkable combination of highly original and purely modern features." Black sums up its characteristics by saying that Sinanthropus is a generalised and progressive type, closely related to the original type of *hominidæ* which was the proto-type not only of the Neanderthal man and the South African fossil human races, but also of the modern *Homo Sapiens*. The Neanderthal race is now admitted to have introduced to Western Europe the Middle Paleolithic or Mousterian culture from Central Europe, which again is now seen to have cultural relations with Central Asia of the pre-historic epoch. This relation is continued down to the Neolithic Ages when Europe got her first batch of domesticated sheep, pigs and other tame cattle types from Central Asia, the horse appearing much later.

Recently two more cultural deposits have been discovered and described as belonging to "the Old Paleolithic type showing

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some external Mousterian analogies." In 1933 Mr. Pei discovered also late paleolithic remains : bone tools, and ornaments, along with human skeletons. The flint objects are few, but the variety and richness of the ornaments are remarkable : bone-needles, shells, teeth-ornaments, perforated stone pebbles, among others, appeared to show that these were equivalent to the cultural relics of the Magdalenean Man of Europe. The French scholars Tielhard and Licent already discovered in 1929, in North Manchuria, late Paleolithic remains like incised antlers with holes for handles, incised bison's ribs, pebble hammers, etc., in the Djali-nor culture zone, and also in Shantung and Sinking provinces. In 1935, Dr. Wong sent W. C. Pei, C. C. Young and Teilhard to the Kwangsi province where they discovered a culture allied to the Bacsonian remains of Indo-China. It might have been called Neolithic but for the absence of pottery. Here the tools are both incised and coloured, and thus may belong to the Mesolithic culture. Dr. Li Chi and Dr. S. Y. Liang from the Institute of Philology and History of the *Academia Sinica* discovered two pre-historic culture areas in Jehol and the three Eastern provinces. There they found chipped stone as well as polished stone tools. They recently argued to prove the existence of "a trans-Gobi culture," while describing the neolithic sites in Jehol and Shansi. Possibly in those remote ages, there prevailed a great Siberio-Mongolian culture uniting Ordos, Siberia and Central Europe ; for the Ordos culture relics appear to resemble those found in Krasnoiark in Siberia and also in Vestonice in Czechoslovakia described by Prof. Karl Absolon. Thus the Aurignacian industry of Central Europe seems to be linked with the pre-historic culture of Northern Asia, the homeland of the Eskimoids, Mongols, Tartars and so many other nomadic races of the later historic age. The Ordos culture in China seems to be an isolated one, possibly coming from Central Asia, sometimes the Promised Land for anthropologists.

Thus China, while connecting on the one hand Asia with America, links pre-historic Orient with pre-historic Europe on the other. By a series of happy coincidences, the discoveries in the Chinese field have helped us in understanding as well as classifying the successive phases of human civilisation with

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approximate dates : (1) The Sinanthropus Culture of *circa* 500,000 to 100,000 B.C. (2) Ordos Culture 100,000 to 75,000 B.C. (3) The Upper Cave Culture 50,000 to 25,000 B.C , (these rough datings must be revised according to the latest studies of Dr. F. Weidenreich : *Bul. Geol. Society of China*, 1935-1939). (4) The proto-neolithe Djali-nor culture, 25,000 B. C., coeval with the *Homo Sapiens*, our direct ancestors, and the Aurignacian and Magdalenean (15000 B.C.) Culture. (5) The neolithic Yang-Shao Culture of a people who are characterised by Dr. Black as "Proto-Chinese" and whose cultural activities may extend from 10,000 to 2,000 B.C. Mr. Lin Yao in his report of recent excavations in Honan describes another layer of painted pottery, perforated stones, etc., which may be an extension of the Yang Shao culture. A degenerate aftermath of the same has been discovered in Shensi province by Mr. Hsu Ping-Chang of the Academia Peipinica. (6) Last, though not the least, was the transitional phase from proto-historic to historic culture of China as unearthed by Dr. Chi Li and S. Y. Liang. They excavated at Houkang and Anyang with the financial support from the Freer Gallery of Washington. Digging from the Neolithic and other pre-historic sites to the Bronze Age remains, they clarified with the light of archæology the history of the Shang culture (1766-1154 B.C.) and of the dawn of the Classical Chinese Civilisation. The handy publication, *The Birth of China*, of Dr. H. G. Creel of Field Museum of Chicago, shows what a great progress has been made in the decipherment of the "Oracle Bone" inscriptions which are now found organically connected with the Chinese ideograms of the later historical periods since the Chou dynasty (1154-259 B.C.). This is an achievement as important as it would be if we could connect the Indus Valley script with the Brahmi script of later historical times in Hindu-Buddhist India.

Thus the pre-historic and the historic period of China stand interrelated and mutually illuminating ; and many of the so-called "legendary kings" of pre-Chou dynasties may now appear to symbolize some of the earlier achievements in the culture history of China. The legendary or *Puranic* elements, to speak in the Indian way, in Chinese literature have recently been utilized from this point of view by Mr. P. C. Kuo, who published a significant monograph on the *Folkways in Pre-historic China*, based on excerpts

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from the ancient text *Shih Pen* now completely lost to us. The production of fire is credited to the earliest known king Sui-Jen. So the reign of the Sage king Fu-Hsi (2852-2738 B.C) is reported to have witnessed the discovery of hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, growth of the clans, the marriage system, music of the lute, and the eight trigrams and the calendar ; that of king Shinnung (2737-2705 B.C.) saw the plough, the use of medicinal plants, markets for exchange of commodities, and stringed instruments. King Huang-Ti (2704-2595 B.C.) discovered musical notes, the reed organ, bells, writing, arithmetic, cyclical characters, official costumes to distinguish political and social ranks, upper and lower garments, hats with tassels, astrology, astronomical instruments, the compass, boats and oars, carriages, silk-rearing, pottery, mortar and pestle, bow and arrow, spear, sword and shield, medicine and medical texts. King Yao (2357-2258 B.C.) fixed the calendar by intercalary months, enriched the music by introducing drums, and introduced wells for irrigation. King Shun (2258-2206) introduced the improved plough, weights and measures, flutes and bells, and five types of corporal punishments : branding, cutting the nose, amputation of feet, castration and death. (*Vide* W. Liebenthal : Journal, Asiatic Society Calcutta, Aug. 1957).

Thus from these kingly pioneers of Chinese civilisation we naturally and easily glide down to the comparatively well-known achievements of the Hsia dynasty (2205-1766 B.C.) with their palaces, city-walls and other paraphernalia of sovereignty, their laws of atonement, their rich conveyances, sweet wines and elaborate ritualism which naturally led to the glory and grandeur of the Shang (1766-1154 B.C.) and the Chou Dynasties (1154-259 B.C.). The exquisite Shang and Chou bronze vessels and ritual articles are now well-known objects of art and archæology, and the museums of Europe and America have been vying with one another to collect them. The Chou period towards its middle witnessed the appearance of Lao-tze, the mystic philosopher, and Confucius, the statesman-moralist, with whom we open the chapters of Classical China rich in literature and philosophy.

Thus the great tradition and literature of ancient China, mostly belonging to the second and the first millennia B.C. are just beginning to assume a tremendous historical significance,

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thanks to the recent archæological explorations. The rising generation of Chinese antiquarians are thoroughly convinced of the great possibilities of archæological excavations. Privileged to be in touch with a leading exponent of this new anthropo-archæological school, Dr. Chi Li, whom I met in course of my first visit to China in 1924, I shall give a brief account of his splendid work of excavation at Anyang in Northern Honan. This was the capital of the small kingdom which, towards the end of the Shang dynasty (1766-1154 B.C.), was the cradle of the Chou power which, a thousand years later, was to be replaced by the great empire of the Han dynasty. In Anyang was discovered the roots of the historic Chinese civilization with its specific characteristics of a literary language, religion, statesmanship, and an archaic art of exquisite carvings in bone, stone and ivory as well as of bronze tools and ritualistic vessels covering a period roughly from 1500 to 1000 B.C. The Institute of History and Philology, organised in 1928 by the *Academia Sinica*, was the first to sponsor archæological excavation. It entrusted the work to Dr. Chi Li who through his academic contacts with the learned societies of U. S. A. roused the interest of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, which shared equally with the Institute the expenses of the Anyang excavations, Hsiao-t'un Ts'un, where the diggings were carried out, was once part of the capital city of the Shang dynasty between 1500-1200 B. C. But it was deserted before the final collapse of the dynasty owing to recurring floods. The site came to be known to antiquarians in 1899 when some curio dealers brought some inscribed bones to Peking. These proved to be veritable "bones of contention" at the outset ; for Chang Pin-lin, one of the greatest living Chinese scholars, declared them as forgeries, while curio dealers were making money in that period of "bone-rushes." However, studies made by serious scholars like Lo Chen-yu and Wang Kou-wei laid the foundation of a new branch of Chinese palæography. Out of 1,600 archaic Chinese characters found on these oracle bones, about one-half were definitely deciphered, throwing a flood of light on the political social, economic and religious history of the nation.

These "Oracle Bones" proved beyond doubt that oracle regulated even the minute details of kingly duties ; performing a

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sacrifice, sending an expedition, hunting, fishing and so forth. Inscribed plastrons and scapula, used for the purpose of divination have been discovered with archaic characters which are more primitive than the oldest inscriptions on bronze. Invaluable as these oracle bones are in the domain of Chinese palæography, the associated finds in the same strata are no less important because they often substantiate and even supplement the verbal statements on the bones. For example, the large collection of bronze weapons, ceremonial vessels and ornaments as well as the remains of bronze ore slags and moulds proved beyond doubts that there was an extensive bronze industry and that the Shang people had mastered, to a very advanced degree, the art of bronze casting—a fact which could not be read in any of the inscribed bones. Then again, the copper and tin supply being limited many objects like axes, knives and utensils were still made of bronze and stone, simultaneously, just as we find in the so-called "chalcolithic" culture of the Indus Valley. The more ancient Aeneolithic Culture of Yang Shao developed a marvellously decorative polychrome pottery with painted designs. Crude survivals of degenerate Yang Shao wares (like the Sind pottery after the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa ceramics) were discovered in Anyang, where, however, the specific type of ceramics is monochrome and decorated by incised lines. The most startling discovery is the use of a glaze (hitherto considered as starting with the Han dynasty) in Anyang pottery types, which in spite of their aggregative character (as is to be expected of a metropolitan culture) conform to a certain common regional traits. In the associated finds also occur many decorative works of shell, bone and stone, which go to prove that the arts of that period were more luxurious than what the oral or the recorded tradition would warrant us to expecr. So in every sense archæological excavations in key-sites like Anyang tend to revolutionize our stereotyped ideas about the origin and devolopment of Chinesa civilisation.

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EARLY CHINESE CULTURE—A COMPARATIVE ESTIMATE

The value of pre-historic studies can rarely be better demonstrated, as we have seen before, than in the marvellous and a hitherto unsuspected Chinese culture from the historic Anyang epoch, through the proto-historic Yang Shao starta, to the faint glimmer of the pre-historic dawn in the Chouk'outien Caves. The Chinese people were complacently accepted or condemned as an *isolated* people because philologists lebelled their language as "isolating." Objective study of archæology comes to brush aside heaps of these cobwebs of fixed ideas and enables us to see China (in the words of my esteemed friend Dr. Chi Li) "not as an isolated unit by itself, but as a fragment of the total humanity." The discovery of the Peking Man has forced the students of pre-history, as we have shown above, to correlate the Chinese date with those relating to the discoveries of fossil human remains in Java (Trinil Skull), in Australia (Victoria Skull), in Africa (Rhodesia Skull) and in Europe. Innumerable books and monographs now coming from scholars from different parts of the world show beyond doubt how they are eager now not to segregate but to correlate the finds from different zones or islots of positive knowledge in the ocean of oblivion.

Such a synthetic presentation of Chinese history has been attempted by the Swedish scholar J. G. Andersson in his *Children of the Yellow Earth*. I wish to draw the attention of my readers to his brilliant exposition of the "Early Chinese Culture" (*Geological Survey of China*, October, 1923) on a comparative basis. While characterising the Yang Shao culture as "Proto-Chinese," Dr. Andersson detected a special type of pottery which seemed to point to cultural relations of China with the Western world, to Russian Turkestan and possibly even to Europe of the late Stone age. This pottery, found even in the deepest part of the culture stratum is polished and polychrome, although, unfortunately, preserved in fragments only. These are mostly bowls, finer than the rest, thin and gracefully worked, with a polished surface, and covered with black (and occasionally white) pointings in many patterns. Similar types have been found in the late neolithic

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and aeneolithic cultures of Europe, in Sicily, in Northern Greece (Chæronea ware), in Galicia and Tripolji (near Kief in South West Russia). The Pumpelly expedition (1904) from Anau (near Askabad in Russian Turkestan) also discovered such polychrome polished pottery. A comparison of all these types revealed striking likeness in certain designs, which might be explained away as cases of parallel development ; but the Honan and the Anau types are so strikingly similar that we may be justified in admitting the possibility of a migration of art designs. The distance from Honan to Anau is very great, but the two cultural zones are connected by a highway of migrations which extends between the Tibetan highlands in the South and the Siberian Taiga in the North. These vast expanses of steppes and deserts form a continuous belt from the Pacific to the Black Sea and probably enjoyed in ancient days a climate more genial than at present. Many of the inland seas and lakes have dried up, forcing the migration of men and animals from East to West, as we know that neolithic Europe received many of its edible plants and animals from Asia—possibly along this cultural highway of Central Asia. The Asiatic ostrich moved from Shantung to the steppes North of the Black Sea in the Old Stone Age. The sheep, the pig, the goat and the humped-bull, and, later on, the horse are also reported to have entered Europe from the East. During the transition from the neolithic to the aeneolithic ages, the Honon pottery types also might have migrated to Anau, Tripolji and Sicily. Strange stone effigies found in Inner Mongolia occur also all over the desert belt of Eurasia up to the shore of the Caspian. These were connected with a proto-Turanian people ; and in the historic period we know that art ideas were copiously exchanged between the Chinese on the one side and the Sarmatipn, Scythian and the Turanian peoples on the other.

Mr. R. L. Hobson, the British Museum expert on Chinese ceramics, made a significant statement with regard to the polychrome pottery of Yang Shao. The red potteries with black ornaments were equated by him with the Babylonian pottery of the pre-Sumerian strata (before 3500 B.C.). Similar types, according to Hobson, prevailed on the Eastern borders of Persia (now definitely linked with Baluchistan and our Indus Valley

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finds), also in certain parts of Asia Minor and Thessaly from the 3rd millennium B.C. R. C. Thompson while reporting (*Archeologia*, Vol. XX, 1920) on the British Museum excavations at Abu Shahrain or Eridu (Mesopotamia) observed that Eridu was occupied by a pre-historic Armenoid people, before the Sumerians (3000 B.C.), whose culture resembled those found by De Morgan at Susa and Mussian. Thus they formed a link with the early migrations from Anau, whence pottery motives spread as far as protohistoric Anatolia and South Palestine.

The absence of metal work amidst the Chinese finds seems to point to very early date, for we know that bronze was very widely used in China in the Hsia epoch (2205-1766 B.C.). The use of the wheel for some of the pottery is very interesting but not unexpected according to the traditions of the Shang Dynasty (1766-1154).. Dr. Hubert Schmidt of the Folk Museum of Berlin who directed the excavations in Anau and described the archæological materials in the report of the Pumpelly expedition was rather sceptical. But he admitted the possibility of such a cultural exchange across Asia, and encouraged Dr. Anderson to continue that line of investigation. Even as a working hypothesis, Dr. Andersson's theory raises issues of far-reaching consequences. The ill-fated theory of Western (*i. e.*, Chaldean) influences on the early Chinese civilisation started long ago by Terrien de Lacouperie appears to assume a new significance, and we know that early Chinese chronicles point to repeated migrations from the West of barbarian tribes gradually assimilated by the Chinese races. The Yang Shao clay tripods resemble closely the bronze tripods of the early dynasties. This fact, together with the evidence of the potter's wheel, appears to point to the third millennium B.C. as the lower limit of Yang Shao culture, which, therefore, is chronologically on the same scale as the Indus Valley civilisation. The eminent anthropologist Dr. Ales Hrdlicka of the Smithsonian Institution made the scholarly world think in a new line when he remarked that "the Chinese remain essentially a Yellow Brown people; but there are indications that they also carry a more or less considerable old admixtures of *white* blood of unknown derivations, together with a little of more modern mixture." Thus the archæologists, with

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the co-operation of anthropologists and philologists, would solve these tantalising problems, let us hope, in the near future.

NOTE :—The importance of *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* and the relation of the Peking Man with other fossil human types have been discussed fully by Dr. F. Weidenreich : (Vide *Bulletin of the Geological Society of China*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, Peiping, 1939). He observed that the Sinanthropus knew the art of hunting (animals and human beings), the use of fire and was skilled in the manufacturing of tools and their uses (p, 16). He accepts "four centres of origination" : (1) in Asia Minor with reference to the European races, (2) in East or South Africa with relations to Negroes, (3) in North China with relations to Northern Mongols and (4) in the Sunda Islands with relations to Australians and Melanesians (p. 73).

South China has recently started yielding ancient cultural relics first noticed in the Proceedings of the Congress of Pre-historians, Singapore, (1940) : "Some Aspects of South China Archæological Finds" by the Rev. Fr. R. Maglioni (pp. 209-230) ; and "A proto-historic site at Sheck Pek, Lantan, Hongkong" by Mr. W. Schofield (pp. 235-313). Maglioni believes South China to be the seat of the oldest anthropological types and languages. He further opines that a Western Sumerian-Sowian culture reached China by the Southern route : India, Burma, Tonking. Canton. Hongkong, Hoifung.

PROBLEMS OF CHINESE ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

The study of Chinese art and antiquities is important not only in the history of the Asiatic nations but in the general history of the evolution of human culture. For several decades Egypt supplied the only scale of computation, as it were, to the antiquarians, so much so that some went to the absurd length of asserting that almost every important discovery by mankind could be traced to Egyptian influence or Heliolithic culture. But the Egyptian monopoly came soon to be contested by a venerable rival from the Near East, Mesopotamia. Here pre-semitic Sumerian and pre-Sumerian cultures and the wonderful finds of Ur amongst others, have drawn the Nilotic culture on the one hand and the Indus Valley culture on the other into a line of undreamt of historical contact and collaboration. The wonderful painted pottery traditions of these Western nations appear to have penetrated China, as evidenced by the brilliant Aeneolithic pottery

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series of Yang Shao in the Honan province. The remains of Aeneolithic Man are found all over China, and Mr. Stuart Lillico presented to the Shanghai Museum the potteries and skeletal remains discovered by him in Shansi. Dr. J. H. Edgar also presented to the Museum some valuable stone implements from the Yangtze river basin and from Western Szechuan which probably belong to the early neolithic or late paleolithic age. Thus we see that from the very remote age of the Peking Man down to the Neolithic, the Aeneolithic and the Bronze Ages, China had been continuously occupied by successive generations of Man. The original area of development of the historic Chinese race included the provinces of Shensi, Honan and Shantung irrigated by the Yellow River. But anthropologists are daily drawing our attention to the highly interesting *aborigines* like the Lolos of Szechuan, and Yunnan, the Miao-tzes of Kueichou, the San-tak of Fukien and the so-called head-hunters of Formosa and Hainan. The interaction of this aboriginal South-eastern culture with the Northern Chinese is a subject of future investigation. So, as against the theory of the Western migrations, we are confronted with an Eastern theory of an independent cultural evolution in Manchuria, Korea and Japan, thanks to the researches of Japanese archæologists. Thus the theory of the "Chinese wall" is collapsing, and some day we may be surprised by the discovery of Pacific Cultural intrusions into China as we guess from the collection of the Hoang-Ho Pai-Ho Museum in Tientsin.

IMPORTANCE OF THE ANYANG CULTURE

In 1905 Rev. Frank H. Chalfaut and Mr. Samuel Couling secured from some Chinese dealers bone and tortoise shell fragments bearing pictographic inscriptions. Some of them were deposited in the Shanghai Museum which received also sacrificial knives and other antiquities of the Shang dynasty (1766-1154 B. C.) from Mr. H. E.Gibson. Prof. James M. Menzies, a Canadian sinologist, working at the Chellow University, Shantung, also made a most valuable contribution to the study of Shang culture by his archæological collections and his profound study of the pictographs on the "Oracle Bones." Lastly, Dr. Li Chi and his

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colleagues of the *Academia Sinica* discovered and published volumes of reports on the priceless relics of Shang culture which is now definitely known to be the bed-rock of the Classical Chinese culture starting with the Chou dynasty (1154-259 B. C.). The fascinating history of this early and coherent Chinese civilisation of second millennium B. C. has been brilliantly described by Dr. H. G. Creel of the University of Chicago in his *The Birth of China* (Jonathan Cape, London, 1936). Basing on his valuable study we give below a general summary of the results regarding Shang dynasty and civilisation.

The Shang people who lived at Anyang in the 14th century B. C. offers, through their historical relics, evidences of their contact with the Western Asiatic as well as the Far Eastern Pacific culture. But the resultant civilisation of the Shang people is supposed by some scholars to be that of an invading aristocracy from the West, introducing a rare type of bronze technique. They may have had no connection with their predecessors of the late Neolithic Age, famous for their painted potteries. Mr. Liang Ssu-Yung, a ceramic expert, is definite about the fact that the Shang pottery technique is a continuation of that of the black pottery culture of an earlier epoch. Excavations have revealed several types of civilisations of the Shang people in the neighbourhood of their capital city and that they were building defensive walls which were standard features of Chinese culture in the Chou period. Although the Shang people were past masters in bronze casting, yet we find them using simultaneously stone utensils of the Aeneolithic type, just as we find in the later Indus Valley culture. Bronze being scarce was reserved for making weapons and ceremonial vessels. A large number of rectangular or semicircular stone knives have been found at Anyang which are not to be found in the Near East or in Europe. But they have been discovered in North-Eastern Asia, in the land of the American Eskimos, and even in South America. This, according to Dr. Creel, is "another of the links which bind the Shangs and Chinese culture to an ancient Pacific culture area." The Shang artisans carved ornaments from jade and other beautiful stones, and also left many figures of animals, birds and men. But they excelled in handling bone and shell-materials, often covered with finely carved

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designs like those found on bronzes. The painted pottery of the late Neolithic Period had vanished completely, giving place to the cruder Shang pottery, probably coming from the East, in marked contrast with the fine Western type of Yang Shao culture. The Shang pottery was baked in kilns and some show definite trace of a *glazed* surface, and it is significant that almost all the forms that we find in Shang and later Chinese bronze vessels are found also in the Anyang pottery.

We must always remember, however, that in the history of arts and crafts, as recovered from ancient ruins like the Shang tombs, some of the finest specimens in perishable materials are often lost beyond recognition. Dress-pieces, embroidery, textile designs and such things are lost for ever. Yet the chance discovery of the mother-of-pearl buttons oblige us to admit that the Shang people even in those remote days were highly fashionable in their sartorial make-up. We did not know whether they had music or songs till a small object carved from bone was excavated from a Shang tomb in 1935, which turned out to be a musical instrument. It was identified by Mr. Liang Ssu-Yaung with the *Hsuan*, some times called a Chinese ocarina. So by sheer good luck wall-paintings have been discovered in course of excavations of the tombs in 1934-35. Larger pieces of paintings that have been discovered intact show bright red, black and white colour. The motifs used in the paintings bear strong resemblance to those on the Shang bronzes. If more of such pictorial documents come out, the early history of the Chinese painting will have to be rewritten.

There is no doubt that the Shangs were the real pioneers in many branches of minor arts which were supposed to have originated with the later Chou people, who, like the Romans conquering the Greeks, were culturally conquered. In the making of ornaments, utensils and in the carving of jade and precious stones as well as in fashioning the shells. the horns of cattle, the antlers of deer tusks of the boar and the elephant, the Shang artisans were real experts. Even a profound sinologists like the late Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum of Chicago rarely ventured to go beyond the Chou period (1154-259 B. C.) in his splendid monographs on "Jade" (1912) and "Ivory in

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China" (1925). He was however, one of the first to trace the continuity of the *elephant* symbol in the inscriptions on the archaic bronze vessel of the Shang and Chou dynasties. He also demonstrated that the existence of the elephant on Chinese soil could be proved conclusively by linguistic, pictographic, historical and archæological evidences. With the exception of their cousins, the Tibetans, who called the animal "the bull of Nepal" (which they discovered through late contacts with Nepal), the Burmese, the Siamese, the Shan, the Ahom, the Mo-so and the Angami Naga dialects derive the name of the elephant from its ancient Chinese designation.

Only a few years ago, scholars supposed that there were no Chinese sculptures before the Han period (206 B.C.—220 A.D.). Their theory was completely upset by the discovery of the fragments of a sculptured human figure, just as the discovery of the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa statues revolutionised the theory of the origin of Indian sculpture propounded by many European scholars. The designs in the Shang sculpture are repeated in the bronzes of the same epoch, and probably both the stone carvers and the bronze casters were indebted to the expert wood-carvers (as in India) whose works could not withstand the ravages of time, A few pieces of wood-carving, however, have been miraculously saved and were recently discovered on the walls of the tombs with their beautiful and intricate patterns, rarely naturalistic, tending to the grotesque, yet perfect in the technique of execution. Like the gorgeous painted potteries of the Yang Shao culture which were lost to the Shang people, the splendid sculpture of the latter vanished with the Shang regime and re-emerged, after centuries, in the sculpture of the Han epoch. A most interesting specimen to students of Indian sculpture is the discovery of the so-called *Tao-Tieh* or 'Ogre Mask" which is the nearest approach to the Indian *Kirti-mukha.* Both have undoubted architectural significance.*

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* In tracing its origin, Rostovtzeff remarked "it has the form of an animal mask, consisting of a pair of eyes, a pair of ears, two horns and a crest. I have not the slightest doubt that what is meant is a horned lion-griffon, the most popular animal in the Persian art."—(*The Animal Style in South Russia and China.* 1929.)

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But the noblest contributions of the Shang people to the art world were their incomparable Bronzes. They were cast by the well-known *cire perdue* process, and the National Research Institute at Anyang have discovered plenty of evidence to show that the smelting of bronze was practised there. The ores were imported from outside, and some kind of blast furnace was probably employed. Even under such limitations, the Shang artisans could produce such superb specimens that "very few of the best leading craftsmen in Europe or America, aided by all the resources of modern science and technology may be able to equal the casting of Shang bronze workers."

A very different problem confronts us when we think of linking this remarkale bronze industry of China with the bronze casting in other parts of the world. The immediate predecessors of the Shang people were the makers of the black pottery culture at Anyang, yet not a trace of bronze has been found there. It seems to be a finished industry without a previous history, and it has led some to theorize that it was introduced by the "invaders of the West." The painted pottery of the earlier epoch was apparently an intrusion from the West, arriving first and lingering longest in Kansu. But so far no big bronzes have come from outside and it was perfectly naturalised in China by the Shang people, who used the patterns and designs which are rarely known outside China.

Some scholars have detected resemblances between this art and designs discovered in the Pacific islands and among the Aztecs and Mayas and the North-West Coast Indians. They all resemble in their use of isolated eyes as decorations. Many other affinities between the Pacific and the Shang civilisation may gradually be discovered.

Thus the discoveries at the "Great City Shang" eulogised in the "Book of Poetry" of the Chou epoch, furnish us with invaluable links connecting proto-historic China with the historic Chou culture. Like the Aryans of India following with a cruder material culture in the wake of the people of the Indus Valley civilisation, the Chous entered the historic period, forming alliance with a group of the western barbarians, who were often hunted down, enslaved or sacrificed like cattle by the Shang people. These

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barbarians, under the leadership of the Chous, crushed the Shang power in 1122 B.C. No doubt the Chous assimilated a good deal of the culture of the Shang but they "were products of two distinct lines of cultural evolution with long separate histories." As long as a single brother of the Shang king were alive, his son could not inherit. But in the Chou regime the throne normally passed to the eldest son of the principal wife of the king. The Chou period is rich in literary as well as artistic monuments ; but it was by sheer good luck that archæological finds recently came to supplement our information. In 1932-33, eighty-six tombs were excavated in Hsun Hsien in Honan, a few miles to the north of the place reported to be the first capital of the Chous. The tombs were excavated by the National Research Institute and the Honan Archæological Research Association. Like the Shang tombs at Anyang they had been filled up with pounded earth, and yet all but two of the tombs had been robbed. Grave robbers of China are professional rivals of archæologists, and that is how some of the most valuable specimens of Chinese art and archæology are found, alas, in the public and private collection of Europe and America. The tombs apparently belonged to some nobles and their consorts, and Mr. Kuo, the Director of the excavation observed, valuable objects were buried with the dead in a fixed order : chariots were buried in the south, armour in the east, weapons in the west and ritual vessels on the north. Many of the vessels were inscribed, serving as valuable epigraphic documents helping to fix the dates of the objects. One branch of the house of Chou, the Wei rulers, appear to show a strong Shang influence, and some of their bronze vessels might have passed as Shang productions. But while the motives were indentical, the execution was very different. The subtle compound curves in Shang designs and its delicate traceries appear cruder and heavier in the Chou patterns. In some bronzes the Chou artisans showed great boldness and strength, but they could not continue successfully the great Shang tradition which apparently died with the crushing of their spirit. The arts of designs degenerated rapidly in the Chou period. But while the Chous were relatively a cruder people, they had greater vitality ; and following the river Wei, they progressed east-ward to the Yellow

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River and to civilisation. They left a full and rich literature as against the fragmentary oracle bones of the Shang people.

While the art products of the Chou people, specially their bronzes, were cruder, yet they supply, as compared with the fragmentary bone inscriptions of the Shangs, a most valuable collection of bronze inscriptions depicting various aspects of the life in the Western Chou period. Thus a bell was made to preserve the bell-maker's genealogy, and a code of criminal law was cast on a set of bronze vessels in early days. When in the later Eastern Chou period the inscriptions became shorter, they were amplified by the rich harvest of contemporary literature : *I Ching* or book or Changes, a diviner's manual to foretell the future, the *Shih Ching* or Book of Poetry displaying both emotion and imagination, the *I Li* or Book of Etiquette and Ceremony, the *Kuo yu* or Discourses of the States and *Shang Shu* or the Classic Document, which was written just after the conquest of the Shang. Their downfall was attributed to their inability to read the lessons of history or to keep pace with time. That is why probably the Chou conquerors sedulously applied themselves to the study of history and to develop, as early as 1000 B. C. a profound regard for and a sense of the value of History.

Before passing on to a rapid survey of the monuments of the well-known historic dynasties of China, we should remember with gratitude the splendid services rendered by scientific explorers to the reconstruction of the vast historical background of the Chou and Shang cultures flourishing mainly in the second millennium B.C. If we are permitted to characterise Indian civilisation of the same epoch by the traditional designations of the Vedic and the Epic cultures, these appear to be contemporaneous with the Shang and the Chou cultures. The parallelism is pushed further by a specialist like Dr. Creel who while discussing "The Gods of Shang" could not help comparing the early Chinese ritualism and its paraphernalia with the doctrine and symbolism of the Vedic and the post-Vedic sacrifices* (Vide *The Birth of China*, pp. 182-

* The Vedic *Rita* appeared in the Confucian Classics as the Will of Heaven or of the Supreme Being and over 100 philosophical systems developed in China and India before Confucius and the Buddha (*Vide* Liebenthal : Journal, Asiatic Society, August 1957).

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83). His equation of *Shang-Ti* and *Brahman* is significant from the point of view of parallel psychological evolution, even if positive historical contact may be out of the question.

Going beyond the second millennium B. C. we find again China and India happily developing most valuable and hitherto unsuspected monuments of art and archæology, reaching to the fourth millennium B.C. In India, we have discovered the Indus Valley civilisation with its bewlidering variety and richness of cultural remains belonging to the pre-Aryan and the pre-Vedic strata of Indian culture. We have also discovered well developed scripts on seals which have been compared with the Babylonian ones. But unfortunately we have so far not discovered any of their later or intermediate phases connecting these early scripts with the known Brahmi and Kharostri or Kharosthi of the historic period. Here China is more fortunate than India in possessing her treasures of Oracle Bone inscriptions directly leading to the well-known Chinese pictographs. However, the Aeneolithic pottery series of India as well as of China must necessarily be studied now on parallel lines, as has been suggested by the brilliant researches of Dr. Arne and other Swedish sinologists. The painted pottery of Yang Shao is generally admitted to be an intrusion from the West and the painted pottery finds from Sindh and Beluchistan also betray Western Asiatic affinities supported by historic relations with Susa and Kish in ancient Iran and Babylon.

We in India, are on the eve of discovering and classifying a cruder pottery phase following the richly painted ceramics from Harappa, Mohen-jo-Daro, Amri and Nal. In China also a distinctive type of glossy black wheel-made pottery series had been discovered in Shantung (east of Tsinan-fu) excavated by the National Research Institute in 1930-31. This black pottery technique is now believed to have led to the Shang pottery which was a historical continuation of the older series. From Shantung to Honan there seemed to have prevailed a "North-Eastern Culture" (different however, from the culture of Jehol, Fengtien, Kirin and Heilungkiang) which had the Li tripod as its symbol and which came into conflict with the richer painted pottery traditions from the East, The Western tradition disappeared yielding place to the Eastern black pottery which triumphed with the Li tripod.

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With these finds of the Aeneolithic or Late Neolithic strata archæologists, both is China and in India, must forge ahead and plunge deeper into the early Neolithic and Palæolithic layers. In that dim pre-historic past, China made recently a great contribution through her Peking Man, rivetting the attention of the world of antiquarians. The Sinanthropus has shown definite Mongoloid characteristics and he belongs to the Early Palæolithic Culture which, however, is followed by the culture of a late Palæolithic people who are not pure Mongolian in physical type. Rather they resemble the late Palæolithic Europeans. They may have been wandering hordes marching by the land-routes to the sea as suggested by Weidenreich. Excavations have definitely proved that not only the Ordos region to the North West but also the valley of Yellow River between modern Shensi and Shansi were inhabited by the Late Palæolithic Man.

In India, unfortunately, so far very little has been done to reconstruct the background of Neolithic and Palæolithic cultures. The Yale University Mission under Dr. De Terra working in the Siwalik ranges and in North Burma has already drawn our attention to this much neglected Himalayan field explored partially by the late Dr. Panchanan Mitra, the Prof. H. C. Dasgupta and a few other Indian scholars. But in every step of the expansion of our studies along these lines, we must constantly refer to the discoveries in China Mongolia and the Far East.

CHINA AND INDIA IN THE HISTORICAL PERIOD

The problem of the first definite historical contact of China with India is very complicated, as I discovered while consulting the eminent French sinologist Paul Pelliot who gave me valuable suggestions relating to the appearance of the name China in the *Artha-sastra* of Kautilya generally assigned to the Maurya period (4th-2nd century B.C.). Pelliot thinks that the Sanskrit form of the word. *China* (China), can only be derived from the Ts'in or Ch'in Dynasty (255-106 B.C.) founded by Shih Hwang Ti, a contemporary of Asoka. Dr. Laufer somewhat differs from Pelliot and is inclined to admit the possibility of earlier contacts,

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Laufer's book *Sino-Iranica* has opened our eyes to many unsuspected facts about China's contacts with the West—a line of investigation which has been carried further afield by the Russian scholars and Rostovtzeff in his *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (1922) and by Hirth in his *China and the Roman Orient.* However, there is little doubt to-day that from *circa* third century B. C. to third century A.D., specially during the Han dynasty (206 B.C.—220 A.D.), India and China vigorously collaborated spiritually as well as culturally; for Buddhism, which linked up the two great nations, was the vehicle of spiritual ideas as much as of artistic inspiration. What remains tantalizing and vague, however, is the striking resemblances in the literature of the two countries, specially in philosophy and political science of the pre-Han or late Chou period when Laotze appeared and spoke almost the language of the Upanishads (*Vide* Carsun Chang : "China and Gandhian India" 1956). The diplomatic mission of Chang K'ien (130 B.C.) followed by the invitation of the Chinese emperors of the Han dynasty to the learned Indian Buddhist monks definitely prove that the cultural collaboration was in full swing ; and it was carried on gloriously by the Wei (Turkish), the T'ang the Sung and the Yuan (Mongol) dynasties. Dr. Laufer's *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* opened a new vista, just as Edouard Chavannes gave us his archæological and textual findings of inestimable worth.

Two outstanding branches of Art, namely, Sculpture and Painting, which developed under Sino-Indian collaboration, have been discussed by hosts of scholars, Okakura and Omura, Fenollosa and Laurence Binyon, amongst others. Study along these lines have been much facilitated by two standard works; *Chinese Sculpture* by Osvald Siren (1925) and *Chinese Painting* by Arthur Waley (1923). Both are sumptuously illustrated and discuss the documents historically from the Han to the Yuan dynasty. Two occidental periodicals, the *T'oung Pao* and the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, and the splendid Japanese art journal *Kokka* have published monographs, notes and artistic reproductions of outstanding merit which are too numerous to be mentioned. The British and the American schools of sinologists are equally active in

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collecting and discussing Chinese artistic documents. But one must always remember that these well-printed books are getting out of date from year to year with the new discoveries in the field and more intensive analysis of the documents. Publications by Japanese scholars, unless translated into some European language, necessarily remain outside our notice.

Through the discussions on ancient Chinese bronzes, on the bone, ivory or stone-carvings, we should also try to supply the positive background of the Fine Arts of China flourishing from the early Han to the last Manchu empire. The various stages of the Classical and the Medieval Chinese Art, extending over 2,000 years, have been surveyed more or less thoroughly by well-known scholars. In spite of occasional explosions of hostility (specially since the first Sino-Japanese War to the China "Incident" of our days), Japanese collectors and connoisseurs, publishers and scholars have done more than any other group to preserve, popularise and interpret Chinese art, specially Chinese painting. The renowned author of the *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, Ernest Fenollosa, discovered that veteran Japanese art critic Okakura Kakuzo and their happy collaboration made it possible for Boston Museum of Fine Arts (as we have discussed in *Art and Archæology Abroad*) to develop that splendid collection of Sino-Japanese art specimens. Okakura's *Ideals of the East* and his *Book of Tea* opened a new horizon of art appreciation at the beginning of the 20th century, and very soon we found European scholars like H. Giles, Hirth and Chavannes attacking the problems of Chinese art history with rare thoroughness and understanding. Chavannes inspired a group of French sinologists and art critics like Granet, Petrucci and Pelliot.

The splendid documentation of *Ars Asiatica* opened its series with a volume on the Chinese paintings at the Cernuschi Museum of Paris (1912). Chavannes lived to see the publication of Petrucci's *Encyclopædia of Chinese Paintings* (1918), an annotated translation of *Chieh Tzu Yuan Hua Chuan*, a 17th century treatise on the technique of painting. When I reached Paris after the first World War, Chavannes was no more, but his memory and inspiration I felt everywhere, specially because I had the privilege of working with Prof. Sylvain Levi and Paul

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Pelliot who were intimate friends and collaborators of Chavannes. Pelliot was publishing his portfolios on *Touen Huang*, the Grottoes of the Thousand Buddhas ; and, over and above his profound researches into Tibetan and Mongolian records, Pelliot was publishing his incisive studies helping to elucidate so many difficult problems of Chinese art and archæology.

In 1923, he published in the *Toung Pao* his "Notes on Some Artists of the Six Dynasties and of the T'ang" ; and also in the *Journal Asiatique* (1923, Vol. CCII) Pelliot published his article on the "Statues in Dry Lacquer in the Ancient Chinese Art." Ever since the days when he was a young officer in the French Army in China during the Boxer rebellion, Prof. Pelliot served the cause of Chinese culture indefatigably, and Pelliot Collections could be seen in the Museum of Hanoi (French Indo-China), in the Louvre Gallery and in the Musee Guimet of Paris. In the same Paris group I came to know some eminent lovers of Asiatic Art and Culture like Foucher and Hackin, Granet and Maspero, Victor Goloubew and Serge Elisieev, the last a renowned authority on Japanese painting, and Rene Grousset, the noted historian of the Art and Civilisation of Asia.

Meanwhile the German school, backed by the Prussian Academy, were publishing valuable monographs specially on the Buddist ruins and frescoes of Chinese Turkestan. Grunwedel's *Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and in Mongolia* was published as early as 1900 and he was followed by von Le Coq, Muller, Cohn, Kummel and others, enriching our knowledge of Chinese Art. The British school made also substantial contribution through the discoveries and publications of Sir Aurel Stein, always connected with the Archæological Survey of India which thus set up a special Central Asian Museum at Delhi to house the "Stein Collection" partly removed to England. Another outstanding English critic of Far Eastern Art, in fact its poetic interpreter and historian was Laurence Binyon of the British Museum. He opened with a volume on *Painting in the Far East*, 1911, he edited the pictorial documents from Touen Huang brought by Stein and also he delivered profound addresses on the Æsthetics of Oriental Art before the University of Harvard which then published his

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stimulating lectures as *Man in Asian Art*. Arthur Waley of the British Museum was the first to handle the history of Chinese painting with reference to original Chinese texts ; and what an untold treasure of art criticism lies embedded in the original Chinese books and commentaries have also been shown by lovers of Chinese art like Siren and Fergusson.

Visiting China in 1924, in the company of our master Poet Rabindranath Tagore and of our great painter Nandalal Bose, I had the privilege of being introduced to ever so many groups of Chinese artists and art critics of the present day, many of whom could not speak English and who were interpreted by our late lamented friend the Chinese poet Ssu Tsumo. Amidst a veritable invasion of foreign trinkets and ideologies which jarred on our nerves, we felt the touch of grand old China whenever we had the privilege of communicating with her noble leaders like Liang Chi Chao and Hu Shih. I shall also remember with gratitude in this connections the fraternal co-operation offered by our esteemed friend Dr. Li Chi (of the *Academia Sinica*, founded after our departure). He was my friend, philosopher and guide while I set out with Nandalal Bose from Peking to visit the various historic sites and sanctuaries of Chinese Buddhism. While surveying the various collections and temples of Peking, we discussed, now and then, the culture of pre-historic China ; but we never dreamed that within a few miles from our Peking dwellings would be discovered the remains of the earliest Man of Asia traced so far. While passing through Shantung we waved our respectful salutations to the memory of the venerable Confucius. But I never suspected that the black pottery culture of Neolithic China will be dug out from the soil we were treading. As we passed through Shansi, we remembered its wonderful Buddhist caves of Yun Kang but knew little of the other antiquities. Approaching the Huang Ho Valley, the cardle of the Chinese race, we visited the first Buddhist temple erected in China, the Pai-ma-ssu or the White Horse temple at Lo Yang and also the grand rock-cut shrines and sculptures of Lung-men. We passed Anyang on the way, little suspecting that my learned friend Dr. Li Chi will start digging right there a few years later and will help reconstructing the history of the Shang empire. On our way back we stopped

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for a while at Kaifeng where the local University offered us its hospitality and requested me to lecture on India and China. The local Museum of Kaifeng had just then acquired a series of remarkable bronze vessels of the early Chou period,

Thus the Pre-historic and the Proto-historic, the Classical and the Mediaeval in Chinese Art and Culture entered into our being as we were led from site to site, monument to monument, revealing through a flash of intuition, as it were, the Eternal China. Sometimes she was great, sometimes brought low but she never failed to prove that there was an inexhaustible vitality which will triumph over occasional lapses and temporary set-backs. China supplied us with some of the most valuable tools of man's material progress. She had given us also a literature, a philosophy and an art which will survive the shocks of history and will be cherished as the permanent heritage of humanity. It was China and her culture that civilised Korea, Mongolia and Manchuria, and through Korea, Japan derived some of the permanent elements of her spiritual and artistic life.

NOTE :—Chinese archæology so far, remained restricted mainly to the finds from North China ; but South China also is yielding now valuable relics which may revolutionize many of our pet theories. Rev. R. Maglioni in his "Some Aspects of South China Archæological Finds" (Proc. Congress of Pre-historians, Singapore, 1940, pp. 209-229) throws some light : (1) The aboriginal Sosian culture of corded pottery was derived from the Mongolian-Manchurian neolithic culture displaced by the (2) Western Sowian Neolithic (? Sumerian) culture of Yang Shao with incised, combed and painted pottery. It developed into the Kansu urns but, with the early discovery of copper and bronze, fostered, (3) the splendid bronze technique of North China while (4) South China took the new line of glazed and stone wares of diaper decorated pottery which derived the classical Chinese art motives from the indigenous Sosian (Mongolian) and the intrusive Sowian (Yang Shao) proto-cultures.

The Chinese cultures of the North and the South can no longer be studied in water-tight compartments, as pointed out by Mr. W. Schofield (Proc. Congress of Pre-historians, pp. 280-84). For the typical Chinese characteristics are to be found as much in the objects from the North as from the newly excavated sites from South China like the Laruna Island (Hoifung District of the Kwangtung Province) and Shek Pek (Hongkong).

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BUDDHISM AND THE EVOLUTION OF CHINESE ART

Chinese art and Chinese aesthetic genius display a marvellous evolution from the pre-historic pottery paintings of Yang Shao and the magnificent bronzes of the Shang and the Chou periods. Emperor Shih Huang Ti, founder of the Ts'in dynasty and builder of the first Chinese Walls, was a contemporary of our great Buddhist Emperor Asoka who was responsible for propagating, in the 3rd century B. C., Buddhism (and through it) Indian culture and art over considerable parts of Asia. His missions as we know, reached the Mediterranean world on the one hand and Ceylon, Burma and Nepal on the other. The Artha Sastra of Kautilya (commonly attributed to the Maurya period, 4th-2nd cen. B. C.) mentions clearly the blankets of Nepal and the silk industry of China. So in the famous Notes of General Chang K'ien we find him discovering, for the first time, the routes from China to Asia through the Silk-route of Central Asia.

The name *Shen-tu*="India," corresponding to Sanskrit *Sindhu*=Indus, was first clearly transcribed in the second century B.C. by this Chinese explorer-General who visited the North-Western border-lands, of India about 125 B.C. Very soon after, we read of two Indian Buddhist monks being invited to China by an emperor of the Han dynasty. There can be no doubt now that, during the early and the later Han periods, Buddhist India exerted a great influence on the cultural and artistic life of China. Remembering these facts, we shall give a general survey of the evolution of Chinese art, to bring out the significance of this Sino-Indian collaboration in the annals of Asiatic art.

The Chinese word *Hua*, meaning drawing, does not necessarily mean 'painting,' It originally meant nothing more than a scratching or tracing, and, as Waley points out, "often refers to incisions on wood or stone." The earliest literary references and suggestions of pictorial art are contained in the *Shih King* or the *Book of Odes*, an anthology of songs (13th to 7th century

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B.C.) a sort of the Chinese Rigveda. Human passions roused by love and war are painted against a background of Nature—the most prominent factor in the development of art and poetry in China.

After these literary fragments of the Chou period, where we find something similar to the Vedic Aryan conceptions of nature and man, we find two great philosophers Lao Tzu (570-490 B. C.) and K'ung-Fu Tzu or Confucius (551-479 B. C.) dominating the stage of Chinese history. Lao Tzu replaced the capricious anthropomorphic gods by his sublime conception of *Tao* or the Primeval Principle governing the Universe. Like the supreme conception of the Upanishadic *Brahman* replacing Vedic deities, early Taoism opened a new world of philosophy and art.

After the Taoist apotheosis of the "natural man" comes the Confucian ideal of the "philosopher king," a series of supernaturally wise and disinterested individuals who enlarged their individual personality by a contact with some higher entity. This corresponded very closely to the conception of the union of individual souls with the Brahman, Tao or 'Buddha.' Lao Tzu's mysticism formulated the doctrine of *Wu-Wei* or inactivity which corresponded to the *Naishkarma* doctrine of the Gita and the doctrine of the Void (*Sunyavada*) propounded by Nagarjuna which, again, paradoxically though, helped to develop the famous *Ch'an* or *Zen* (=*Jhana or Dhyana*) school of painting both in China and in Japan. The Eternal Void or the Formless (*Arupa*) is the origin of all forms in the realm of philosophy and art. Thus Taoism like the Mahayana with its great cult of emancipation developed the traditions of dynamical art. Confucianism, on the other hand, developed the cult of ancestor-worship and of a static civilization where change can only take the form of restoration. This traditionalism of the Confucian school led to the suppression of free speculative thought in the 2nd century B.C. The free-thinkers of China were led by the great sophist, Mo Tzu (495-420 B.C.), whose works we get in mutilated texts only. Another arch-heretic whose works miraculously escaped destruction was Chaung Tzu (350-275 B.C.) He developed the doctrine of relativity, refusing to accept our sense-pictures as realities. But he admitted one positive factor in this world of illusions and that was *Ming*,

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or illumination, the light of Nature transcending all contradictions. It corresponded very closely to the search of the supersensuous made by the Yoga philosophers of India.

The poems in the *Book of Odes* were last recorded about 600 B.C. and 300 years after there arose a school of poetry, not in China proper, but in the borderland of Chu, where we find "literature of almost Indian exuberance, wildly fanciful and romantic." In the *Heavenly Questionings* of Ch'u Yuan, the earliest of this group of poets, we read that the poets saw ancestral shrines with their walls covered with paintings delineating "the marvels of Heaven and Earth, Gods and Spirits, of the hills and streams, ancient sages and their wondrous doings." This reminds strongly of the reference to mural painting in the Ramayana ; the German scholar Conrady (Z. D. M. G. Vol. 60, pp. 336-351), tried to show that the *Questionings* probably borrowed things from the Jatakas or some other Indian legends. Definite historical contact with India was established with the foundation of the Ts'in dynasty by emperor Shih Huang-ti, a contemporary of Asoka. He built the formidable Chinese Walls, proscribed and burnt most of the records of the Confucian school perpetually praising the immobile past of feudal China. The burning of the books took place in 213 B.C. and the emperor died while seeking to discover "the herb of immortality." In the 3rd century B.C. when Indian philosophers of the Yoga school were developing their mystic doctrine of immortality, Chinese philosopher-magicians were engaged in the discovery of the elixir of life, These Neo-Taoists bridged the gap between Buddhism, orthodox Confucianism and Taoism, through the *Book of Changes* based on ancient magic, and the more recent doctrine of mystery or *Hsuan*.

But the positive scientific spirit soon came with the expansion of geographical knowledge resulting from the discoveries of Chang K'ien (138-126 B. C.). He was the first to bring the knowledge and the name of India, as we find in the famous history of Ssu-ma-Ch'ien who completed his book about 100 B. C., when the gates of Central Asia leading to India, so long blocked by the Hueng-nu and other barbarians, were violently opened by the roving Saka or the Scythian tribes. In the

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1st century A. D., Indian Buddhist monks and scholars were already invited to and settled in China by Emperor Ming-ti in the famous Pai-ma-ssu or White Horse Temple at Loyang. The early Han dynasty introduces us to the first Chinese painter Chang Heng who was also an astronomer and a poet. So the Han poet Wang Yen-shou described the wall-paintings in the great palace at the famous capital city Chang-an. Ashton in his *Chinese Sculpture* has described the series of grave-reliefs evidently reproducing in stone-incision some of the above palace paintings. On the strength of these finds (147 to 149 A. D.) Waley tried to rebut the assertion of pro-Indian Grousset that "but for Buddhist influences Chinese paintings would never have existed."

But no one can dispute that pre-Buddhistic references to pictorial art in China are chiefly literary and rarely documentary in the sense of concrete art objects. A book of the 6th century A. D. records the story that a Hindu priest called Li Fang in Chinese, came with 17 "wise men" to convert the first emperor of the Ts'in dynasty who was (as has been noted before) a contemporary of Asoka. But the first authentic date of Sino-Indian contact is 2 B. C. when a Chinese courtier received an account of Buddhism from an envoy of the Indo-Scythians who founded their Central Asian and North Indian empire. The Khotanese were converted to Buddhism in 83 B. C. according to the later Tibetan history of Khotan; and Khotan was the first outpost of Indian culture on its outer march through Kucha, Turfan and other Central Asian places to China. In 70 A. D. Buddhism was officially recognised in China; and in his poem written about 120 A.D. Chang Heng, the painter-poet, speaks of dancing girls "whose beauty neither the Confucian ascetic Chan Chi nor the Shramanas of India could resist." From this Scytho-Kushan epoch onwards, we find that the Buddhist temple-walls came to be systematically covered with paintings as at Ajanta, Bagh and other places in India. The Indian pictorial tradition soon came to be influenced by Iranian styles, which came to dominate Gandhara, Bamiyan, Khotan and generally Central Asia, from the rise of the Parthian to that of the Sassanian rulers. It is striking that the worship of Amitabha

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(Japanese Amida), the Buddha of the Boundless Light, was introduced into China by An Shih-Kao, a Parthian prince who lived (148-177 A.D.) at Lo Yang and translated the *Sutra of Paradise* which came to be the basic text for many schools of philosophers and painters in China and Japan.

In 220 the Han empire like its Indian contemporary, the Kushan, broke up, and in 247 A.D. a Sogdian priest dressed like an Indian ascetic entered China by way of Canton. He was, therefore, probably a pioneer introducing Indian art and culture in South China. His name was Seng-Hui (see Chavannes, *Toung Pao* Vol. 10, pp. 199-212), and he converted a court painter Tsao Pu-Hsing who took his first lessons in Buddhist iconography and came to be famous as a painter of dragons. He is also reported to have painted huge figures on silk (probably Buddhistic), and his pupil Wei Hsieh introduced paintings with elaboration of details.

After a period of disruption when several dynasties jostled with one another, the petty kingdoms were welded into one great Tartar empire under the Buddhist Wei dynasty (386 A.D.). Contemporaries of the Imperial Guptas, these Buddhist Turkish rulers of North China came to be great builders of rock-cut temples and other monuments. In that momentous epoch China was visited by two great Indians: the scholar Kumara-jiva (344-413 A.D.) who translated the *Lotus* and *Vimalakirti Sutras*, and Gunavarman, the painter-missionary (hailing from the royal family of Kashmir), who came all the way to China, through Ceylon and Java to Nanking, introducing a new school of painting. Their contemporary was a great poet Tao Chien (365-427 A.D.) who studied Buddhism and founded the White Lotus Society. He spent six years at Nanking where Gunavarman served the cause of Buddhism as a scholar and a painter. A little before the arrival of Gunavarman, the Tile-coffin Temple was founded at Nanking in 364 and public-subscriptions were asked to cover expenses. As the story goes, a very young painter Ku K'ai Chih (born 344 A.D.) and very poor, startled everybody by subscribing a million which he paid in his own original way. He shut himself up for more than a month in the temple and painted such a wonderful figure of Vimalakirti

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that when the doors of the chapel were opened a marvellous radiance burst from the walls. Thousands of sight-seers and devotees paid so much from day to day that the painter's promise was amply fulfilled. Ku was a great portrait-painter and a few stories recorded of him testify to his sense of humour. When he ate sugarcane he always began at the wrong end saying that he liked to "enter gradually into paradise." Most of his works are lost, and one, "The Admonition," painted on a roll of silk came to the British Museum where at first it was considered to be an original, but Waley proved it to be a later copy, conserving, however, a few of the original designs of Ku. Very naturally the style of the painting appears to be intermediate between the second century grave-reliefs in Shan-tung and the sixth century will-paintings at Tun-Huang. "The Admonitions" remained in the Palace collection of emperor Ch'ien Lung till it was looted during the Boxer rising of 1900. It was sold to the British Museum by Captain Johnson in 1903; and Ku's reputation had become so great that some cherished paintings like the Vimalakirti at the Tofukuji, Kyoto, and a landscape roll at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, are still wrongly attributed to him.

From the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien to India, in the early part of the 5th century, we come to know how enthusiastically the Chinese *elites* were taking to Buddhist culture. About 450 A D. Lu Tan-Wei flourished and gained reputation by painting "Buddha's Mother," "Descent of Manjusri," and such other pictures. The Buddhist idea of dividing things into component elements probably came from India to develop the theory of the "Six Component Parts" of paintings developed by the 5th century painter Hsieh Ho. This theory came to be connected recently with the *Shadanga* or "the Six Limbs" of Indian Art (*Ostasiatische Zeitstschrift*, III, 375-377).

Buddhism came to exert different influences on the different racial elements that divided China in the epoch of the Six Dynasties. North China came to be conquered by the Tartars from Siberia and they founded the Wei dynasty by conquering the ancient capital Chang-an-fu (in Shensi) where the great Kumara-jiva settled in 405 and where he found tremendous

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enthusiasm for Buddhist culture. Fa-hien returned to China in 411 and spent the rest of his life in translating Buddhist texts. Like Kumara-jiva, Fa-hien was a subject of the Tartar prince Fu-Chien who ruled over North-West China with his capital at Chang-an. The converted Tartars like the converted Saka-Kushans of India developed a crude yet vigorous Buddhist art in the North. But the indigenous Chinese culture flowed through the rich soil of South China with its centre at Nanking, which, as we know, was visited by Gunavarman in early 5th century. In 522 Sung Yun crossed the Pamir. In 529, Nanking was fortunate to be visited by the silent sage Bodhidharma, who is worshipped even today as the patriarch of the Dhyana (Zen) school of philosophy. A century after Bodhi-dharma, Hiuen Ts'ang set out for India (629) and on his return (645) he devoted his last days, till his death in 664, in translating some of the most valuable books. While Kumara-jiva introduced philosophic nihilism of the *Sunyavada* promulgated by Nagarjuna, Hiuen Ts'ang introduced the Yogachara and the *Vijnanavada* and translated the valuable works of Asanga, Vasubandhu and others. (Grousset : *In the Footsteps of the Buddha*, 1932).

These works played a great part in developing the intellectual life of the T'ang period as well as that of mediæval Japan. But before Japan, Korea obtained 535 valuable legacies of Buddhism through the monks, professors, doctors and painters. The Koreans derived Buddhist art from Nanking, and from Korea it was transmitted to Japan. That is why the famous Horyuji frescoes of Nara are more Indian than the school of painting of Tun Huang which was more intimately connected with Central Asia, Turkestan and Sassanian Persia. The native Chinese dynasties of the South, on the contrary, trafficked by sea with India, Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago. The Chinese Buddhist art of Liang and Nanking also directly influenced the Buddhist art of Korea and through Korea that of Japan.

Before we discuss the marvellous development of painting of the T'ang period, we should remember that diverse traditions and techniques of art flowed into China during the first five centuries of the Christian era when Indian missionaries (both Buddhistic

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and Brahmanical) were carrying the torch of Indian culture to the farthest limits of Asia. The rock-cut temples of Tun-Huang (450—1100 A. D.) of Yun Kang (409—560 A. D.) and of Lung-Men (500—750 A.D.) are veritable open air museums exhibiting a bewildering variety in plastic and pictorial traditions.* Khotanese, Turfanese, Iranian Manichæan and Indian styles merged in and co-mingled with the indigenous Chinese techniques of vase-paintings and tomb-paintings (of Shantung and Korea) while stucco-paintings and frescoes on the walls of the rock-cut temples were evidently derived from Gandhara and India ; and even the erotic Tantric cults, according to Grunwedel, deeply influenced the painters of Kucha (vide Grunwedel's *Alt-Kutscha*, 1920).

The early T'ang period closed with the momentous travel records of Hiuen Ts'ang (629-645) and I-Tsing (671-713). The middle period opened with the accession (712) of emperor Ming Huang, who, with his brother Prince Chi, witnessed the noblest efflorescence of Chinese poetry through the immortal works of Li Po (701-762) and Tu Fu, whose largeness of spirit, emotional richness and artistic form are rarely paralleled in literature. China, at this epoch, was far from being isolated. Wu-K'ung (751-90) travelled towards India and Chinese generals marched triumphantly beyond the Pamirs subjugating the Khans of Tartary and the Kings of Samarkand ; Kashmir and Gandhara were vassal kingdoms. Syrians, Turks, Persians and Indians flocked to the Chinese capital. Christianity, Buddhism, Manichæism and Zoroastrianism flourished side by side near about the great T'ang capital of Chang-an, the Rome of Asia. But the over-civilized capital collapsed before the attack of the virile Tartars. The disaster brought the inevitable reaction and a strengthening of the conservative party whose mouthpiece was the famous writer Han Yu (768—824) who wanted to take China to pre-Buddhistic times, free from mysticism, pacifism and other 'heresies'. In 845, Buddhism along with other foreign religions suffered the most tragic persecution. Nearly 5,000 Buddhist monasteries and 40,000

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* *An Introduction to the Theory of Chinese Sculpture* by Leigh Ashton (1924) ; *Chinese Art* (Burlington Magazine Monographs, 1925), by Laurence Binyon, W. Perceval Yetts and Osvald Siren.

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temples were reported to have been destroyed, naturally throwing into oblivion innumerable manuscripts and masterpieces of art, including the priceless frescoes of the greatest painter of the epoch, Wu Tao-Tzu.

PAINTINGS OF CHINA, KOREA AND JAPAN

Quite apart from the unique value of Chinese paintings as works of art, these are indispensable landmarks in the history of Asiatic aesthetics. Chinese painting is the noble offspring of Indian idealism and Chinese æsthetic genius. The earlier phases of this cross-fertilization are unfortunately obliterated by the cruel hand of time ; but thanks to the ceaseless researches of archæologists and art-historians, we catch a glimpse of that glorious age of cultural collaboration when the whole of Asia under the inspiration of Buddhism was breathing like one integral being. Studies of Begram ivories and the pictorial remains of Bamiyan, of Hadda, Khotan and Kucha, Turfan and Tun-Huang have demonstrated clearly the line of migration of this composite Central Asian art along the Northern land route. But there was also a Southern Asiatic line of art-migration across the sea from India through Indonesia to South China and thence to Korea and Japan, as has been ably argued by Dr. Visser in his monograph published in the *Influences of Indian Art.* Prince Gunavarman the painter-missionary from Kashmir, was probably a pioneer in the southern sea route. But Kashmir of his age (400 A.D.) was also the university of the great Kuamara-jiva who came all the way from the Indo-European speaking 'Tokharian' state of Kucha to Kashmir to learn Sanskrit and various Indian sciences which he later brought over to China. So the routes might differ, but the artistic and cultural traditions offer points of homogeneity amidst all kinds of ethnic and regional diverties. The Irano-Afghan, Parthian, Sassanian, Hellenic and even Roman influences were clearly visible in the art of Central Asia (vide Rowland pp. 101-111). While Foucher is of opinion that the Turkish Kushans 'had not direct influence on Indo-Greek art," Waley strongly asserts that "Central Asia has influenced India quite as much as India influenced Central

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Asia." Central Asian influences are noticeable in many Indian art-motives specially those of the Mathura School. So we find the influence of Græco-Roman art on the Yun-Kang reliefs and that of Turfan paintings on the early T'ang frescoes discovered in Tun-Huang which, in the 7th century, came under China and developed remarkably Chinese features. Tun-Huang appears to-day as a sort of art-reservoir into which several Western Asiatic art currents flowed in, and out of which emerged various Far Eastern aesthetic currents, connecting the art traditions of China with those of Korea and Japan. In tracing the history of the early T'ang painters, Waley very appropriately remembers that Chinese painters often took lessons in painting from foreign priests. Such a painter-monk was Seng-Hui, a Sogdian; another was an Indian whose Chinese name may be retranslated into Dharma Gupta; another foreign painter of the Sui dynasty was a member of the Khotanese royal family and it has been admitted that the Khotanese School of painting forms the primal source of many later Chinese and Japanese pictorial traditions. Most of these foreign painter-monks visited China in the 6th and 7th centuries, and an Indian named Sakya Buddha is reported to have painted foreign animals as well as "a picture showing the customs of the *Fu-lin* country or the Byzantine Empire." The Khotanese painter is reported to have painted "the dancing girls of Kucha," and his works and designs of birds and flowers, men and deities are judged by the 14th century treatise of art-criticism, the *Hua-Chien*, as outlandish and lacking the dignity and restraint of Chinese art. The same book records that the Korean type of Avalokitesvara is based on the designs of the Khotanese painter Wei-Chih I-Seng (630 A.D.). From the concrete realistic, the painter Yen Li-Te took to the new line of subtle suggestions in expressing special moods like a lyric poet. He also painted the historical picture of the departure of the Chinese princess to marry the Tibetan King (641) Srong-btsan-sgam-po, who also married in the Nepalese royal family, thus uniting closely for the first time the artistic traditions of India and China through Tibet. The younger brother of Li-Te was another great painter, Yen Li-Pen (born about 600 A.D.). In 643 he was employed to paint portraits of 24 famous men of the time for the National portrait

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gallery.' His most celebrated picture "the visit of Manjusri to Vimalakirti" was probably the model for the treatment of the same subject in the frescoes of Tun-Huang as described by Pelliot. Another Tun-Huang fresco, the Procession of the Donor, described both by Pelliot and Stein, is supposed to be the source of inspiration if not the origin of the Tosa School of Japan. But Waley is not inclined to accept the theory. He is inclined rather to trace the Tosa School of painters' works to the indigenous Japanese Genji scroll painting of Takayoshi (1100 A.D.). Some critics however are inclined to connect the famous wall paintings of Horyuji temple at Nara with the Indian frescoes of Ajanta or with those of Khotan. Waley admits the possibility of collaboration of the Khotanese painter Yen Li Pen, and upholds the local tradition that the Horyuji frescoes were painted about 712 A.D. by a Korean in the style of the 7th century Chinese Buddhist art.

The great painter Wu Tao-Tzu, born in Honan about 700, is reported to have drawn 300 frescoes to decorate the temple walls at Chang-an and Lo Yang. Unfortunately most of his works along with those temples were destroyed after the persecution of Buddhists in 845. Hence many works attributed to him are now found out to be later copies. But he was undoubtedly the founder of a great school, as we know from references to his many pupils, and he influenced both contemporary painting and sculpture. Wu Tao-Tzu, however, so far as we can judge from later catalogues, painted very rarely the Western Paradise or its presiding deity Amitabha dominating the highly conservative provincial school of Tun-Huang. The 7th century iconography was dominated by Amitabha, just as the 5th was dominated by Maitreya and the 6th by Sakyamuni.

Waley considers the Tun-Huang school as an independent offshoot of the Northern 6th century school founded by Chungta, the Sogdian. Against this provincial school we find at Changan quasi-Tantric sects and divinities, *e.g.*, the five Vidyarajas, the matronly forms of Avalokitesvara and a huge procession of Lohans or Arhats. As early as 520 A.D. or about a century after the landing of Gunavarman at Nanking, there arrived in Canton, the Sage Bodhi-dharma from Southern India. He belonged to a princely

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family, and the reigning emperor of China who was a patron of Buddhism welcomed him, and their conversation at the Nanking palace is described by Waley in his chapter on Zen Buddhism and Zen artists.

Another South Indian, the third patriarch Vajra-bodhi, reached China in 719 and died there in 792. The fourth patriarch Subha-kara was a Central Indian prince who arrived in China in 716 and died there in 735. The fifth patriarch Amogha-vajra enjoyed great prestige during the reign of Ming-Huang and died in 774. The portraits of these patriarchs were made by eminent painters like Li Chen, Chou Fang (780-805 A.D.) and others. In 804 the famous Japanese priest Kobo Daishi. the founder of Koyasan monastery, arrived in China, learnt the doctrines of the magic sect (*Mantra-yana*) from the sixth patriarch Hui-Kuo, and returned to Japan in 807 with a number of paintings and portraits attributed to Li Chen, now preserved in the Toji temple in Kyoto.

These link up the art of China and Japan intimately. Waley has reproduced a wonderful Japanese copy made in 735 of a sixth century Chinese scroll. This "Search for Buddha" (who has left the palace) is now a treasure of the Imperial Museum of Kyoto. In some points this scroll reminds us of the life-scenes on the Stein banner collections from Tun-Huang, which, however, show an astonishing advance in power of co-ordination and in the suggestion of space and planes. Quite a literature has recently developed, based on the pictorial treasures from Tun-Huang revealed by Stein and Pelliot. The valuable pictorial documents of Tun-Huang date from the beginning of the 7th century to the end of the 10th century. Here we read clearly two distinct types of influences : (1) the Indian style, manifesting successively through Gandharian, Gupta and Pala models ; (2) and Iranian and Central Asian types of painting as we find from the fragments discovered in Bamiyan and Hadda in Afghanistan as well as from Khotan, Turfan and Kucha. All these styles, however, were adapted to Chinese purposes and progressively transformed by the Chinese genius. The stages of assimilation may sometimes be clearly traced. In some cases we find the iconography of the paintings proclaiming

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an unmixed descent from the Gupta (Ajanta) or the Pala schools ; sometimes, as in the case of minor divinities, flying figures, etc., experts have discovered that there were links between analogous types at Ajanta on the one hand and those of the Korean tomb of Sammyori (6th century A. D.), the coffin-plate from Koryo (now in the Government Museum at Seoul), and lastly, the flying angels of Horyuji in Japan. Japanese archæologists have recently discovered Korean frescoes of great importance, proving the progressive migration of pictorial *motifs* from North China and Korea to Japan. The paintings on the tomb near Phyong-an represent noble lords and ladies with their attendants dating from about 590 A. D., according to Andreas Eckardt, author of *A History of Korean Art.* They seem to represent a school of court painting in high style reminding us of the stiff elegance of the Wei or Sui dynasty figurines. The Korean frescoes and the Tun-Huang banners furnish us with specimens of the work of the provincial schools. Sometimes the Chinese type is found to be fused with the Græco-Roman, as in the portrait of Kshitigarbha in Tun-Huang. So we notice in the painting of the *Loka-palas* a fusion of Sassanian and Chinese styles, just as we find at Bazakliq and Turfan explored by Professors Grunwedel and Von Le Coq. Prof. Paul Pelliot made public his collection of the Tun-Huang paintings in his admirable volumes *Les Grottes de Touen-Huang.* So Stein's collection has been ably described by Laurence Binyon in the sumptuous reproductions of *The Thousand Buddhas.* These Tun-Huang paintings now deposited in the Musee Guimet of Paris and in the British Museum of London are the only fortunate survivals which enable us to distinguish the T'ang, the Five dynasties and the early Sung styles in portraiture, caricature, animal art and landscape. They lead naturally to the now famous scroll of "Admonitions" attributed to Ku-K'ai Chih, but which as proved by Prof. Pelliot, was a later T'ang copy of the old master whose paintings are lost to us, like the works of T'ang painters Ku Tao-Tzu, Li Chao-Tao and Wang Wei—whose sketches are only suggested to us to-day by later copies mostly preserved in Japan.

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THE GREAT SUNG REVIVAL—960-1279

The T'ang dynasty collapsed in 907 followed by a period of feudal anarchy for nearly half a century, during which Chinese generals or Turkish mercenaries contended with one another. In 960, the whole of China, (with the exception of Peking districts captured by the Khitan Tartars), was unified by the Sung dynasty which maintained the political and cultural integrity of China for more than 300 years. But in 1125, the Sung empire was divided when the whole of North China with the Imperial Sung capital at Kaifeng was occupied by the Juchen Tartars. So the National Chinese Empire came to be confined to Southern China. The Northern Tartar Kin empire (with capital in Peking), was conquered in 1234 by the Mongols under Chengiz Khan and the Southern Sung empire also was conquered in 1279 by the Mongols under the great emperor Kublai Khan. In spite of these Turko-Mongolian invasions and conquests. China under the Sung emperors developed the most vigorous and original schools of painting and aesthetic idealism—so much so that the whole school of Japanese painting was profoundly influenced by the Sung masters.

Aesthetic criticism was also a distinctive feature of this period of intellectualisation of Chinese art, which further manifested itself in and through the archæological works of the Sung antiquarians as noticed by Dr. Li Chi. T'ang realism was yielding place to an intellectual idealism where the artists were not seeking the world of concrete forms or the real universe but an idealised reflection of the universe. This tendency is the result of the reaction of Mahayana Buddhism fused with the native mysticism of the later Taoists. This fusion produced the galaxy of T'ang poets like Li Po (701-762), Tu Fu (712-770), Kang Wei (699-759), and Po Chu-I (772-846). These poets were seeking the "soul of things," and like them the Sung masters of the pictorial and ceramic art transcended the material ideals of the previous age and took their stand on intellectual and mystic idealism bringing about a veritable renaissance in Chinese art. Without any touch of sentimentality and personal romanticism, the Sung

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artists made their marvellous landscapes, "bathed in mist and lost in infinite distance," which appear to us "as poignant as a human countenance." From the ephemeral outward forms, the Sung artists tried to take us to the cosmic Essence which animates the universe. Eminent authorities like Otto Fischer in his *Chinesische Landschaftsmalerei* (Munich, 1921) and Arthur Waley in *Zen Buddhism* (London, 1932) have tried to analyse the beauty and sublimity of the Sung masters. They discovered as the best medium of expression monochrome painting in washes of Chinese ink. For the foregrounds they used pure colours and "for the more distant planes they mixed the colours with Chinese ink which darkened them without diminishing their transparency. In so doing they invented *chairoscuro* and half-tones, in short impressions by means of which the Chinese landscape painters obtained effects of amazing mastery." (Grousset: *China* p. 302). The influence of the *Dhyana* Ch'an or the Zen school of Buddhism seems to be clear, as suggested by Petrucci who says, "the haze lends a magical aspect to an impression of emptiness and immensity." In many cases the Sung landscapes appear to be translation in line or colour of the poets of the T'ang renaissance some of whom like Wang Wei (born in 699 at Tai Yuan Fu in Shansi) were painters as well.

As in the landscape so in portrait-painting the Sung masters revealed a rare intellectual and almost animistic quality; for they had to serve a religious or social purpose, for portraiture was connected with ancestor worship both in China and in Egypt, as observed by Prof. Serge Eliseev. We mention the principal Sung painters of the 10th and 11th centuries when Kaifeng was still the capital; Fan K'uan (990-1030) was a great artist and a few of his paintings or those attributed to him are to be found in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Kuo Hsi (1020-1090) is supposed to be the author of the magnificent monochrome roll entitled "Autumn in the valley of the Yellow River," now in the Freer Gallery of Washington. Many such valuable paintings, now in U. S. A., have been catalogued and noticed by Prof. Siren in his *Chinese Paintings in the American Collections*. The paintings of Chao Ta-nien (1030-1100) are treasured by A. Tetsuma of Tokyo and by Hara Tomitaro of Yokohama. The

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most famous of the Sung maters was Li Lung Mien (1040-1106)* Li Lung Mien's works are in the Freer Gallery and in the Marquis Kuroda Naganari's collections in Tokyo. The emperor Hui Tsung(1101-1125) was a collector as well as a painter and calligraphist, an aesthete as well as an archæologist. He built a regular museum in his palace at Kaifeng-fu. He is reputed to be the author of a painting now in the Boston Museum entitled "Ladies engaged in prepairing Silk" which may be only a copy, made by the emperor, of a T'ang original.

Emperor Hui Tsung organised the schools of painting, hitherto subordinated to the Literary College, into a regular State Academy of Painting. Examinations in paintings were instituted and based closely upon the literary examination. The emperor himself excelled in monochrome paintings of rocks and flowers of birds and bamboos. The Chinese regard the bamboo as a symbol of culture and refinement. Kaifeng fell into the hands of the Kin-Tartars who destroyed most of his art collections, and the emperor himself was carried away as captive to Manchuria.

The new Sung capital Hangchow came to be the seat of the Southern school of Sung painting, and one of the greatest landscape painters of the Far East, Ma Yuan (1190-1224), belonged to the Hangchow school. He not only influenced the later Chinese painters but also the Japanese school of Kano and therefore many of his paintings are treasured by Japanese collectors, though some of his works could also be seen in Boston and Washington.† Ma Yuan combined the majestic power of

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* He was fascinated by the wonderful horses presented to the emperor by the rulers of Khotan. But with his sudden conversion to Buddhism, he abandoned horse-painting and devoted himself to the copying of the religious painters of the T'ang dynasty. His contemporary was the eccentric artist Mi Fei (1051-1107) who excelled in painting cloudy mountains. He was a great connoisseur of antiquities and a passionate collector of painting and calligraphy. The Sung period witnessed the dawn of the modern science of archæology and critical study of antiquities for which Dr. Li Chi has paid a glorious tribute to the Sung masters (vide : Li Chi—*Chinese Archæology*).

† When the Mongols captured Hangchow in 1276, the Chinese lost interest in the mystical school of Zen painting and the brooding romantic art of 13th century. In that age of neglect, the Japanese

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T'ang art with the masterliness and suggestiveness of the Sung style. His son Ma Lin was also a great painter, and painting in this age seemed to be a hereditary genius. Ma Lin was followed by Hsia Kuei (1180-1234), whose romantic delicacy was contrasted with the harsh strength of Ma Yuan. In the first half of the 13th century there flourished the school of Liang Kai who excelled in portraits of hermits or poets treated in a synthetic and humorous manner, imitated by later Sino-Japanese painters down to Hokusai. His masterpiece is the standing figure of Sakya-muni meditating close beside a torrent, now belonging to collection of Count Sakai Tadamichi. The last of the great Sung artists was Mu-chi. He came from South-West of China to Hangchow about 1215 A. D. He revived the ruined monastery of Liu Tung-ssu, making it the centre of a famous school of painting "using the swift erratic type of monochromes to record quickly the fading visions and exaltations." He was still plying his brush about 1250 making one of the "loftiest pictures of Chinese Buddhism on the eve of the Mongol conquest, as though the ancient Chinese culture, before disappearing, had desired its whole soul to be expressed by one of its most profound geniuses." The face of the Arhat Vanavasi, according to Grousset, while "lit up with an infinite gentleness has a grandeur worthy of Michael Angelo . . . . on the eve of perishing, the soul of China had embraced the whole universe."

CHINESE SCULPTURAL AND PICTORIAL TRADITIONS

To appreciate fully the significance of T'ang art with its distinctly cosmopolitan tendencies, one must study closely on parallel lines, the apparently different yet organically uniform

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admirers could easily remove to their country the masterpieces of Ma Yuan, Hsi Ruei and such romantic landscape painters of the Court. They also removed the treasure of minor arts from the Zen monastaries of China, and that is how the Japanese artists of the Ashikaga period (1393-1573) could reproduce with astonishing thoroughness the character of the Southern Sung art. Many Zen monks from Western China took refuge in Japan owing to the Mongol conquest, just as it happened once again during the Manchu invasion in the 17th century.

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development of Chinese sculpture and painting from the Han to the T'ang periods. China developed indigenous forms and styles long before the Indian or the Græco-Buddhist art and that indigenous style is best illustrated in the animal sculpture of the Han period discovered in Ssuchuan and Shantung. These winged carnivores, guardian lions in stone at the tombs and other terracotta relics of mortuary art of the Han period are naturally and stylistically connected with the majestic animal figures near the 6th century tombs of the Liang dynasty. The tremendous energy, the sweeping lines and some special ornaments of these majestic animals reminded Osvald Siren of the proud spirit of the Viking art and he has compared "the Chinese dragons of this period with those carved 300 or 400 years later on the Runic stones and the wooden furniture in Scandinavia." It seems now within the range of historical probability that China came to have cultural relations with far off Scandinavia through Siberia and South Russia. The Russian archæologist Rostovtzeff tried to explain many such artistic parallelisms on the hypothesis of a Græco-Sarmatian art. Prof. Siren further develops the theory by emphasising a Scytho-Sarmatian influence. These Scythian elements in Chinese art remind us of the Saka-Kushan phase in the evolution of Indian art in the early centuries of the Christian era. That was followed by a distinctly Iranian phase marked by the Indo-Parthian, the Indo-Afghan and the Indo-Sassanian intermediaries. And finally, like the Hunas invading India, we find the Wei Tartars conquering China only to emerge in history as ardent champions of Indian religion and art, as we find from their remarkable architectural and sculptural relics at Yun-Kang, Lung Men and other places.

The Græco-Roman influences, no doubt, marched into China with early Buddhism but the nomad Wei Tartars from the North, after conquering China, proved themselves very different from mere blood-thirsty invaders. They, like the Saka-Kushans of India, assimilated Indian Buddhism and Chinese culture so rapidly that an authority on Chinese-Buddhist art like Mr. Parceval Yetts could argue convincingly that the art now associated with the Wei people was essentially Chinese and not foreign or nomadic as one would expect it to be.

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Thus another strong similarity emerged in the assimilative capacities of India and China with regard to the various alien or quasi-foreign elements intruding into their historical frame. The peculiar dress, ornaments. weapons and animal motives in bronze, clay or stone, when studied in detail, would lead to important revelations. Dr. Laufer, in his *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, has given us valuable suggestions with regard to the dragons, gryphons, tigers, bucks, horses etc. and these emerge in a new form amongst the pottery figures discovered in the tombs of the T'ang dynasty. The Canadian Royal Ontario Museum of Toronto offers the best collection for the study of the contents of such tombs with their "cavalcades of horsemen, camels with their grooms, ladies, attendants, dancers, actors and musicians," These were probably offered as actual sacrifices in ancient days when a Chinese noble or a chief died, as was the custom in Ur of the Chaldeans, revealed by recent excavations. But with the progress of civilisation and probably under the influence of Buddhism, these images came to be substituted for living beings. This humanising influence of Buddhism is writ large on the art of Central Asia no less than on the art of Tun-Huang, Yun-Kang and Lung Men. Between 351-394 A. D., Tun-Huang lay within the territory of a stock called Ti who are now supposed to be Tibetans who became conspicuous in the history of Central Asia only in the 7th century A. D. as we know from the career of their great king Srong-btsan-sgam-po, contemporary of Hiuen Ts'ang.

TUN-HUANG AND YUN-KANG CAVE TEMPLES

The earliest rock-cut temple in the Mo-Kao cave (8 miles South East of Tun-Huang) was consecrated in 366 by a priest named Lo Tsun and by 700 A. D., there were already more than 1000 caves. Examining the Wei paintings at caves numbering, 18, 70, 120, 130, 135, 139, 140 etc., Arthur Waley observes : "the main cult figures (Buddhas and Bodhi-sattvas), which depended for their efficacy on an exact conformity to Indian proto-types, retained their exotic luxuriances of outlines. But the anecdotal scenes which crowd in upon them on every side are typically

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Chinese. Here are the landscape mannerisms of Ku-K'ai-Chih, the sprightly animals of the pre-T'ang painted vases, and Confucian attitudes straight from the grave-reliefs of Shantung." In cave No. 120 N. as pointed out by Prof. Pelliot, we find Crusader-horsemen drawn in Chinese style but with a wholly "occidental air," although chronologically such cavalry equipment (probably derived from the Iranians or Sarmatians) became fashionable in Europe only in the middle of the 13th century A. D.

From the grottoes of Tun-Huang, situated in the Kansu province in Western China, one reaches Shansi by traditional routes; and at Yun-Kang near Ta T'ung Fu we found over twenty caves. Chronologically these caves come after the earliest grottoes of Tun-Huang, but they contain certain features which are common with those of Tun-Huang and of Ajanta. The flying figures, the *kinnaras* appearing on the vaults are derived from those in the Ajanta cave. The small *stupas* placed at the top of the pagodas in Caves I and II are of pure Indian type. The *Dvarapalas* or guardians are partly Chinese and partly Indian and some of them are armed with *Trisulas* or tridents which went to show that, as in Khotan, so here at Yun-Kang early Buddhism came to be fused with Saivism, a phenomenon noticed as early as the Kushan coins (1st and 2nd centuries A. D.). There is an inevitable confusion of iconographic details and attributes but in the images we find unmistakeable evidence of Brahmanical deities entering China under the banner of Buddhism.

Cave Nos. VIII and X show curious figures, one a five-headed six-armed being seated on a peacock carrying the sun, the moon, a bow and arrow. This is probably an incarnation of Kartikeya, called by Prof. Siren, a Garudaraja; another figure with three-heads and eight-arms which carries similar attributes and rides a bull undoubtedly Maheswara, just as we find him in a painting from Tun-Huang now in the Musee Guimet of Paris. The same God clad in tiger-skin appears with his favourite son, Ganesha (both passing for Bodhi-sattvas) as we find them amongst the figures of ancient Khotan described by Sir Aurel Stein. After a minute examination of the draperies of the monumental Buddha figures, Prof. Siren came to the conclusion that Yun-Kang

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sculptures were based, if not directly, at least indirectly on the Mathura sculptures of the late Kushan and the early Gupta period. But side by side we find images and art motifs which are distinctly Chinese or Iranian, e.g., acanthus stems interspersed with birds, animals, capitals and patterns of Sassanian art which have lately been discovered by the French archæologists in such abundance in Afghanistan. The facial types and features are also highly varied and many of them remind us of the stucco-heads brought from Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan, as described by Hackin and Pelliot, von Le Coq and Stein. The best Yun-Kang Buddhas breathe an atmosphere of profound spirituality ; but unfortunately the caves, and with them the sculptures, being carved on soft granular stone, have deteriorated considerably and what is worse, shocking debasements have followed as the result of very crude recent *restoration*.

LUNG MEN CAVES IN HONAN

The northern Wei emperors transferred in 495 their capital from Ta T'ung Fu to Lo Yang in the Honan province, which we found literally honey-combed with antiquities. While journeying through this province with Dr. Li Chi, I was constantly reminded by him of the variety and richness of the archæological finds. The earliest cave of Lung Men, the KuYang Tung, was excavated towards the end of the 5th century and, as in Ajanta, the cave architecture evolved through several centuries, and many of the later additions disturbed the harmony of the original design and decoration. Often the grottoes appear in a defaced and dirty condition and such a sad disfiguration is found in the largest of all, the Pin Qang grotto. The archæological mission of Edouard Chavannes furnished us with the first exhaustive and scholarly accounts of the caves in *Ars Asiatica*, Paris. From Honan we notice the migration of Buddhist sculpture to Shensi in the west and Shantung in the east ; and although the Indian influence is dominant in the execution of the largest hieratic statues, yet the individuality of Chinese artistic genius asserted itself in the treatment of the attendant deities and accessory figures who are typical children of Chinese myths and legends.

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In 618, General Li Yuan, aided by his son Li Shah Min, a great military genius, founded the famous T'ang dynasty deposing the ruler of the House of Sui. Before entering the T'ang period proper we should remember that the very short Sui Dynasty marks the Golden Age of Buddhist sculpture in China. The most striking specimens are from the cave of Tien-Lung-Shan and those, according to Prof. Siren, are so closely related to some of the Mathura sculptures of the 5th and the 6th centuries A.D., that he supposed that some Indian artists, well-acquainted with the Mathura school, might have worked for sometime at Tien-Lung-Shan where, in the later T'ang period also, we find a distinctly Indian character as against the style of contemporary Chinese sculptures. The Indian current was strongest in Shensi, more diluted in Shantung and Chihli and quite faint and sporadic in the sculptures of Honan and Shansi.

ART OF THE T'ANG PERIOD AND AFTER

General Li Yuan who founded the T'ang dynasty (618) leaned towards Confucianism when he ascended the throne as emperor Kao-Tsu and the famous historian of his reign, Fu I was definitely against the monastic orders. The next emperor T'ai-tsung (627-649) was the patron of Hiuen Ts'ang who returned from India in 645 with important scriptural texts, copies of the famous images of Buddha and other art treasures. At this epoch, Chang-an was the veritable Rome of the Orient where many foreign nations sent embassies and tributes and rival cults like Buddhism and Taoism, Nestorian Christianity and Manichæism preached their respective philosophies, thanks to the enlightened tolerance of the emperor. The sculptures deposited by Hiuen T'sang in the "Temple of the great Blessings" exercised considerable influence on Chinese sculptural types. Other Chinese pilgrims and envoys, travelling to and from India undoubtedly exerted artistic influences on the sculptural and pictorial art of China This interesting chapter, hitherto unknown, has been revealed to us by the brilliant researches, of the renowned French sinologist Paul Pelliot who, in 1928, published in *T'oung Pao* (Vol. 22) his "Notes on some Artists of the Six Dynasties and of the T'ang

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period." The imperial envoy Wang Hsuan-ts'e probably made four journeys to India. He is reported to have been accompanied by an artist called Sung Fa Chih who is said to have made the drawings of the Maitreya statue at Bodh-Gaya. He was also commissioned by Hiuen Ts'ang on the eve of his death (664) to execute a statue of the Buddha. The third emperor Kao Tsung (650-684) was deeply interested in Buddhism and fostered Buddhist architecture, sculpture and painting.

But while the imperial treasury was emptied for the benefit of Buddhist temples, the Kitans or the Tibetans and the Turks were invading the Northern provinces inflicting great suffering on the common people. Already there was a tendency to decadence in the sculptural arts as we find from the complaint of the contemporary Buddhist scholar, Tao Hsuan, who wrote in his History of Buddhism in China that the "sculptors made their religious images look like dancing girls." Still everybody admits that some of the finest sculptures of Lung Men in Honan and Tien-Lung-Shan in Shansi come from the period of emperor Kao Tsung and empress Wu Hou. Another group of Buddhist sculptures come from Sian-fu (Shensi) mostly carved in grey limestone or yellowish marble. Most of these Buddha types betray and Indian ancestry but "crossed with powerful indigenous elements of style inherited from previous epochs of Buddhist art in China." The facial types are not Indian but decidedly Chinese and the Bodhi-sattvas are sometimes quite feminine in treatment. Against that tendency we find a healthy reaction in the virile and masculine representation of the *bhikshus* and priests. In these portrait statues, the Chinese genius found its full play and they reflect a power and dignity seldom found before. The narrow waist and tight drapery of some of the Buddhas testify to Indian influence. From after 700 A.D. we find the influence of Buddhism also on crude Taoistic sculptures which attained to artistic dignity several centuries after, in the Yuan period. But then the Taoist painters were infinitely superior to the sculptors.

In bronze-casting and in minor arts of the Tang period we often find "Chinese translations of Indian prototypes." We also notice intrusions of Persian or Irano-Hellenistic decorative motives. The sculptural activities of this period reached their

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zenith in some of the grand statues of Lung Men and Tien-Lung-Shan. But alas, as Prof. Siren has observed, many of the statues had their heads knocked off and exported *via* Peking to Europe. Such artistic vandalism should be stopped by international legislation. Another interesting series of T'ang sculpture is found at Shen Tung-ssu in Shantung province. Here we find a benevolent Chinese smile transforming the austerities of Buddhism. The Chinese had a tendency to humanize religion even at the risk of vulgarising it partially.

Secular sculptures, mostly of animals, are found at the imperial tombs of the T'ang and the Sung dynasties in Shensi and Honan. Early styles of animal carving are represented in some of the lions executed towards the beginning of the Ming period. Under emperor Hsuan Tsung (713-756) Zoroastrianism, Christianity and even Mohamedanism flourished freely and in the capital city there was a great development of poetry, music and painting and some of the greatest Chinese artists for all ages lived in this epoch. The Tibetans, suddenly growing into a great power, temporarily closed the roads of communication between China and India ; and the emperor is said to have presented the Tibetans a set of Confucian classics in order to elevate their character and teach them lessons of justice and morality. But alas the Tartar General of the emperor captured and devastated Chang-an in 756 and priceless works of art, specially the paintings of unsurpassed masters, like Wu Tao Tzu and Wang Wei, were destroyed for ever.

From 700 A. D. we notice a few remarkable changes. From the point of view of iconography, Sakyamuni and Maitreya, so common in earlier sculpture, came to be overshadowed by their later emanations Amitabha and Vairochana. Also we find that the statues are bending and standing at the hips, thus developing an expressional movement so different from their frontal and static positions of the earlier schools. Moreover, secondary figures like the Arhats and Lokapalas appeared to have been very popular, offering as they did greater scope to the creative genius and to the hunger for variety in the artists. Prof. Siren was fascinated by one remarkable Bhikshu figure which "expresses the most intense religious adoration, not in the usual restraint

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and well-balanced form but with an overflow of human feeling that completely dominates the whole conception."

LATER SCHOOLS OF PAINTING

That already signalises, the fact that the flow of the creative spirit of China was about to burst the bounds of stone sculpture and melt into the variegated rhythms of line and colour. The great age of Chinese painting was dawning and it is very significant that, in keeping with this new urge, a new plastic representation in wood and dry lacquer (the Ch'u technique) came into vogue. The artists found those materials more suitable than stone for gaining pictorial effects ; and they could finish the statues with colours and thus could accentuate the play of light and shade. The earliest wooden statues known so far are those brought from Tun Huang by Prof. Pelliot who traces the history of this art in a valuable article (*Journal Asiatique*, 1923) on "Dry Lacquer statues in ancient Chinese art." From China this art travelled to Japan to find there its veritable apotheosis. In many of these wooden statues we see not only a symbolic image but a semi-divine, semi-human being, lovable and tender towards the adorers. The *Kwanyin* of this epoch charms us with an womanly grace so different from the hieratic qualities of the Bodhi-sattvas. Just as wood was allowed to replace stone, so iron came to replace bronze, for we find bronze figures to be less and less numerous from the end of the T'ang period. Wood and iron as mediums easily lend themselves to pictorial treatment and very soon we find a new stylistic evolution through the use of clay which permitted almost infinite scope for plastic variation. These wall decorations in clay may be called "a translation of painting into plastic material", as we find it to be very common in the Sung and the Ming periods famous in history for their pictorial achievements. The composition as well as the modes of decoration will continue to grow more and more free and pictorial till we come to the Yuan dynasty. That brings to our mind the fact that China again came to be dominated by the powerful Tartar tribes who conquered the whole of the North and forced the indigenous Chinese rulers

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and artists to be confined to the South where we find that painting was practically the only art practised under the Southern Sung dynasty.

How painting came to influence sculpture could be seen from decorations on the Chi Hsia-ssu pagoda near Nanking and also from the rock carvings and the reliefs near Hangchow executed between the 10th and 12th centuries. The cave sculptures at Ling Yen-ssu near Hangchow which we visited, offer the largest variety reminding us more of painting than of sculpture. The Southern School of Chinese Art is considered by some critics to be the meeting ground of Indian art traditions which, modifying the Chinese forms, passed them on to Korea and Japan *(vide* Visser: *Indian Influence on Far Eastern Art.)*

Inspite of the insecurity, the feuds and conquests of the Tartars who established the Liao and the Chin dynasties in the North, the Sung period as a whole show remarkable activity in the field of decorative sculpture while in painting they were unsurpassed. When the Mongols conquered China, establishing the Yuan dynasty, there followed a definite set-back; for art was no longer a hand-maid to religion but came to be used for the glorification of the temporal power. The Yuan officials were Confucians and so the old Buddhists were temporarily thrown to the background, although we find that the Mongol emperors, coming under the influence of Tibetan Lamaism, invited many Tibetan and Nepalese artists to the Mongol Court which developed special studios for them. About 1263, the Nepalese artist Aniko was attached to the court of Kublai Khan and trained many Chinese artists like Liu Yuan.

Yuan art shows an increasing interest in the material side of life and their painting also betrays realistic tendencies which were rejected by the Ming artists who turned away from the foreign influences and tried to rekindle the ideals of the great T'ang epoch. Rejecting the florid decorations of *baroque* character which developed under the foreign Mongol regime, the native Ming artists tried a veritable revival of national glory in classical art and culture. In this work they followed in the footsteps of the indigenous Sung masters who displayed a rare combination of creative and antiquarian interests. In the Ming period we find,

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no doubt, an intense activity in all fields of art, especially in architecture. But they betray a lack of vitality and their preoccupation with technical methods made the Ming art appear rich in ornamental details and yet bereft of the deeper meanings of creative life and its realization. While they showed admirable enthusiasm for the restoration and conservation of ancient temples and other monuments, yet their interest was not so much religious as archæological. Their creative energy appears to "have dried up in the sands of academic speculation and naturally led to a pseudo-revival of art during the 18th century which was decorative but not revealing and which failed to recall to life the ancient religion and idealism of China."

ART IN THE YUAN AND MING ERAS

Between 1211-1234 Northern China was overrun by the Mongols who conquered the Southern Sung empire also between 1234 and 1279. The great emperor Kublai Khan (1259-94) founded the Yuan dynasty which lasted from 1279-1369. He claimed suzerainty over Central Asia, Persia and Russia ; he invaded Japan, though unsuccessfully, as well as Indo China and Java. He introduced the Nepalo-Tibetan art and Buddhism of medieval India and Tibet ; but he patronised also Confucianism which was the main influence behind the art of the Yuan period. He tried to carry on the Sung tradition in many respects although there was also a return to the realistic art of the T'ang period with its animal *motifs* and military subjects. In 1216 Meng-Fu became secretary of the Han-Lin Academy and practically enjoyed the reputation of a Prime Minister. Though he was a conservative Confucian, he possessed a good general knowledge of Taoism and Buddhism. He enjoyed such a high reputation as a calligrapher that "an Indian priest travelled thousands of miles in order to procure a specimen of his hand-writing." Thus the idealism of the Sung school came to be blended with the realism of the Mongol epoch, as we find in the work of Chao Ming-Fu (1254-1322). He was a prince of the Sung family who fraternised with the Mongols and became the favourite artist of Kublai and his successors. Kublai Khan was one of the greatest military geniuses of history who

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conquered practically the whole of Asia. China was the only power which resisted the Mongol advance but China was conquered by Kublai who thus became the master of continental Asia from 1260 A.D., when he founded the Buddhist-Mongol Yuan dynasty. Trade routes were opened across the vast continent Asia stimulating economic and cultural exchanges; and Marco Polo, the famous Venetian travelled together with his father and uncle and served the great Khan as his officer. Kublai invaded Indo-China, Burma and Indonesia and, being a champion of Tibetan Buddhism, invited scholars, artists and craftsmen from Tibet and Nepal, through which Indian arts and crafts influenced China. The bronze-caster of the then China was called *Balbo-chi* or Nepal Man. Chao Ming Fu and Huang Kung Ming were the renowned painters of the Yung period. With art, literature also awakened to new life and novels and dramas developed under the patronage of the Mongol emperors. In one project Kublai was unsuccessful. He failed to conquer Japan inspite of two naval expeditions in 1274 and 1281. From his new capital Khan Baligh (modern Peking), Kublai followed the wise policy of religious tolerance of his ancestors, who sponsored the first miniature Parliament of Religions in their former headquarters of Karakorum (Mongolia). The Mongols, if they were not creative, were cosmopolitan in their sympathies and thus they indirectly helped in liberating Chinese genius from the intense subjectivism of the Southern Sung artists.

In 1259, the Mogul Emperor Mangu Khan sent Chang Te as an envoy to his brother Hulagu Khan, King of Persia, and on his return Chang Te published a diary of his journey mentioning the rare products of the Western countries. This renewed contact with the West, as in the great age of the T'ang emperors, produced the Neo-T'ang style of the Yuan period with its special emphasis on the representation of animals as well as of the special ethnic types. The horses as well as the horsemen of the Chao Ming Fu school are admirable in dynamic qualities and the artists display a veritable genius in animal painting, as we see from the works of the Chao school found in Boston, Washington, Paris and London. No less remarkable were their portraits of horsemen: the Mongols of the Gobi, the Kitan of North China, the Turks of

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Kashgar, the Tangut of Si-hsia, the Tarter ponies of Mongolia, the great horses of Trans-Oxiana combined to form a marvellous portrait gallery. M. Grousset has very aptly observed in this connection :

"It is impossible to imagine more accurate ethnographical and historical documents than these representations of the Mongol cavalry which conquered the world." The Yuan Emperors were great patrons of minor arts and crafts as well ; for they established a regular studio for carvings in ivory and rhinoceros-horn, as noted by Dr. Laufer in his *Ivory in China* (pp. 68) ; "In this court atelier, conches, tables, implements and girdle ornaments inlaid with ivory and horn were turned out for the imperial household." Prof. Pelliot has also shown that many Tibeto-Nepalese artisans, specially bronze-casters were imported into China and patronised by the Court. This fresh contact of China with the medieval centres of Buddhism like Tibet, Nepal and North Bengal (which was the real source of the art inspiration), helped in transforming the war-like character of the Mongol emperors who began to show a definite leaning towards Buddhism. The official religion of the Mongols was Tibetan Lamaism. A great deal of Tibeto-Buddhist art was thus imported and imitated by the Chinese artists in the 14th century. But very few of them survived the violent anti-Mongol reaction of the Ming period. However, the native tradition of Buddhist and Taoist paintings was continued by Wen Hui, Wang Li (who died about 1370) and by Chang-ssu Kung who was a Ming official between 1403-1425. Japanese critics discovered traces of Tibetan influence in the colouring of the Sakyamuni trinity of Chang-ssu Kung. Thus religious painting came to be greatly honoured and Wen Hui, a favourite artist of the 14th century Yuan court, painted hermits and Arhats of a rare mystic quality. With this revival of Buddhism came also a revival of frescœ painting. Many of these frescoes, coming from the Chih-li, the Shansi and the neighbouring provinces, passed into the George Eumorfopoulos collection described by Laurence Binyon and Paul Pelliot. These frescoes were mistaken for T'ang creations while really they testify to the Neo-T'ang activities of the Chinese artists of the Yuan and the Ming periods. The Ming

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frescoes reveal feminine grace and ordered composition and they were much removed from the vigorous earlier models.

THE MING PERIOD—1350-1644

The end of the Mongol domination was foreshadowed by the revolt of Southern China in 1351 culminating in the expulsion of the Mongols in 1388 from Peking. This assertion of the South in the crisis of Chinese history is significant for the cultural history of China, quite apart from political results. This has been demonstrated by my esteemed friend Dr. Hu Shih in his brilliant paper on "The Chinese Renaissance" (Peking, 1923) which he very kindly presented to me during my first visit to China in 1924. With the early period of barbarisation of Northern China during the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries, the cultural centre of gravity was shifted to Southern China. This age of displacement and disturbance was an age of songs and lyrics. The races of the North were makers of heroic and war-like songs, while lyrics of love formed the bulk of the popular literature of Southern China. The simplicity and unmistakable beauty of these popular compositions influenced considerably the great poets of the T'ang period who tried to conform to the popular style. The greatest poet of mid-T'ang period, Po-Chu-I, is said to have rejected or revised his compositions which could be understood by an old village woman. Chinese prose literature also was influenced at this epoch by the popular preachings of the Dhyana school of Buddhism.

North China was subjected to a second period of barbarisation from the 10th to the 14th century, starting with the Kitan Tartars and ending with the expulsion of the Mongols in 1388. While the result of these barbarian conquests were disastrous from the point of view of Chinese political and social life, they produced "immense beneficial effects on the language and literature of the people." The Mongol edicts and the public documents were composed in shockingly barbarised Chinese, Mongol syntax being simply clothed in Chinese characters. But the despotism of the classical language and literature was removed with the official suspension of the rigid classical examina-

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tions for many years (1237-1313). So the greatest writers now had to write with a view to *educate and entertain the people.* Thus arose the great dramas of Yuan period, written by authors from the lowest stratum of society. This necessity of educating the barbarians as well as the barbarised population gave rise to a new class of prose literature known as popular histories which soon developed into historical novels and then into *novels* and *plays* of all kinds. These crude originals of the Mongol period underwent a series of collective and individual revisions, until they appeared in their finished form in the 16th century.

The re-establishment of the National Empire with the Ming dynasty (1350-1644) brought back temporarily the severe classical tradition and the new dramas composed by the *literati* became unintelligible to the majority. Fortunately the novelists (despised as a class and yet plying a profitable profession) remained anonymous. The Manchu rulers after their conquest in 1644, allowed the authors to attach their names to the novels. For the last 400 years the Chinese nobles helped in standardising the national language, and exerted a tremendous educative influence through their favoured authors who were some of the greatest propagandists and teachers of China, as pointed out by Dr. Hu Shih.

The Ming dynasty with its first Emperor Hung-wu (1368-98) pursued a policy of strict conservatism and narrow nationalism which contradicted the traditions of cosmopolitan China in the 13th and 14th century, where we find all languages and religious tolerated under a Pan-Asiatic Empire, with Turkish Persian, Tibetan, Nepalo-Indian, Italian Jewish and Armenian races fraternising with the Mongols and the Chinese. In 1342 the Mongol emperor received a Papal legate in Peking just as his forbears in the previous century patronised a miniature Parliament of Religions in their ancestral home of Karakorum. These cosmopolitan influences were resisted by the Ming emperors, perpetually threatened by the barbarian Tartars. This timidity infected the Ming art, which was erudite but imitative and lacking in creative impulse. Landscapes and portraits were still remarkable but soon degenerated into pretty and dainty trifles, although some of the exquisite ceramic works came from

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State Museum,
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the Ming period. The Ming artists ever look for their models to the Sung masters and often it is difficult to distinguish between the average Sung and the Ming creations. The Ming masters left to art-lovers charming landscapes, perfect paintings of flowers and birds as well as a series of delicate portraits, some even rivalling the school of Holbein : Shen-Chou (1427-1509), the landscape painter, Wen-Cheng Ming (1470-1559), painter and poet, and Tang-Yin (1470-1523), the renowned woman portraitist, are some of the outstanding artists of the Ming school, well represented in the museums of Japan, America and Europe. The last great figure in the art world of the Ming period was Tung Chi-chang (1554-1636) who rose to be the president of the Board of Rites. For over half a century he enjoyed the highest reputation as a statesman, painter, calligrapher, archæologist and a writer on art. The following passage will explain his psychology : "From T'ang till Sung, the different schools. It is like the five divisions of the Dhyana (Zen) sect in Buddhism. A single phrase, often a single word, is enough to tell the listener to which sect the speaker belongs." According to him the Southern school began with Wang Wei who was the first to use light washes. Tung was the last of the generation of scholar-painters. But the creative period was over and the Chinese mind turned instinctively to art criticism. The scholar landscape painter Li Lien Fung (about 1600 A.D.) started the famous Encyclopædia of Chinese Art translated by the French scholar Raphæl Petrucci now available to us under the title "The Precepts of Painting the Garden in the Size of a Grain of the Mustard Seed." The work was continued through the 17th and 18th centuries, finally codifying all the academic precepts and theories of art. The supreme achievements of the Ming artists were neither in painting nor in bronzes, but in their ceramic objects, which are unique treasures of human art creation, unsurpassed by any other school of ceramic artists.

THE MANCHU ERA

From 1644 to 1912 China was under the Ching or Manchu emperors, the two greatest of whom were K'ang-Hsi (1661-1722) and Ch'ien-Lung (1736-1796) who restored the historic frontiers

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of the Chinese empires by conquering Mongolia, Eastern Turkestan and Tibet. During this period we notice a general decadence of sculpture and painting in which we find only the mechanical continuation of the Ming styles. But in the department of ceramic art, the Chinese reached the very zenith under the patronage of Manchu rulers, who were also sympathetic to occidental artists like the Jesuit Father Castiglione and others. Ch'ien-Lung was a great art-collector, and in 1749 was published an exhaustive catalogue of his collection, the *Hsi Ch'ing Ku Chien* which was saved for posterity, thanks to the enthusiasm of the Japanese art lovers. They published in 1888 exact facsimiles of the original Chinese catalogue, in a quarto edition of all the documents in photographic reproduction. In our chapter on Japan we shall try to bring out this history of artistic collaboration of China and Japan, so important in the annals of Asiatic art.

COLLECTIONS OF CHINESE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

To prepare a mere inventory of Chinese manuscripts and art treasures, removed from China and sequestered in the various public and private collections of Europe and America, is a task of international significance. It should have been taken up by the National Government of China in collaboration with the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which had a special division known as the International Office of Museums. But it is a matter of deep regret that while China, like India, paid enormous subsidies as subscription to the coffers of the League of Nations, it did very little by way of such useful Asian surveys, even if the restoration and conservation work proved too heavy for the League experts. Consequently, a scholar interested in tracing the valuable Asian works of art abroad must have the leisure and also the rare financial resources to travel all over the Occident and study the exhibits in the public museums as well as in private collections. The British Museum, London, the Louvre, the Musee Guimet and the Musee Cernuchi of Paris, the State Museum and the Folk

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Museum of Berlin, together with the smaller yet none the less important Chinese collections in Russia, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Italy and other countries, go to demonstrate how many of the national artistic patrimonies of China and Asia lie scattered in foreign lands. The New World also, specially Canada and the United States, have developed Chinese collections of outstanding merit, specially in Toronto and in the Mc Gill University, Canada, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, in the Metropolitan Museum of New York the Freer gallery of Washington and other places. Benjamin March has rendered a real service by compiling a short yet useful list of the Chinese and Japanese collections in the American Museums. For the present, we shall indicate only some of the important Chinese museums and research institutions which have been functioning till 1949 with more or less efficiency in the various cultural centres of the Chinese Republic.

PALACE MUSEUM OF PEKING

Privileged to accompanying Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in his cultural mission to China, I visited the splendid Palace museum in 1924 when the last Manchu Emperor, Hsuan Tung, invited us to the historic palace in the Forbidden City. Prof. H. R. Johnston, private tutor to the Emperor, was all courtesy to us, and I could see some of the rarest treasures of Chinese art in the historical setting of the Palace which very soon after changed its complexion with the flight of the Emperor who emerged in history as Emperor Pi Yi of Manchukuo. After his departure, the Palace Museum was formally inaugurated (October, 1925), and for the benefit of the public a detailed inventory of the valuable palace collection was made, each article being numbered, labelled, recorded and, according to importance, photographed. Thus the contents of each room of the palace were made known to the public for the first time. Since 1914, the Ministry of the Interior was maintaining the Peking Museum of Antiquities occupying the Outer Court of the Forbidden City. In the Outer Court we find the three great Throne Halls. Tai Ho Tien or tne Hall of Supreme Harmony was the centre of ceremonial life, where the most important

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state functions were formally held with great pomp and splendour. It is the most impressive of all the Imperial structures, 200 feet long, 100 feet wide and 110 feet high. Five richly carved marble steps lead to lofty terraces where we find wonderful bronze cisterns, incense-burners, the sun and moon dials, and other treasures removed to Peking in 1914 from the former Imperial Palaces at Mukden and Jehol. The exhibits number over 200,000 articles, and 10 volumes were necessary to complete its catalogue of paintings and calligraphy. This museum in the Outer Court came in November 1930, under the jurisdiction of the National Palace Museum, occupying the Inner Courts or the Northern section of the former Imperial Palace. It is divided into five sections, the most important being the Chien Ching Kung or the Hall of Resplendent Brilliancy. Behind it are the halls of Imperial Wedding and the Throne Hall of the Empress, beyond which is the wonderful Imperial garden where the young Emperor with his beautiful queen received the Indian Poet and his party. Many large pavillions in the palace have been turned into exhibition rooms, some always open to the public and the remainder open on special occasions. From nowhere could we form a better idea of the vanishing Chinese court life, its gorgeous architecture and wonderful furniture and interior decorations, as from our visit to the palaces of the Forbidden City.

THE PEKING MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

From the point of view of antiquity, the bronzes are the finest things in the Museum, dating from 1500 to 1000 B. C. and coming from the Shang and the Chou dynasty. Next in importance come the objects of jade and other precious stones. A rock-shaped jade block is named "the mountain of longevity," and the wonderful jade basin representing a lake is called "the sea of happiness." The ivory collection is no less remarkable and to form an idea of the historical value of these objects of art, one has only to consult the learned monographs of Dr. B. Laufer of the Field Museum of Chicago, on *Jade* (1912) and *Ivory in China* (1925).

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More than 6,0000 specimens of Chinese porcelain come from the various famous kilns, from the Sung to the Ming dynasty. In modelling, design and colouring, they mark the *apogee* of Chinese art. The earliest Chinese art object and the earliest Chinese paintings have unfortunately been lost to China, as they now decorate the British Museum. The oldest in the Palace Museum come from the Ts'in dynasty (265-419 A. D.) I saw only one or two small sketches of remarkable vigour attributed to the T'ang dynasty. Thenceforward the pictorial documents become more copious, for we find over 8,000 scrolls from the Sung, Yuan and Ming epochs. The museum authorities have already published several volumes of reproductions of selected paintings and four volumes of portraits of Manchu emperors and empresses.

Amongst the miscellaneous collection we find real gems of minor arts in ancient bronze mirrors, ivory fans, snuff bottles, painting and writing materials, carved bamboos, brocades, tapestries, carved lacquer, cloisonne, enamels, etc. Students of Indian art also will find valuable materials in the statues, paintings and religious relics of Buddhism from India, Nepal, Serindia and Tibet. I was agreeably surprised to find several apparently diplomatic documents written in *Nagari* or derivatives of Nagari script, possibly from Nepal which might have sent embassies to the Chinese Court.

That reminds us of the fact that the Palace Museum is also the depository of the largest collection of ancient manuscripts, books, and historical records. According to the statistics of 1931, there were about 370,000 volumes, and many of them were the only copies in existence. The famous Chinese Encyclopædia (5,000 vols.), printed in 1724 on *Kaihua* paper from movable blocks, is there. So many *original editions* of books printed during the Sung, Yuan and Ming dynasties are deposited, together with about 36,000 manuscript volumes from the Imperial Library of Emperor Ch'ien Lung. A great number of unpublished edicts, memorials and historical maps is kept, together with imperial robes, shields, ornaments and various other objects of historical or literary value.

The annual budget of the museum amounted to $432,000 plus $123,312 for special expenses during 1934-35. The

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museum, amongst other publications, issued an illustrated bi-weekly and also the Palace Museum monthly. Peking was also proud of its National Library (where Mao-tze Tung worked for a while), which contains rare documents of artistic and historical value. It has more than 15,000 sets of rubbings of bronzes and stone tablets, and many Mongolian and Tibetan books, together with Manchu translations of Chinese works. In 1929, the library purchased a unique collection of 99 volumes of printed Buddhist Sutras in the Hsi Hsia (Tangut) language, and some Buddhist paintings. Moreover, the library has a good collection of Buddhist texts from the 8,500 *manuscripts* discovered in Tun Huang caves, mostly from the T'ang dynasty.

The private library of over 41,000 volumes of our noble host Liang Chi Chao with his own manuscripts have been deposited by his heirs in the National Library which started operating in 1910 and was reorganised in 1925 when the Ministry of Education agreed to co-operate with the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture (U. S. A.) paying in 1934-35 $275,000. In 1933, the National Library possessed 500,000 volumes of Chinese works and about 85,000 volumes in European languages, as well as works in Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish, Persian and other Asian languages—a veritable museum of Oriental culture.

Before the transference of political power to Nanking, the cultural capital of China was undoubtedly Peking, which alone had nine universities amalgamated (1927) to form the National University of Peiping. These universities, of course, are so many colleges, and the earliest, the Metropolitan University, was started in 1898. The American Government returned to China a portion of the Boxer indemnity which went to the foundation of a splendid college which we visited in 1924 and which developed into the Tsing Hua University in 1925. It takes interest in ancient culture, publishing *A Commentary to the Kacyapa-parivarta* in Chinese and Tibetan, as well as a study on *The Prehistoric Relics of Hsi Yin Tsun.* Dr. P. C. Chang, an authority on Chinese drama, was the Dean of the University, who showed us its splendid library and other departments.

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Invited by the National University of Peking to deliver lectures on Indian Art which were interpreted in Chinese by my esteemed friend Dr. Hu Shih, I came in touch with many outstanding art-critics and antiquarians who were deeply interested in Indian art and archaeology. Dr. Hu Shih, one of the leading spirits of the Chinese renaissance in the Republican epoch and who introduced John Dewey, Bertrand Russel and other celebrities to the Chinese public, not only introduced me and Mr. Nandalal Bose to the artistic circles of the metropolis, but, in consultation with Liang Chi Chao, secured for us the co-operation of eminent scholars like Liang-ssu-Ming, the philosopher, and Dr. Li Chi, the archaeologist, who guided my steps through the historical sites and cultural relics of China.

Nandalal's masterly brush-work was keenly appreciated by the expert painters of Peking. Some of them worked in their private studios, while others helped in the establishment (1918) of the Peking Art School which developed into the National Academy operated as the College of Fine Arts of the National University. It attained independent status with the annual subsidy of $12,000 from the Ministry of Education. It offers three years' courses in painting, sculpture, industrial and decorative arts. The Peiping School of Fine Arts is an independent non-official organisation which was founded in the year of our visit (1924). It was maintained also by an income from private sources amounting to $21,000 per annum.

Three major American learned societies contributed to build research centres in China. In 1907 was founded the Union Medical College which was maintained by a joint English and American mission board until July, 1915, when the Rockefeller Foundation assumed the full financial support and developed it into the now famous Peiping Union Medical College wherefrom the Canadian Prof. Davidson Black and Dr. F. Weidenreich of Heidelberg contributed so much to the scientific evaluation of the Peking Man.

The Yale University also finances many projects under its Yale-in-China programme, and the University of Harvard was entrusted to administer a trust under the will of the late Charles M. Hall to "conduct and provide research, instruction and

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publication in the culture of China." The Harvard University entered into an agreement with the Yen-ching University which was created in 1917 and which grew out of an institution founded as early as 1867 by the American Mission board. It started the Women's College in 1905 and in 1934-35 showed the total student roll of 250 women and 550 men. Its annual budget is met by the American trustees. The Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1928 onwards is promoting researches in the fields of Chinese philology, history, literature, philosophy, religion, art and archæology. In 1929, the Sino-Indian Institute of Peiping developed through the co-operation of Alexander von Stael-Holstein who so kindly guided us in Peking and who was the Professor of Sanskrit of the Harvard University, resident in Peking. He tried for years together to train advanced scholars in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian. A profound student of the history of Buddhism, Baron Stael-Holstein recited to me some of the forgotten Sanskrit hymns of Asvaghosha which he had recovered. He also kindly presented me, before my departure, with a copy of Chinese-Buddhist iconographical texts, which I handed over to my friend Dr. P. C. Bagchi ; and I was glad to find later on that the text was utilized by my learned colleague Prof. Jitendra Nath Banerji co-operating with Dr. Bagchi. An old fellow-student of mine at the classes of Prof. Paul Pelliot (College de France) was Prof. Serge Eliseev, an authority on Japanese art who was one of the directors of the Harvard-Yenching Research faculty.

The second portion of the American Boxer indemnity amounting to 12,542,000 gold dollars came to be returned to China in the year of our visit (1924) when it was decided that the fund would be paid in twenty annual instalments, up to 1945, and was to be devoted to the development of scientific knowledge and technical training. This was the history of the America-China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and culture which maintains several scientific research fellowships and professorships, and gives subsidies to several cultural institutions.

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CULTURAL INSTITUTES OF NANKING

With the formation of the National Government in the spring of 1927, the Central Political Council of Nanking took a momentous step by authorising the establishment of the *Academia Sinica*, advocated long ago by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Starting work in June, 1928, the Academy began to attend to the *(a)* pursuit of scientific research, and the *(b)* promotion and co-ordination of scientific studies in China, through international conferences, lectures, broadcasting etc. The Academy maintained National Research Council, composed of thirty members selected from the experts of the country. It maintained ten institutions devoted to Astronomy, Biology, Chemistry, Engineering, Geology, History and Philosophy, Meteorology, Psychology, Physics, and Social Sciences. Most of them were located in Nanking, but some in Shanghai and Peking.

For the students of cultural history, the Institute of History and Philology was of special interest. At the time of its inception in 1928, it was located in Canton. Later on, removed to Peking, the Institute was again shifted to Shanghai after the Manchurian incident of 1932 and finally established itself in Nanking (1934). Its section of historical studies continued to function from Peking, where alone one could find rare original texts, specially the archives of the Ming and the Manchu dynasties. This section attended to the textual criticism of ancient Classics, the study of bronzes and the stone inscriptions and other items of Chinese history and culture.*

The section of Linguistics promoted researches on Experimental Phonetics, on General Linguistics, and on Chinese dialects and Borderland Languages. It organised Sound Archives and studies on Hsi-Hsia texts as well as comparative studies on English and Chinese intonation. Its division of Anthropology undertook the study of ancient Chinese skulls, correlation of cranial indices and of Chinese finger-prints. It also organised

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*The Peking Committee started excavation works (1930) at I-Hsien in the Hupeh Province. It also started excavating (1933) in Sian-fu and other parts of Shensi, in co-operation with the Archæological Society of Shensi.

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systematic anthropological and ethnological surveys of the big Provinces of Szechuan and Yunnan.

Last, though not the least, is the section of Archæelogy, which, as we have noted above, had gathered a wonderfully rich harvest within a very short time. Among other things it initiated a survey of the Painted Pottery sites in Honan, and researches on the Pre-historic remains in Manchuria and Jehol. Excavations of the Black Pottery sites in Honan and Shantung have been conducted. A happy collaboration between the Institute and the Freer Gallery of Washington led to the financing of the momentous excavations at Anyang under Dr. Li Chi, leading to the extraordinary discoveries of Shang culture of 2nd millenium B. C.

When we visited Nanking, it still looked like a provincial capital, but it has undergone a phenomenal growth. Quite apart from its being the headquarters of *Academia Sinica*, established in March, 1938, the Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies functioned in the University of Nanking. Its annual revenue of $32,000 (1934-35) came from the American Hall Fund administered by the Harvard-Yenching Institute. The Institute has to its credit important publications like *A Catalogue of the Recorded Paintings of Successive Dynasties* (6 Vols.); *Bronzes from 12 Peiping Collections* (2 Vols.); *A Survey of Contemporary Japanese Sinology;* and several studies on the Oracle Bone inscriptions.

The Nanking Museum of Antiquities, founded in 1915, was taken over by the Ministry of Education in 1928. The Ministry granted an annual subsidy of about $4,000 helping the museum to exhibit, for the benefit of the public education, its valuable collection of paintings, rubbings and other antiquities in its six Exhibition halls. In 1933, a preparatory committee was entrusted with the task of organising the National Central Museum. The Ministry of Finance sanctioned annual grant of $24,000 to the committee which started its work under the chairmanship of my friend, Dr. Li Chi.

A most interesting branch of applied arts was developed in 1928 in the form of the Ceramic Laboratory managed by the *Academia Sinica* and the National Central University of Nanking. It not only undertakes researches contributing to the

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further development of ceramic industry, but also applies itself to the study of ancient Chinese ceramics, analysing the bodies and the glazes of the wares, so that we may understand the composition of Chinese porcelain and the method of its manufacture in ancient days.

From Canton and Amoy to Keifeng and Sinan there are innumerable centres showing collections of art and archæology which have not yet been satisfactorily catalogued, and which, let us hope, the Museum Association of China would be able to co-ordinate for the benefit of the outside public. The Archæology Society of Honan (Keifeng), and the Archæological Museum of the West China University (Chengtu), among others, are discovering and developing valuable collections. China, as we all know, co-operated with other Asiatic nations mainly through her North-Western provinces, which, owing to later political disturbances, were neglected, although they were—for a millennium—on the life-lines of the Han and the T'ang Empires.

A scientific mission to North-Western China was organised (1927) by the Federation of Scientific Institutions of China. It started a systematic archæological exploration in collaboration with the Swedish explorer Dr. Sven Hedin, well-known in India as the author of *Trans-Himalaya*. The Han archæological finds of Dr. F. Bergman were turned over to the scholars of this society, who also undertook the study of the Han dynasty manuscripts on wooden strips. The archæological finds of the T'ang Dynasty made by Mr. Huang Wen-Pi were also being studied. During 1932-33, over 90 wall-paintings and 50 clay-figures were repaired, and an illustrated monograph on the Kao-Ch'ang Pottery was compiled. An annual grant of $15,000 comes from the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and culture.

Shanghai, although a modern city compared with Peking, enjoys the benefit of some very progressive and well-equipped scientific institutions, the most outstanding being the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch. It was established in 1857 under the name of the Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society. It was affiliated in 1858 to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. The British Government made a gift in 1871 of a fine

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building at 20, Museum Road, which is the Society's headquarters. An entirely new building was added in 1933, and the Society was proud to show a membership of 719 members of all nationalities. Its annual budget (1933-35) amounted to $20,000, out of which $6 000 came as grant from the Shanghai Municipal Council. Apart from the Journal, the Society had other valuable publications. Amongst its many office-bearers I had the privilege of meeting (1924) Mr. A. de C. Sowerby, the learned editor of the *China Journal of Science and Arts*, and the author of *Nature in Chinese Art* (1940). He very kindly helped me with the lates bulletins, reports and above all, with the splendid guide-book : *The Shanghai Museum*, which was published in 1936 when he was the honorary Director. The Society founded its Museum in 1874, and it has grown to be one of the best arranged and scientifically treated collections on China which no scholar can afford to ignore. Prehistoric arrow-heads, stone-carvings, ancient bronzes, tomb-figures, pottery, porcelain, coins and precious stones are exhibited with sedulous care. The mammals, birds and fishes of China together with the life-like reconstruction of the Peking Man are all scenically mounted. Of special interest are the remains of *extinct* animals, such as the Mastodom, Stegodom and Hipparion or three-toed horse, most of them coming from the Szechuan and other provinces. Its sections on Natural History, Zoology, Botany, Geology, Anthropology, etc., are object-lessons for museum workers. Thus the Shanghai Museum and the attached Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. North China Branch, are veritable sancturies of Sinology which no student of Asiatic culture can afford to ignore.

Thus, like Egyptology throwing invaluable lights on the history of Western civilisation, Sinology also, in its archælogical scientific and artistic aspects, is tending to be the most valuable scale of computation of the cultural progress of Man in Asia and of the Pacific civilisation as a whole.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

JAPAN

I

PRE-HISTORIC JAPAN

The traditional habit of writing history out of *literary* documents coming mostly from the "civilised" epoch has long deprived countries like India, China and Japan of the light radiating from *non-literary* sources such as the evidences of archæology and anthropology. In India all studies used to begin with the Vedic literature beyond which few dared to go. But the concrete finds of the Indus Valley Civilisation have forced Indologists now to take their start at least a thousand years before the advent of the Vedic Aryans.

In Japan, the old school of historians similarly depended on the literary traditions conserved in their historical and literary annals of later date (700-800 A. D.), like the Kojiki, the Nihongi, the Nihon Shoki and the Manyoshu. But thanks to the growing interest of the Japanese and foreign scholars in the study of pre-historic Japan, we are on the threshold of a new presentation of Japanese history and culture intimately connected with the continental Chinese and the vast Oceanic civilisations. This new school of thought is represented by the veteran archæologist Dr. Ryuzo Torii who with his talented wife and daughter, had led several expeditions into the extreme east of China which, according to him, was from time immemorial connected with Japan geologically as well as culturally. So far traces of the old stone age culture have not yet been found either in Japan or in Korea and Manchuria. But when the neighbouring city of Peking has sprung the greatest surprise on us with the hoary Peking Man, some of his cousins may also be discovered in regions father east. Already Dr. J. C. Andersson, the leading Swedish authority on pre-historic China, has instituted some striking comparisons with reference to the archeological finds of Dr. Torii. In an article

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on "The Cave Deposit at Sha Kuo T'un in Fengtien" (*Paleontologia Sinica*, 1923) Andersson compared the polished stone celts and pottery fregments of that neolithic site with similar discoveries made by Dr. Torii in Eastern Mongolia and South Manchuria. A very characteristic common type of tools is represented by the flaked arrow-point of flint-like material which Dr. Torii characterised as the "Mongol type" different from the "Manchu arrow-head" which is polished and generally made of slate. There is also a striking similarity between the Manchu arrow-points from Fengtien and those from Honan ; and although Dr. Andersson does not fully agree with Dr. Torii in all details, he was inclined to see in such similarity of types "an indication of relationship between the peoples who lived in those widely separated areas." Another characteristic specimen, the Li-tripod, is found in Honan an in Fengtein but not traced so far in the pottery collection of Dr. Torii whose monograph "Populations Pre-historiques de la Manchourie Meridionale" is of outstanding merit in spite of certain obvious limitations inevitable in a pioneer study. Dr. Torii also discovered, in course of his examinations in Eastern Mongolia, a coin of the second Han dynasty together with a chipped arrow-point which continue to be used even in comparatively late historical times. Thus future scholars have got to fill up in Eastern Asia as well as in India the vast gaps between the aeneolithic culture of *circa* 4th-3rd millennium B. C. and the fully developed metal age culture of the beginning of the Christian era. But the work of reconstruction is progressing, and it is time for us to take stock of the positive finds of archæology and anthropology in Japan and her neighbouring zones of Eastern Asia.

We have noticed in our section on Pre-historic China how the Honan sites with its Yang Shao and Anyang cultures have offered certain types of tools and potteries which have made Dr. Andersson, Dr. Creel and others to think in term of cultural relations and contacts between the Honan zones, Eastern Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea and possibly pre-historic Japan as well. The intrusion of Pacific culture into China appears not to be improbable today, specially because fresh discoveries, from year to year, are forcing us to revise many of our old notions with

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regard to the antiquity of races and cultures of the Far East. The Yang Shao culture in Honan was taken by Dr. Andersson to belong to the end of the neolithic era or rather the aeneolithic age, when, as we find in our Indus Valley culture, man still depended upon the use of stone tools but had also learnt the use of metal and demonstrated rare skill in making ceramic products of great variety and excellence. The existence of wheel-made pottery in Eastern Asia, in the Indus Valley and other sites, made some European scholars to suppose that the wheel was an argument against such antiquity as the third millennium B. C. But modern researches seemed to confirm the rival theory that while the wheel appeared comparatively late in the Western world, the type that appears in the Asian prehistoric sites proved the potter's wheel to be of an indigenous type which evolved towards the end of the Neolithic age. Forrar, in *Reallexikon der Pre-historishen*, observes that the potter's wheel was invented in West Asia where it has been in use since the Neolithic times. Egyptian neolithic clay vessels are wheel-made and from Egypt the wheel technique entered Greece in the third millennium B.C., in Italy in the second millennium B. C. and thence to Central Europe in the Iron Age (after 1000 B. C.). So Hœrnes, in *Kultur der Urzeit*, remarks that in Egypt the copper-stone age culture flourished from 5000 to 3000 B.C.—as also in pre-Harappa culture of Baluchistan. Thus in dating the copper-stone age cultures of India, China and the Far East we may have to take it earlier, as Dr. H. de Terra has already done, than the at-present-accepted third millennium B.C.

The discoveries of Dr. Andersson at Sha Kuo T'un in Fengtien which occupy an intermediate place between Japan and China are therefore of capital importance today. In the cave deposits there he found chipped instruments of flint-like stone polished stone celts, flat stone-rings, mussel shell-rings, stone-discs, animal sculptures, animal and human bones, buttons and beads, bone instruments and artifacts, dwellings, etc., which are paralleled by similar finds from the pre-historic sites of Japan. For years the Japanese scholars have been searching for continental contexts of the Japanese racial types and cultures. Immediately after the Russo-Japanese War Dr. Torii visited

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(1906) Eastern Mongolia. Mrs. Torii was also like her husband a very competent ethnologist publishing an illustrated volume of over 1,000 pages on *Mongolia from the view-point of Ethnology.* Between 1906-1909 Dr. and Mrs. Torii investigated the culture of the Kitan races, and published, in the *Journal of the College of Science* (1914-15) of the Imperial University of Tokyo, two very important monographs in French : *Populations Primitives de la Mongolie Orientale* and *Populations Pre-historiques de la Manchourie Meridionale.* Dr. Torii wrote out the final results of his 30 years' research in a big volume published under the auspices of the Academy of Oriental Institute, Tokyo. In his work, Dr. Torii was helped by his son who is a photographer and also by his daughter who, ever since she was fourteen, acted as her father's assistant ; and in 1934 Miss Torii was sent abroad doing research under Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews and Dr. Neil C. Nelson of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, where she examined their splendid Mongolian collection.

Dr. Torii is of opinion that the pre-historic finds of Japan described so far are not of the Paleolithic but of the Neolithic Age when the country was occupied by an aboriginal people who may be called Proto-Ainus, if not the Ainus as actually known to us. They are to be found all over the country from Okinawa to Hokkaido and they used weapons of stone-axes, chisels, scrapers, arrow-heads, spear-heads of stone and sometimes of bone. Their culture was very rich in pottery materials: specially valuable being the *clay images* indicating the dress, manners and customs of those days ornamentation, tatooing, head-dressing, use of vermillion and bone-combs, necklaces of bone and stone, bracelets of shells (Indian *Sankha*) which are so common also among the aboriginal races of Asia. There is a common feature in old Japanese vessels and among the decorative motifs we find the coiling as well as geometrical lines. The Proto-Ainus, therefore, were far from being uncivilised and they were a distinct ethnic type with profuse hair on their head and face, so different from the average Mongoloid Japanese. In fishing, their main occupation, they used the bone-harpoon; and their pit dwellings point to a resemblance with the ancient peoples of North-eastern Asia like the Chukchi, the Koryaks, the Aleuts and the Eskimos who are now known

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to be the progenitors or cousins of the American Indians. Their culture called "Paleo-Siberian" is characterised by coiling patterns on earthen vessels and images almost all females (male images being very rare) and therefore belonging to some *mother-goddess* cult. These characteristics are very rarely found in the neighbouring countries of Japan like Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Siberia and China on the one hand and in the South Sea islands on the other. Possible traces, however, are found in Shantung and at Gladekow in the Maritime Province ; but these Proto-Ainu people now seem to be an isolated folk like the modern Ainus and the Gilyak of the Amur River delta. Some of their vessels are compared by Joyce with those discovered in the shell-mounds of New Guinea, though there might have been no connection. But an intriguing problem, that of curley hair in the Japanese island of Kyushu, has been explained partially on the hypothesis of contact with the Indonesians such as the Hayato who migrated into Japan when they had already received Negrito blood. This Indonesian connection with pre-historic Japan should be studied with the Malayo-Polynesian theory of their linguistic origins.

Before the end of the neolithic age, there was superimposed, on the aboriginal Proto-Ainu culture, the proto-historic culture of the Japanese proper. The remains of these ancient Japanese folks are distributed widely all over Japan, being more abundant in Kyushu, Chugoku, Kinai and Tokaido. They appear to come from a mixed stock, and although they were different from the earlier aborigines, yet they showed bone and stone implements and pottery of the same type. A striking difference is seen, however, in a new phenomenon—the appearance of the *megalithic* monuments: tumuli, cairns, dolmen-like stones, menhirs and stone circles just as we have discovered in Hyderabad, Deccan and in other very old rock formations of Eastern India and Assam. Japanese mythological legends and early literature also conserved the memory of the circle of stones *(Iwasaka)* erected around the spot where a god was worshipped. While using the same proto-Ainu type of weapons, and implements of stones, these proto-historic Japanese people made a highly original kind of pottery shaped like a basket with basket patterns, ornamented with coiling designs and with a huge handle attached. They did use

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a crude sort of a wheel enabling them to make the vessels symmetrical in shape. The coiling pattern is rarely used and the general design is very simple often with no pattern or only a few geometrical combinations. By occupation those peoples were hunters and fishermen, who gradually learnt the art of agriculture; and then a new element came from China (North and South), most probably through Western Korea. With the absorption of new elements there developed the proto-historic *(Jodai)* civilisation as against the pre-historic *(Shindai)* culture.

These people, organised in clan system, worshipped their guardian deities, the gods of the clans as well as the gods of sea and river, wood and mountain. But the natural objects were never deified. The service of the gods was the special privilege of the priests and the priestesses (sometimes called witches or *miko*) which seemed to prove that it was a sort of Shamanistic religion common to the Ural-Altaic peoples of Siberia, Northern Asia and Europe. The Shaman or the priest alone could communicate with the *unseen world* of gods, demons and ancestral spirits, and they used mirrors, jingle bells and hemp or paper pendants. Originally the Shamans were all women, and even in the reign of the emperor Jimmu, a male deity was presiding over a great festival under the female title of the Sacred Daughter (*Itsu-Hime*). Ancient Japan seems thus to have been under a religious matriarchate. From now on, metal implements of bronze and specially of iron became more and more common. But while China specialised in metal casting, Japan *forged* her metal tools and vessels mainly for ritualistic purposes. Along with the earlier pottery vessels they made now a primitive porcelain *Sue* which entered Japan from China with the Chinese immigrants. The baking was good but the art of *glazing* was still unknown. In sword-making the Japanese of this period displayed fine workmanship. Swords were necessary to defend their rich agricultural lands growing rice and millet. There were plenty of game and animals in the mountains, and fish, oysters, etc., in the water. Silk was introduced from China and hemp was grown for clothes. Horses and cattle were domesticated and decorated with gold or cast-copper ornaments. Gold and silver rings of exquisite craftsmanship have been compared with similar specimens of Scythian and early Sassanian

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models. Mirrors imported from China came to be much favoured, specially as ritualistic objects. The domestic dwellings were made of wood, erected high above the ground upon pillars, with thatched roofs.

The disposal of the dead within a stone coffin in chambers of stone or clay is interesting. The tombs often were much more imposing than the dwelling houses, and here the ancient Japanese reminded us of ths Egyptians burying the dead in their formal attire together with their belongings and retainers who were killed or urged to commit suicide, just as we find in the Honan tombs. Later on, clay figures were substituted for living men, as we saw in the age of transition from the Shang to the Chou culture. Their weapons and armours testify to considerable progress in *smithcraft*. Huge forged swords of bronze have been discovered in the north of Kyushu, Chugoku and Shikoku ; but these being ritual objects and no other bronze implements being found on a large scale so far, scholars do not admit that there was a Bronze Age in Japan as in China and elsewhere. The *Dotaku* or the bronze bell was used for religious purposes, and according to Dr. Torii it might have Southern Asiatic origin : for it reminds us of the *doki* or bronze hand-drum which is used by the tribes of South China, Annam, Siam and Burma. So Iron Age immediately followed the Stone Age in Japan, and we know that the Age of Iron in South India and in some other parts of Asia was much higher than the European Iron Age.

THE ARCHAIC ART OF JAPAN

The valuable informations supplied by Dr. Torii have been supplemented by another noted writer, Noritake Tsuda, a former lecturer on Fine Arts in New York University. In his *Handbook of Japanese Art* (Tokyo, 1936), he described two distinct types of neolithic pottery with characteristic designs and decorations : (1) The *Iomon-doki* pottery with angular edges and handles modelled into various forms of animal heads. Such a vessel is to be found in the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum amidst the Ainu pottery collections. The ground surface in dark grey colour gives the impression of a mat, and the designs are curvi-

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linear. (2) Another kind of pottery of a later age, the *Yayoi-shiki*, is reddish in colour and with few designs except wavy lines and zig-zags. While the earlier pottery is richer in decoration, the later one is striking in the originality of form, and therefore the two types may be of two distinct cultures of different epochs. The valuable proto-historic pottery objects are deposited mostly in the Imperial Household Museum, the Institute of Anthropology of the Imperial University and in the Prince Oyama Institute of Pre-historic Investigation, Tokyo. The museums of Nara and Kyoto as well as the Institute of Archæology, Kyoto Imperial University, also exihibit valuable collections.

The burial mounds of ancient Japan have yielded a good deal of proto-historic pottery, never glazed or painted, and made partially or entirely on the potter's wheel. The decoration is very simple and rude, scratched in the clay, when soft, with pointed tools or with combs. They show on the shoulders of vases, the figures of men and animals and birds. Another interesting series of mortuary figures of men and women in coarse red terracotta offered valuable-models illustrating the manners and customs of proto-historic Japan. Other animals like birds and horses as well as house-models may be intended for the services of the dead.

FROM BRONZE AGE TO YAMATO CULTURE

The Bronze Age in Japan was so short that many scholars do not admit its existence as a distinct epoch. Bronze objects like arrow heads, *kris*-shaped daggers, *dotaku*-bells, etc., were found in the limited area of Yamato, Izumo and Northern Kyushu. They mark, according to Mr. Tsuda, "the intermediate state between the art of the new stone age and that of the proto-historic period." The largest number of *dotaku*-bells is found in the Yamato province, which is the central sphere of early Japanese culture; and though the art of casting the bell may have been derived from China yet its designing, with fin-like border and decorative knobs running down the side, is considered to be original to Japan. Pictures of contemporary life are represented in

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relief on the *dotaku*-bells—hunting scenes with bows and deer, boating and fishing, agricultural activities, styles of architecture, dolls, etc., are depicted on the bronze reliefs.

After the short Bronze Age, the Iron Age of Japan followed continuing down to 552 A.D. when Buddhism was first introduced into the court of Japan. Before that there was no organised religion except the cult of ancestor worship or early Shintoism based on a patriarchal national policy. While the principal pursuit was agriculture, there was differentiation of crafts into various hereditary industrial guilds, as in India, of potters, and leather-makers, weavers of cotton, spinners of silk, copper and iron workers, forgers of arms and armours (which they decorated with gilded and incised patterns). Thus the Japanese people were very advanced in the technique of iron working as well as in the casting and gilding of bronze objects like mirrors, horse-furnishings and personal ornaments. They excelled also in working in precious stones, and could even manufacture white and blue glass. The proto-historic swords are perfectly straight, with only one cutting-edge, while curve-swords were fashionable in later times. Some swords are richly ornamented with bosses in *repousse* work. The armour is usually made of iron, resembling the armour on the teracotta figures, but very different from that of later historical times. A type of scale armour is also represented on the burial figures. Helmets of iron and bronze are very rare. The signs of the Zodiac finely chiselled is found on a bronze helmet. The most important relics of metal are the horse-trappings decorated with inlaid designs, sometimes coated with gold. That the Japanese of this proto-historic age were in close cultural relations with China is conclusively proved by the discovery of bronze mirrors reflecting clearly Chinese design, mythology, religion and folk-lore. Numerous examples of the Han mirrors (now in the Tokyo Imperial Museum), found in Japanese burial-mounds, help us to ascertain the epoch of this intensive artistic exchange. The four sacred animals of the cardinal points are often represented : the Dragon of the East, the Tiger of the West, the Bird of the South and the Tortoise embraced by a Snake of the North. Ancient Chinese deities like the Queen Mother of the West and Father of the East, and the Chinese-

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Buddhist symbol of the Land of Everlasting Happiness, are also represented; their designs and inscriptions remind us strongly of the Chinese bronze-mirrors of the Later Han epoch gradually degenerating into the style of the Six dynasties.

Personal ornaments consisted of rings of copper or bronze wrought in gold or silver. There were also various kinds of beads of stone and glass. The *magatama* or curved beads made of rock-crystal, steatite, jasper, agate, nephrite were most important of the ancient stone ornaments. The *kudatama* or tube beads were less common and made of well-cut polished cylinders of jasper of a fine green colour, and different shades of colours were produced by different styles of polish to suit the tastes of the people. It is significant in this connection to note the valuable evidences adduced by Dr. Laufer in his learned monograph, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, where he discusses the influence of Siberian or Turanian art and culture on ancient China, and through China on Korea and Japan. Han bas-reliefs (about 1st century A.D., *vide* Chavannes: *La Sculpture sur pierre en Chine*, 1893) are found on the hill of Hsiao T'ang Shan in Western Shantung, a province which is known to have connections with pre-historic Japan. It is not a matter of mere coincidence that the oldest document (traced so far) regarding Japan is the Chinese "Annals of the Later Han Dynasty." There it is recorded that the men and the women "are not separated (as in China) when taking meals, they eat with their hands, and make use of the *pieu* and the *tou*." Now in ancient Chinese books we find mention of the following types of sacrificial vessels: (1) The *tou* made of wood, (2) the *pieu* made of bamboo, and (3) the *teng* made of pottery.

These three types of vessels are still used in the Chinese worship of Confucius, and these vessels connect ancient China with proto-historic Japan and Korea, as we find from the following story. The last emperor of the Shang-Yin dynasty fell into evil ways, so his nobles protested and one of them, Chi-tzu, who was imprisoned by the degenerate emperor, was released by the victorious founder of the Chou dynasty. Honoured as a Chou officer, Chi-tzu retired to Korea in 1122 B. C. He began to civilise the Koreans with Chinese philosophy and culture,

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and taught the men and women of Korea to take their food and drink from the vessels *pieu* and *tou.* The above, as we have seen, came to be used by the Japanese people also in the Han period, when Japan was connected intimately with Korea and through Korea with China. Recent excavations in Korea revealed that important Chinese colonies existed in Lolang, Nakniang, Rakuro and other places since the beginning of the Great Wall in 239 B.C. From 100 B.C. to 200 A.D. Chinese influence in Korea was considerable and continuous, and gradually the influence of Buddhist China extended to South Korea and Japan. It was during this period that Kumaso (later Hayoto) and Idzumo folks conjointly effected the east-ward conquest about 1st century A.D. Their capital was at Yamato and Kanto. Dr. Torii also, in his Japanese monograph *Yrshi izen no Nippon*, connects the Yayoi culture of Japan with the adjacent continental culture.

Thus the peopling of Japan *via* Shantung and Korea and also across the Yellow Sea is generally accepted, and it might have originated with the great racial movements (from the West to the East) stimulated by Chou conquest of the Yellow River basin. This Mongoloid Japanese race proper must have met the aboriginal people the Ainus and the Proto-Ainus, and that the two mixed their blood is partially testified by the Tsugumo race supposed to be the common ancestors of the Ainus and the Japanese. The origin of the Ainu (Yemishi), however, is enveloped in mystery. They are supposed to have come in three migratory waves *via* Sado and Echigo, and the three sub-types known to-day are Hi-no-moto, Karabito and Watari. They represent a very old generalised human type continuing the neolithic culture. Their language is isolated—it is sometimes linked with the pre-Dravidian or Austric of India, and sometimes with the language of the Australian natives who came in contact with the Black Melanesian races very early—and a Negrito element with curly hair is also taraceable in some folks of Japan. This led to the formulation of the Malayo-Polynesian theory in explaining Japanese race-origins. They are supposed by the champions of this Oceanic Theory to spread out from Indonesia or South-eastern Asia as a branch of the Malayo-Polynesian race which reached as far east as the Easter Island and as far west as Madagascar. Some

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scholars believe the South-eastern Asiatic race to be mainly Mongoloid, the Polynesian diffusion not taking place until after the emergence of the Japanese. The Malays may be contemporary with or a little later than these Japanese. However, all these factors have got to be kept constantly in view while we enter into the study of Japanese archæology and art. While working at the Oriental Institute of the University of Hawaii, my attention was drawn by my Japanese colleagues to a publication by Hideo Ohba who published in 1934 his "Outline of Japanese Archæology" (*Nippon Koko-Gaku Gaisetsu*). The book unfortunately was not translated, but thanks to the kind courtesy of a Japanese friend, I give here a very brief outline of his treatment. After a few general discussions on archæology the author examines in detail the Jomon-doki and the Yayoi-shiki pottery strata together with the dwelling ruins, the cemetry mounds, the ceremonial objects the relics of pre-historic industry. stone, clay-seals, bones, horns, teeth, shells, lacquer materials, copper and iron. He next examines the antiquities of the Mound-period connected with dwelling houses, ceremonials and primitive industries. In the concluding chapters he attempts to read ethnic or national characteristics in the various relics, and further to give a chronological sequence in three successive stages : the Jomon, the Yayoi and the Mound phases of culture.

The difficulty of presenting an adequate picture of proto-historic Japan lies in the fact that most of the original papers, excavation reports, etc., are published in the Japanese language. As early as 1879, we find that the Memoirs of the Science department, Tokyo University, published a paper by the American scholar Edward Morse on the "Shell Mounds of Omori." Individual scholars have contributed valuable articles on Japanese ancient culture, archæology, anthropology and philology appearing mostly in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*, London and in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*. The latter published (1882-1932) a series of articles by John Batchelor, an authority on Ainu culture. From 1890 the United States National Museum in its reports had published several articles on ancient Japan. Most of these materials were utilised by Dr. Neil Gordon Munro who

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published the first comprehensive survey in his *Pre-historic Japan* (Yokohama, 1911). The manuscript was complete in 1908 but unfortunately was destroyed by fire and it could not therefore be printed before 1911. Since then heaps of new materials have accumulated but in the absence of a systematic stock-taking we present below, for the benefit of our readers not having access to Dr. Munro's volume, a general outline of his study on Pre-historic Japan. A few crude stone-tools were discovered by Dr. Munro in the basin of the Hayakawa which he tried to correlate with the bones of the Tertiary mammals found in gravel as described in the *Outline of the Geology of Japan* published by the Imperial Geological Survey of Japan. During the Tertiary epoch, Japan like Java was connected with the continent of Asia. The discovery of the Java Man (Pithecanthropus erectus) followed by the tracing of the home of the Peking Man, already living on rice, has led some scholars to link up these two very ancient and rare types of fossil men whose cousins may very conveniently lie in some parts of Eastern Asia undetected as yet. But most of the scholars are still sceptical with regard to the correlation of the Japanese stone tools with any palæolithic strata. They agree, however, so far as to their neolithic context, and over 4,000 such sites have been discovered. Specially numerous are the sites in the Kwanto provinces in Northern Japan where we find a later culture. The thickness of the shell-heaps (*kaidzuka* or kitchen-middens) varied from one to twelve feet. They contain animal bones, broken pottery and discarded stone tools. Human skulls found with broken pieces of pottery may suggest some sort of jar-burial.

The neolithic inhabitants of Japan lived in very simple huts during the six or more months of warm weather, but in the cold seasons many of them used pit-dwelling of the type found in Korea and Formosa and which still survives amongst the *Eta* folk who were the former *parihas* of Japan and who resemble in many ways the Ainus of the Kurile islands. The present Ainus are the last descendants of a race who were not much inferior in culture to the invading Yamato race, who learnt agricultural arts from the *Yemishi* or *Yezo*, meaning, "Outsiders' or 'Barbarians,' who still occupied a third of the mainland (Honshu) as we know

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from the early Japanese chronicle the *Kojiki* compiled about 712 A. D, Dr. Torii inspected some of these pit-dwellings in the Kuriles in 1899. He also described the transition between the underground pit-dwellings and the huts erected above the ground in which no nails were used and the poles were tied together in a primitive fashion. The Ainus practised agriculture rather crudely, using hoes frequently made of wood. The tools and devices for fishing, hunting and capturing animals for food attest to the various means of livelihood ; and the distribution of the neolithic remains on the islands around Japan proves that the primitive peoples used boats large enough to traverse fifty miles or more of open sea. These boats were hollowed out of logs (like the *dongas* and *saltis* of Bengal), and may have been partially skin-covered.

THE CERAMIC ART

Abundant pottery materials are found in the North of Japan, and as we proceed to the South-West they become less abundant as also the primitive sites. The material of the primitive pottery is a coarse clay tempered with sharp sand or particles of quartz or pebbles. They are generally imperfectly baked, and the thinner vessels are sometimes uniformly fired and therefore superior to the Yoyoi-shiki or intermediate pottery. The Northern pottery is occasionally covered with a slip of finer clay. The colour usually approaches that of terracotta with varying shades running into grey, darkbrown or black. Many of the vessels were made by coiling, and coiling appears as a conventional decoration. The bottom of the vessels often retained the impressions of the matting which was intended to prevent movement during moulding, and the use of the potter's wheel is beyond doubt ; some of the cooking pots, pans and bowls appear as finely moulded and decorated. The jars and vases often exhibit textile decorations. Characteristic Ainu patterns are found also on bowls, dishes, cups, bottles, lamps, braziers, incense-burners, etc., in the famous Takashima collection, which shows striking nipple-pots or drinking vessels sometimes in quasi-human shape. Some shallow bowls with heavy pedestals are found in the Shinto

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ritual as a survival of a more ancient culture. Some such types of handmade potteries are found in Pre-historic Japan as well as in India, Greece and elsewhere. Among the minor objects are a few strainers, and clay objects for stamping designs on cloth. Some earthenware plaques are distinctly anthropomorphic, and probably connected with the clay images which are found in abundance.

These clay images were not intended to produce an all-round likeness, and most of them are highly conventionalised. The female figures greatly outnumbered the male, and they were mostly found in residential sites and not in the burial grounds. Most probably those were the effiigies of the dead worshipped for the well-being of the living. Some of the images are quite nude, and some provided with a loin-cloth which, however, do not conceal the sex. The disproportionately large eyes remind us of the eye-designs depicted on the junks of China and the boats of Polynesia. There is comparative absence of sexual motif on these figures, although the phallic symbol is common on the *seki-bo* or stone-club. The makers of the clay images (*Dogu*) attached great importance to personal ornamentation like hair-dressing, tatooing, and use of beads and earrings. Though a certain degree of nudity is the rule rather than the exception (as in India), the figures are seldom without some decorations, which often serve the purpose of dress. The Yezo Ainu trace the art of tatooing to the *Koropok-guru* or pit-dwellers. But Kurile Ainus attribute the practice to their ancestors, as it was ascertained by Dr. Torii. Among the minor objects may be mentioned the neolithic *magatama* which serve as the model for the later Japanese *kudutama*, both deriving their form from the claws of the *tiger* which animal was deified in Korea. So its tooth or paw enjoyed great reputation as an amulet. In many such cases one must compare the ancient patterns and designs with those even still lingering with the Ainu people, as has been done by D. Sato and S. Sato, who made a splendid collections of their own. But we must always remember that Pre-historic Japan was connected with Korea, Manchuria and continental China, and that makes the task more complicated and thus comparative study becomes indispensable.

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TRANSITION FROM THE PRIMITIVE TO THE INTERMEDIATE POTTERY

Pottery designs are the most valuable indices for determining, if not the exact chronology, at least the sequence of the cultural strata. In the earliest potteries of Japan we find that designs in colour are rare, and if they occur at all they are very simple, geometrical patterns like the triangle and circle to emphasise low relief. Red, white, black, or dark-gray and brown are the colours generally used. A thinner type of pottery shows some kind of polish ; and warm tints like red and pink with an occasional touch of yellow and chocolate are used as the surface colour. Lacquer and red ochre were sometimes used for surface decoration.

Matting patterns, and textile impressions are frequently seen, but the most common are patterns produced by engraving or incision. Quite a large variety of beautiful designs emerged out of the combination of the engraved and the relieved patterns ; but the art of pictorial composition is rarely practised on clay as in the case of the possible representation of the Ainu myth (shared also by the Japanese and the Russian folk-lore) where the world is shown to be on the back of a fish. Lizard design seems to occur in some cases. On the ornamented handles of the primitive vessels, the bird, boar, snake and such animal motifs are found. These primitive patterns are largely conserved in the Ainu designs of wood, bone, textile fabric and skin. While differences are admitted, yet the similarities are more significant. The Ainus may or may not be ethnically connected with the primitive races of Japan, but there are many proofs of cultural contact.

Between the primitive and Yamato pottery we notice an intermediate type found in shell heaps and sometimes associated with stone tools. This is known now as the Yayoi type, distributed throughout Japan from south to north. They are sometimes found associated with Yamato relics like the Haniwa pottery. This pottery is not turned on the wheel and is therefore connected with some neolithic ware, though the paste is thinner and more uniformly baked than most of the neolithic

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pottery. Combs of bamboo or other materials were used to scratch patterns on the surface of the clay before drying. The lines of the intermediate pottery are sometimes crossed, thus producing textile designs which are seen on the primitive as well as on the later Yamato pottery, specially the triangular and quadrangular patterns. The decorations on the intermediate pottery are generally very subdued and sober with occasional attempts at moulded decorations. Leaf designs appear now and then, and most of the unglazed pottery which cannot be identified with the primitive or the Yamato type may be accepted to belong to the intermediate variety which approaches the primitive in its paste and the Yamato in its pattern, as has been studied by Dr. Munro in the Minamikase shell-mound. Some unglazed terracotta is found to be turned on the wheel, while in other hybrid potteries we find them partially wheel-made and partially hand-made. The intermediate pottery was connected with the later Yamato culture, for they appear in the burial caves, cairns and tombs. The primitive potters of Japan were usually women; and in the epoch following the primitive culture, this intermediate type of domestic pottery was probably evolved out of necessity by cruder artisans and their works were generally not used for burial whenever the classical sepulchral pottery were available for offerings of food or wine to the ancestral spirits. Some of the intermediate pottery types are said to approach the Malayan pottery, and recently, since the discovery of the Indus Valley Civilization, the Indus type came to be compared rather indiscriminately with the so-called "Ainu Pottery," meaning the primitive pottery of Japan.

PROTO-HISTORIC YAMATO CULTURE

The ethnic type which finally emerges as the Yamato or Japanese proper is, as it is admitted, a mixture of several distinct stocks. The most primitive aborigines may be called the proto-Ainus, a proto-Caucasian race who came to be modified by mixing their blood with the Mongoloid races reaching Korea and possibly Japan in the first millennium B. C. when China was under the Chou dynasty. Next we notice certain Negrito

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characters which might be explained by the contact of Japan with Indonesia, where the Mongoloid, the Negrito and the Caucasian (Indian) element were fused to form the Malayan races who were supposed to have left definite traces in the island of Kyushu. These immigrants from Malaysia belonged probably to the Stone Age, for the bronze weapons found in Kyushu have no affinity with the Malayan culture ; on the contrary they are derived from some continental (Sino-Korean) contexts. The broad-headed Negrito type was probably modified by Indonesian or Mongolian elements before its arrival in Japan, as we find in the case of the Igorrot of the Philippines, which archipelago, situated midway between India and Japan, possibly recapitulated the same process of racial fusion. The agricultural population of Japan is reported to resemble the Igorrot, but they represented the lower classes of the primitive Japanese society. The conquering class was partly Caucasian and partly Mongoloid, forming the aristocratic type. Japan was thus the converging point of several ethnic and cultural migrations from the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. Many of these pre-historic features were continued through the proto-historic to the historic days by the highly gifted Yamato race, the real makers of Japan. The Yamato culture is associated throughout Japan with the intermediate pottery forming, the ordinary household wares of these people. This pottery is marked with comb designs and was probably made by the Haniwa potters. For religious or ceremonial purposes they used the classical *Iwaibe* or sacred vessels which are sub-divided into Korean and Japanese types. We know definitely that China in the glorious Han epoch transformed the cultural life of Korea and Japan ; and therefore the establishment of Yamato power might have synchronised with those movements. The *Han Annals* of the beginning of the Christian era refer to the Japanese in these terms ; "The soldiers have spears and shields, wooden bows and bamboo arrows which are sometimes tipped with bones." These primitive arms were soon improved by the Japanese who, as we have seen, were experts in using metals like bronze, and specially iron. The Korean was probably the first to import these techniques of higher culture from China, and we know that in the 5th century

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A.D., the Koreans adopted the Chinese script, which also stimulated the development of the earliest script of Japan.

The classical *Iwaibe* vessels whether Korean or Japanese are sharply distinguished by their simple and restrained decorations as against the highly ornate embellishments of the primitive pottery. But they are uniformly baked, and much harder than the primitive wares with finer paste. Bowls, dishes, cups, jars, bottles, flasks and drinking vases of different types have been collected and carefully preserved in the Imperial Household Museum and in the University of Tokyo collection. Sometimes human or animal figures in relief are introduced, and occasionally a large jar has several small jars added to its shoulder forming the *Komochi* or 'child-bearing decoration.' Survival of the ancient water-skin model appears now and then in Japanese jars. Spouted vessels for libation or drinking resemble those found in ancient Persia, and India and in the Sumerian pictographs. The leather-bottle forms, well known from China to Egypt, were also imitated by the Yamato potters.

The decoration consists of textile designs, circular and triangular patterns or those composed of lines and dots together, with very sparing use of figures in high relief. Horse, deer, wild boar, dog, bird, tortoise and human figures are seen moulded on the shoulders of the vases. A special type is represented by the Haniwa, consisting of cylinders of coarse terracotta. These are surmounted by human or animal figures and rarely by inanimate objects. It is connected with the intermediate pottery and other specimens of unglazed terracotta found in the Yamato tombs. Holes are usually seen in the sides of the cylinders which were probably intended for fixing them as ornamental adjuncts to the *tumuli*. The human figures surmounting the Haniwa are of different types, and sometimes there is a suggestion of the raised hands in ceremonial attitude or as a form of salutation. The ear-rings are common, so also the necklaces and combs. The water-vessel is shown carried on the head, and a female figure is robed in a long gown with close-fitting sleeves. So, iron armour, leather protection for the body strengthened by metal plates and metal helmets, are also shown as decoration on these terracotta figures which resembled more the Caucasian than the Mongolian

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type. Figures of swans, horses, hares and boars have also been found probably influenced by the Han pottery figures. The most important inanimate object represented is the arm-guard *Tomo* designed to enhance the sound caused by the impact of the bow-string in its recoil. The Yamato pottery, therefore, is the most valuable link connecting pre-historic Japanese art with the arts and crafts developing in the historic period inaugurated by the introduction of Buddhism in 552 A. D. from Korea and China.

II

JAPANESE ART AND RELIGION

With some people like the ancient Hindus, the development of religious life and belief could be traced through literature. But even in India a good deal of the evidences relating to the arts and rituals of the pre-Aryan and the pre-Dravidian peoples had been lost because of the paucity of literary records. Fortunately for China, the discovery and decipherment of the Oracle Bones have helped in unravelling the mysteries of ancient Chinese religion. But Japan is less fortunate and has lost, through oblivion or fusion with later cults, many of the primitive religious beliefs and customs because they were never recorded in literature. The modern sciences of comparative mythology and religion, however, are helping us to reconstruct partially that ancient and half forgotten history, suggested by the indigenous institution of Shintoism. But as it came to be influenced very strongly by the double, spiritual and cultural, currents from China and India, even modern Japanese experts on Shintoism find it difficult to disentangle the autochthonous from the extraneous elements. Prof. K. Mizoguchi in his profound *Study of Shintoism* admits clearly that the term "Shinto" appears rather late in the reign of the thirty-first Emperor Yomei, and it came to be used as a philosophical expression only as late as the Kamakura period (13th century). However, in the hey-day of Yamato culture, when Japan was already impregnated with Chinese religious beliefs and Indian Buddhism, some attempts were made to con-

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serve and characterise the positive contents of Shintoism in two classical texts compiled between 681 and 720 A.D.—the *Nihonshoki* (the Chronicles of Japan) and the *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters). But already the ancient myths and legends are found to be distorted and often amplified by new things imported by oral tradition. But because the ancient chronicles are regarded as the *bibles* of Yamato spirit, they are of considerable importance explaining the religious faith and racial spirit of old.

In the pre-Buddhistic days people worshipped their Gods and respected the Emperors as the descendants of the Gods who ruled them according to the precepts of their Ancestors. Of this Triad, the Gods in the plural suggest that many pre-historic and proto-historic deities came to be assimilated into the Yamato pantheon. So the Ancestor-cult may have been influenced by the Confucianism of China. The Emperor-concept may also have been developed in Japan through her relations with Chinese imperialism of the Chou, the Ts'in and the Han dynasties. But the Japanese Emperor-concept was something rooted to the soil. This became clear when the interpretations of Shintoism from the Confucian, the Taoist and the Buddhist point of view was superseded by the assertion of the *national* standpoint with the publication of the *Jinno-Shotoki* or the True Successions of the Divine Emperors written by Chikafusa in the 14th century. There it was stated clearly that Japan was founded by the supreme goddess Amaterasu Omikami. She is the Ancestress of all the emperors who governed Japan as her "Divine descendants from generation to generation according to Her principles." This was further emphasised by Kanetomo, a scholar of the Ashikaga period who recorded that "although there were numerous gods, yet the Way of the *holiest* deity Amaterasu was the only one and was free from all influences of Confucianism, Buddhism or Taoism, as it had been cultivated purely on Japanese soil."

The compound word "Shin-to" is of Chinese origin meaning "the Way of the Gods." The native Japanese equivalent of *Shin to* is *Kami-no-michi*. It includes not only the worship of the ancestral spirits but those of nature and abstract deities as well. Some degree of fetishism must also have come down from

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the proto-Ainu aborigines. There is no definite counter-part in Japan of the Chinese *Shang-ti* or the Supreme Ruler. His place is fulfilled by the great Amaterasu or the heaven-shining deity who is the mother of the Sun Cult of Japan, probably derived from the Vedic, the Chaldean or Iranian solar cults, which, with the migration of the Indo-Polynesian races, possibly entered Japan and the Pacific world. Dr. Munro has instituted a close comparison between Amaterasu and the Mithra legends. Many Western-Asiatic and Indo-Iranian analogies are suggested by the Shinto myths and rituals. Reeds are mentioned in the Babylonian cosmogony, and Moses was placed on a bed of reeds. So some of the early Shinto gods were produced from the reed-shoots and these are the gods worshipped in the famous *Ise shrine* where ritual fire is still produced by friction as in Vedic India. The fire cult is also a common element, and the horse had equal symbolical meanings in the sun and fire cults of Shintoism and Vedic India. The heavenly horse was flayed by the storm god Sosa (Vedic Marut) and thurst into the weaving hall of Amaterasu, suggesting some kind of horse-sacrifice. These have been discussed in detail by Aston in the volume on "Shinto." The next important element is the Worship of the Departed Soul which lies at the root of the Japanese religion. This is considered by Dr. Munro to be rooted in primitive fetishism and he significantly refers to the anthropomorphic images (*dogu*), both in stone and wood, coming from the primitive sites which form a connecting link between the ancient fetish-worship and the ancestor worship of the later Yamato people. Some of the figures retain only the head. So the *phallic symbol* is clearly seen on the Sekibo worshipped by the Yamato people who may have derived it from earlier races. There is no doubt now that many primitive cults came to be amalgamated with the later Yamato cults. Dr. Munro agrees with Rev. Batchelor, the leading authority on the Ainu culture, that the Japanese derived the word *Kami* from the Ainu word *Kamui* which also means 'god.' So the Yamato, like the Aryan conquerors of India, adopted from the conquered aborigines the phallic emblems and the fetish of clay figures to ward off the evil spirit and other troubles expected from a hostile surrounding. Protection of roads and fields and against maladies

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were the main functions attributed to these pre-historic deities. Stone circles or cromlechs and standing stones are almost unknown in Japan. But there are references to them in the early chronicles, and here and there upright stones are being discovered with primitive pottery. So from the dim pre-historic past, ancestor-worship came to be associated with *cannibalism* which lingered in Japan. Living inhumation at the funerals of emperors and suicide at the funerals of feudal chiefs are probably vestiges of primitive *human sacrifice.* Many such evidence go to establish the continuity of the Northern Yezo with the Ainu of the present day who sacrifice the bear for the services of the greater deity, just as human beings are sacrificed for ancestral or other gods. Ancestor-worship in Japan is not a state religion. It is the religion of the hearth and home. But it is the source of all the beliefs that are classed to-day under the name of the Shinto. Its unwritten code regulates the conduct of successive generations, and so deeply rooted is this faith that even Buddhism could not supplant it.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF YAMATO CULTURE

Those who consider that the historical period of Japan opens with the introduction of Buddhism would consider the first five centuries of the Christian era as proto-historic. This pre-Buddhistic Yamato culture is fortunately conserved to a certain extent in three important compilations. The *Kojiki* was translated by Chamberlain ; the *Nihonji* was translated by Aston, and besides these two historical chronicles are the fascinating court poems of the *Manyoshiu* anthology partially translated by Dickins. From the matter of fact and often coarse presentation of life in the *Kojiki*, that book seems to represent the more primitive aspect of Yamato culture. In *Nihonji* the treatment is more refined, while in the *Manyoshiu* poems we taste the almost hyper-sensitive feelings of an over-refined court life. Sociological and cultural deductions from these literary classics have been made by several seholars like Ptof. Florenz and Ernest Satow analysing the Shinto rituals, and also by K. Asakawa, author of "the Early Institutional Life of Japan." Chronologically speaking, most of the material

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details in the above *three classics* belonged to the centuries previous to 720 A. D. when Buddhism was well established in Nara. In the very heart of that magnificent temple city, there have been discovered store-houses and shrines erected on posts, thus continuing the Ainu type of buildings. Houses built partly on piles and over-hanging the shores of the lakes and rivers may still be found. For child birth, they had a special chamber resembling the primitive *Mura* or pit-dwelling. So there were special nuptial huts suggesting the cult of ceremonial impurity. A very characteristic structure is the *Inaki* or fortified granary. Rice was not only the staple food but a form of currency and the medium through which the bulk of the taxes was levied, just as it was the custom in India, Chaldea and Egypt to have payments in grain. Hence "rice-castle" was important in the economic history of ancient Japan.

As regards dress and dress-materials, we seem to notice two distinct traditions. The Haniwa figures show dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and arms possibly bare and with legs encased in something like stocking and breeches. Silk culture was probably indigenous, though the common dress material was made of hemp and from fibres of creeping plants. Beating cloth-fibre as in Polynesia is mentioned in the *Manyoshiu* and the manufacture of cloth from the bark of the paper-mulberry seems to remind us of the Polynesian bark-cloth *tapa*. Between 690-693, which marks the beginning of the historic era, we notice a few sumptuary laws regulating the costumes worn by the different classes. The common people are instructed to wear yellow dress and the slaves the black cloths. Caps and hats sometimes resembling helmets, and chaplets or garlands are mentioned. Head-bands, combs, bracelets, ear-rings, etc., were well-known. Several styles of tying or dressing the hair were known, as the terracotta figures clearly show. So tattooing the face and blackening the teeth were probably survivals of ancient customs. The *Han Annals* state that all Japanese males tattooed their faces, and that while the Chinese used rice-powder, the Yamato used red paint to decorate their body. The people have a mixed diet together with the intoxicating *sake* made from fermented rice which made the Japanese already noted for inebriety when

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the Han chroniclers wrote. Agriculture and fishing were the chief industries, and to destroy fields or to disturb the irrigation system was considered to be "heavenly sin." Hand plough and metal spades as well as hunting implements show that the people were using metals freely. Fine arts and industrial crafts were imported chiefly from Korea and China. The Koreans taught the arts of paper making. Iron also appeared to have come from Korea to be fashioned into weapons and armours. Copper was called 'the red metal' distinguished from bronze, a special fabric of Korea and China. The first Korean teacher to reach Japan about 385 A.D., was Wani Wang-in who is reported to have introduced the system of writing which enabled the recording of the ancient oral folk-literature of Japan in a permanent form. Music, dancing and other recreations and games like wrestling and foot-ball were mentioned. Various professions and crafts were organised into hereditary guilds to secure efficiency by specialisation. Such a corporate association known as the *Be* corresponds to the Indian Caste-guilds, and we find a long list of such Japanese guilds for potters, jewellers, painters, weavers, farmers, butchers, makers of arms and armours, court-reciters and professional scribes.

Some of the arts and crafts suggested by the above guilds were indigenous and some imported from outside. Many scholars agree that the primitive culture came to be displaced by the aggressive Yamato people during the first five centuries B. C. The Yamato culture advanced beyond the Ise-Omi line about the beginning of the Christian era when Yamato dolmens went out of use, followed by the building of the stone burial chambers. These tombs are associated with the Haniwa figures, and most probably, during the Han period, Japan came to be strongly influenced by Chinese customs and crafts, although still conserving some indigenous or Oceanic social traits like the matriarchate, sister-marriage and so forth. To unravel these mysteries, one must turn to Polynesia and Oceania on the one hand and to the mainland of South-Eastern Asia on the other.

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CHINA, KOREA AND THE CONTINENTAL CONTEXT

Prof. Franz Weidenreich of the Peking Union Medical College and a scholar of the Rockefeller Foundation recently expressed the opinion that the pre-historic Japanese may be found to be related to the Peking Man. Some of the skulls discovered in North China were considered to be of the Old Stone Age by the Professor who presented casts of those skulls to the Kyoto Imperial University. That University possesses remarkable pre-historic collections, kindly shown to me by the late President Hamada and Prof. Umehara, both renowned authorities in their respective domains. Coming down from the Stone Age we find that Japan possibly contacted China under the Chou dynasty ; and this connection continued with occasional interruption down to the Han period when China was pursuing an aggressive policy of expansion to Manchuria, Korea and beyond. Concrete descriptions of Japanese life and customs are found in the *Han Annals* ; and linguistic as well as archaeological researches are daily revealing ever fresh materials and evidences proving that Japan and her early historic culture were organically connected with the peoples and cultures of Manchuria and Korea. Eminent Japanese scholars like Dr. Torii and his colleagues have published many papers, but these are sealed books to us because they are mostly written in Japanese. Thanks to the courtesy of the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai* of Tokyo and of other scholars of Japan, I could handle, if not the texts, at least the splendid plates with which the Japanese illustrate their books ; and I could form some idea of the splendid work done by the Japanese scholars to elucidate the history and the problems of art and archæology of China and Eastern Asia, specially of Manchuria and Korea. Ever since the establishment of the Japanese regime in Korea (1910) and with the Japanese co-operation with the new State of Manchukuo, studies and researches along the above line were developing rapidly. The Japanese archæological missions led by Count Otani and Prof. Tachibana have brought valuable relics from Central Asia, published in several volumes. The sumptuously illustrated Japanese volumes on the arts and

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antiquities of Korea are unfortunately still inaccessible to us. Several important museums and art collections are to be found in the principal cities of Korea and Manchukuo. But no detailed descriptions of them were available till Mr. Andreas Eckardt published his valuable book : *A History of Korean Art* (1929).

The biggest museum is in the capital city of Korea known as Seoul or Keijo which came to be the capital of the Kingdom in 1394 with the rise of the Li dynasty which lasted for 516 years, under 28 successive kings, till Korea was annexed to the empire of Japan in 1910. The Shotoku Palace built about 1609 was gorgeously decorated, but was not open to the public. The Shokei Palace dating back to 1483 has been turned into a public museum where one finds valuable specimens of calligraphy, paintings, ceramics and minor arts.

Keishu was the ancient capital of the Kingdom of the Shiragi dynasty which ruled for 992 years (57 B.C.-935 A.D.). During this epoch the great waves of Chinese civilisation from the Han to the T'ang dynasty fertilised Korea. The Shiragi Kingdom was a long period under Japanese protection and its first King Kakkyosei is supposed by some as a brother of Japan's first emperor Jimmu, both tracing their descent from Heaven. Keishu and its suburbs are literally strewn with historical monuments, stone-carvings, glazed titles, old tombs, cave-hermitages and ancient Buddhist statues. Buddhism penetrated Korea in the fourth century A.D. and it helped enormously the development of Korean culture, specially between 913-1392 when the country was under the Korai dynasty founded by Wang who built his capital at Songdo. This capital was shifted to Seoul by King Litan in 1392. But Korea had the misfortune of being repeatedly invaded by foreigners like Chengiz Khan and Kublai Khan. After the fall of the Mongol dynasty and the rise of the Ming emperors, Korea paid homage to the Ming rulers and continued to imitate the Chinese artists of the Ming period. Like them, the Koreans were, generally speaking, devoid of originality, except in the art of ceramics. Like the superb Ming porcelain wares, the Korean ceramic products draw universal applause; and beautiful specimens are treasured in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and also in other museums of

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Europe and America. The Japanese began to raid the Korean coasts in the 16th century, and in 1592 Hideyoshi the Japanese Napoleon temporarily conquered Korea ; and although the Japanese were recalled after his death in 1598 yet, till the very end of the 18th century, Korea was dominated by Japanese influence.

History of Korea before the foundation of Silla Kingdom in 57 B. C. is unfortuately still obscure. Yet both Korea and Manchuria are unexplored mines of pre-historic antiquities ; for there is now a unanimity of opinion regarding the penetration (probably compulsory) of the Chinese into Manchuria and Korea during the first millennium B. C. when China was at the end of her Bronze Age. The Chinese sage Chi-tzu is supposed to have settled in Korea about 1122 B. C. with a large number of Chinese emigrants. But long before that the pre-historic Korean King Daukoon is reported to have sent an embassy in 2333 B. C. to the Chinese emperor. But no positive archæological relics of this pre-historic period of Korea have yet been relieved

The oldest remains so far traced come from Keishu, capital of the Shiragi or Silla Kingdom (founded 57 B. C.) which grew in rivalry with the Kudara Kingdom (capital Fuyo) and the Koli Kingdom (capital Heijo). Sometimes in alliance with the T'ang dynasty the Shiragi Kingdom threatened to absorb her two rival states. Fuyo has not yet been thoroughly explored, but Heijo (modern Pingyang), capital of the Koli Kingdom (218-1393), has given up many interesting monuments. This city is supposed to be the original seat of Chi-tzu with whom a large number of Chinese refugees settled in Korea in 1122 B. C. Five and seven-storied stone pagodas and other Buddhist relics have been found at Heijo which came to be the capital (in 247 A.D.) of the Kokoli dynasty which is supposed to have sent their first embassy to Japan in 297 A.D. The foundation of the Kokoli state, however, was in Manchuria about 87 B. C., when after the death of emperor Wou there was a decline in the Chinese regime over North Korea. The Korean art proper, before the intrusion of Chinese influence, may be studied at the tombs in Konan-ri and Kinseki-do and also in the historic sites of Getsu-jo or 'the Half-Moon Castle.' Several such castles were built, specially in the 7th and 8th centuries, to guard against Japanese pirates.

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Stone monuments, bronze bells with the carving of the "heavenly beings" and other Buddhist objects have been found in plenty. The tomb of King Taiso-Buretsu (644-660) is famous, with its stone tortoise figure, for the King allied himself with the Tang emperor and by overthrowing the Kudura Kingdom paved the way for the final unification of Korea or Chosen in 668 A. D. The Buddhist influence was so great that in Keishu and its environs alone, over 800 Buddhist temples were founded during the reign of King Hoko (513-539). The most important temple is that of Bukkoku-ji the best preserved of the old temples. It was gradually enlarged and richly decorated by King Keitoku (743-765). Its "pagoda of many treasures" of Tahoto is one of the finest stone pagodas of the East, decorated with the rich stone carving of the Tang period and with Chinese lion and Indian lotus carvings. In a cavern on the sea of Urusan there is a cave-hermitage at the end of which there is a colossal Buddha figure about 10 feet high in a sitting posture. Statues of the Avalokitesvara and attendant deities are beautifully carved on the walls. Many such rare monuments and art treasures have yet to be collected and studied systematically in connection with the art of India and China on the one hand and of Japan on the other. The Koreans belong linguistically to the Southern branch of the Ural-Altaic family and therefore, resemble the Japanese, as Aston attempted to show in his "Comparative Study of the Japanese and Korean Languages' (London, 1879). Other scholars try to link it with the Tungusic (Turkish) dialects, or even with the Dravidian. The phonetic arrangement of the Wuman alphabet (formed in the 15th century) resembles the Tibetan and Sanskrit partially.

MANCHURIA

The influences of the Turkish races on Korea and China are well-known, and we follow the same trend in the history of Manchuria This country was the stronghold of the Turkish Tungus races who had their original home in North-Eastern China whence they migrated to Siberia, Mongolia and Manchuria in the second millennium B. C., according to Shirokogoroff, the Russian

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anthropologist. One of their cousin branches founded the Wei dynasty of China, famous as patrons of Buddhist art. They were followed by Khitan Tartars (10th century), the Kin Tartars (12th century), the Yuan or the Mongols (13th century) belonging to the Turko-Mongolian family which exerted profound influence on Asiatic history, culminating with the conquest of China by the Manchu Tartars (17th century) who were masters of China for nearly 300 years.

A few pre-historic sites, discovered so far, go to prove that this country may yield a rich harvest of antiquities. Pottery and clay images have been found in abundance. But few great architectural monuments have survived because the country was often ravaged by the rival tribes, the Tungus and the Mongols. The country was subjugated temporarily by the T'ang rulers ; but it soon defied Chinese authority or held the country as a fief of the Chinese emperor. Unifying the 8 separate tribes, the Khitan or Liro dynasty (927-1104) opened its imperial career conquering not only the whole of Manchuria and North China but rivalling even the glory of the Sung emperors, they built five capitals during the 217 years of their existence. They were followed by the Kin or the "Golden Tartar" dynasty (1115-1234). They first entered into alliance with the Sungs, overthrew the Liao dynasty and extended their sway over the whole of North China till they were overthrown by the Mongols. In the Ming era (1368-1644), Middle and South Manchuria belonged to the Chinese empire, but it was again conquered by the Tartar-Manchus in 1644. Most of the temples of Manchuria testify to the great influence exerted on Manchuria by Tibetan Lamaism. The oldest and the most important city is Fengtien or modern Mukden. In its vicinity Dr. Andersson discovered valuable relics of pre-historic civilisation which we have described in our section on China. It was important as a political centre during the Yuan and Ming epochs, and in 1625 it came to be the capital of the Manchus who transferred their seat of Government to Peking in 1644. The walls round the city were built of large black bricks, hence the name 'brick-castle.' The length of the wall was about 3 miles pierced by two gates on each direction. Massive towers with coloured tiles mark the old palace of the

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Manchu emperors whose old historical treasures were deposited in the palace, occupied again after years by the new emperor of Manchukuo Pi-Yu who escaped from the Forbidden City of Peking—where he received us, when in 1924 we visited Peking with Rabindranath Tagore. What the new regime will do for the art and archæology of Manchuria has yet to be seen.

The history and archæology of Korea and Manchuria are necessary adjuncts to Japanese art and culture, as we have often observed in connection with the evolution of China *(vide* Andreas Eckardt: *A History of Korean Art, 1929)*. The ethnologists of Japan, for years, are tracing relations of the Japanese with the races of Manchuria. So Korea appears to be the centre of diffusion of the continental culture to Japan. Japanese scholars seemed to agree that the paintings in Horyu-ji (about 712 A.D.), the *earliest* Buddhist Temple of Japan, were drawn by Korean painters who were strongly influenced by the Khotanese school of Indian painting. Japanese scholars discovered about 1905 a series of tomb-paintings in Korea which they are publishing through their brilliantly illustrated series *Chosen Koseki Zu-fu* which gives also excellent reproduction of the famous Korean reliefs from Sekkutsuan (750 A.D.). Those tomb-paintings were probably earlier than the works of the Chinese painters sent in 535 by the Liang rulers to the King of Korea. Buddhism entered Northern Korea from China in 372 A.D.; but the paintings discovered at the tomb of the Four Gods at Baisanri, represent an indigenous tradition of Korean art which often remind us of the technique of primitive cave paintings. Non-Buddhistic cult-figures of men and of richly dressed ladies have been found in several tombs of North Korea dating 400 to 500 A.D. In the great tomb at Kokenri (about 550 A.D.) we find the dragon motif on the east wall, the serpent and tortoise on the north wall and above them the figure of an *Apsaras* or Heavenly Nymph distinctly derived from Indian art which penetrated Korea in 535 A.D. with the Buddhist painters from Nanking. In 535 Korea, as it is reported, obtained from China a present of Commentaries on various *sutras*, particularly that of the great decease *(Mahaparinirvana)*, the Chinese *Shih-King* or the Book of Odes, besides doctors, painters and professors. Prof. Siren observes

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in this connection: "Korean art shows on the whole in various periods a tendency towards exaggeration; it lacks the equipoise and stability of Chinese art and plays with the borrowed motifs in a lighter vein. Japanese sculptures seeks still more refinement of line; it is more lyrical and when at its best, it strikes a milder euphony than we find in the Northern Wei art."

Korean paintings, along with Korean ceramics, have begun to draw the scholarly attention of specialists. But as systematic surveys of the Korean arts and crafts are still not available, we shall proceed now to continue our narrative of Japanese art evolution from the historic epoch when Buddhism came to transform the entire fabric of Japanese life and culture.

EARLY BUDDHIST ART OF JAPAN, 552-645

Buddhism was introduced to Japan in 552 through the happy mediation of Korean kings of Kudara, and after about 36 years of anti-Buddhist agitation, it came to be firmly established, thanks to the zeal and organisation of the first princely convert Shotoku Taishi (574-622), the second son of Emperor Yomei. He helped in the propagation of Buddhism by harmonising it with Shintoism. He also encouraged painting, sculpture and architecture, building some of the earliest Buddhist temples. The Empress Suiko was the pillar of strength to the cause of Buddhism and therefore the art of this period is very appropriately named after her. The most remarkable products of art were the bronze images and wood-carving which are unique and which have received scholarly treatmet at the hand of Prof. Langdon Warner in his *Japanese Sculpture of the Suiko Period* (1923), published by the Cleveland Museum of Art. Most of the bronze figures, cast in the *cire perdue* process, were gilded, gold being applied with mercury. The Buddhist wood sculptures were always decorated with colours or brightened with gold foils. Most of these statues remind us of the styles of the Wei dynasty of China. They are characterised by a rare spirit of sublimity and mysticism, and they are mostly found in the Horiyu-ji temples near Nara. There was a phenomenal development of arts and crafts with the introduction of Buddhism, as we find from the temple objects and the famous gilt-bronze

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screens from Horyu-ji. This was possible because even before the reign of Empress Suiko, the Emperor Yuryaku invited artisans from Korea like potters, painters, brocade-weavers and saddlers. The sudden and somewhat revolutionary transition from the proto-historic to the historic art of Japan was marked by architecture, the most conservative of all art. The most archaic style of Shinto architecture was based on the model of the primitive dwelling houses, as we find conserved still in the Taisho shrine of Izumo. The more advanced style is exemplified today by the famous Shinto shrine of Ise. But in the Suiko period, Japan welcomed the Chinese and the Korean styles of architecture marked by a rare dignity and delicacy of rhythm. There is always a *stupa* in the square court-yard, and a *Kondo* or "Golden Hall" behind which there stand a drum-tower and a bell-tower. The central group of buildings, facing South, is surrounded on the North, East and West by the *Viharas* or the houses for the monks. The most valued possessions of each monastery are carefully preserved in the Shoso-in. The transition from the archaic Japanese architecture to a gorgeous temple like Horyu-ji is no less staggering than the development of the Horyu-ji frescoes against the background of primitive painting of Japan and the rock frescoes in archaic tombs described by Prof. K. Takahashi (*Kokka*, July, 1927). In 637 A. D. Prince Shotoku sent and embassy to the Chinese court, and the same year he founded the noble Horyu-ji, the most ancient and venerated temple-group of Japan. Thus the Prince inaugurated a veritable era of cultural revolution with which Japan suddenly emerged from her primitive isolation and began to play a leading role in the history of the Orient.

NARA PERIOD—646-793 A. D.

While Hiuen Ts'ang was preparing to return to China with his invaluable collections of Indian sacred texts and art treasures which would go to produce a veritable revolution in the cultural life of China, during the second half of the seventh century, Japan also underwent a similar transformation. For T'ang art and culture saturated the Japanese national life, and Buddhism

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succeeded in effecting a most thorough and peaceful conquest of the country. In imitation of the T'ang Emperors, the entire court life and provincial administration were reorganised by the Great Reform of 645. The old Japanese patriarchal clans were replaced by a centralised state, and the scattered cities of Yamato culture had to yield finally to the mastery of the new capital of Nara where the Emperor with his court took up residence in 710 A. D.

Shintoist opposition to the continental religion of Buddhism was tactfully overcome by the famous Korean monk Gyogi who settled in Japan during the reign of Emperor Shomu (724-48) and promulgated the doctrine of Ryobu-Shinto, according to which the national gods of Japan were recognised and honoured as local manifestations of the Buddha. The renowned Chinese scholar Kanshin also visited Japan in 754, and the colossal statue of the Buddha, the *Daibutsu*, over 50 ft. high, was consecrated (746) in the Todaiji temple at Nara. The Buddhist culture which now penetrated Japan was necessarily not purely Indian but of a cosmopolitan character : as M. Grousset has appropriately observed : "Buddhism brought with it into the archipelago not only Indian philosophy but also Chinese architecture, Indo-Greek, Indo-Gupta, Wei and T'ang sculpture, and all the pictorial traditions of Indian, Iranian and T'ang paintings now familiar to us from the discoveries in Central Asia and Korea ; the paintings of Horyu-ji are derived from Ajanta through the frescoes of Khotan, Kucha and Tun-Huang and of the Korean tomb of Sammyori." Prof. Serge Eliseev, an authority on Japanese art, traces the direct influence of the Chinese Wei architecture on the early temples of Japan like Shitenniji (587) and Horyu-ji (593-607 A.D.) The exquisite Buddhist Trinity in bronze, now in the golden hall of Horyu-ji, was most probably the work of Korean artists who are reported to be the authors also of the Horyu-ji frescoes burnt out alas as I saw in 1954. These priceless treasures, of art have been reproduced at an enormous expense in the Japanese publication *Horyu-ji Okagami*. The Japanese sculpture of this period often reminds us of the earliest and the best reliefs in Lung-Men. But while the Chinese sculptures are interesting from iconographic point of view, the Japanese images excel in their supreme aesthetic appeal. The incomparable

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lines and flourishes of the Ajanta school are clearly traceable in the works of the Horyu-ji ; and though there is a tendency of late, to minimise the Indian influence, it has been ably and conclusively vindicated by the French specialist Rene Grousset, who writes : "Towards the sixth and seventh centuries the living aesthetic ideal of Gupta India replaced the outworn Hellenistic models in Central Asia. It was this fresh influx of vigour, flowing northwards from the Ganges Valley, that gave rise to the Sui renaissance in China, from which were derived in turn the great Japanese schools of Nara." But what Japan borrowed she not only transformed but carried to the highest pitch of perfection by virtue of her rare individuality in aesthetic realisation for which Grousset has called the Japanese 'the Greeks of the Orient' who created, as it were, a new Hellas on this Pacific island of Eastern Asia.

The Japanese artists began to show a rare sense of realism and individual portraiture in and through the figures of the disciples of the Buddha and the various historical monks who contributed to the glory of Buddhism. Along with this tradition of religious art, there were the influences of secular schools, as we find from the wonderful painting of the Goddess of Beauty Kichijoten (or Sri-devi) of the Yakushi-ji monastery, but now preserved in the Imperial Household Museum at Nara. The "sublime carnality of Krishnaism" is manifest, as pointed out by Grousset, in the princely figures of many Bodhisattvas, just as we find in India. On the contrary, super-human traits of Mahayana iconography also came to be represented in figures like that of the eleven headed Kwannon, standing against the simple humanity and inimitable grace of Gakkwo Bonten (750), the Japanese *Brahma* made of clay and lacquer by the Nara school.

The same refinement of aesthetic instinct is manifest no less in the applied and decorative arts, some rare examples of which are luckily preserved in the Shoso-in, the wooden treasure-house built in the reign of Emperor Shomu (724-748) who was great patron of artists and artisans. Beautiful designs are found on musical instruments like the *biwa* or lute made of sandal-wood inlaid with flowers and birds in mother-of-pearl. Entire scenes are sometimes represented on a seven-stringed harp with its

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surface and backside all lacquered black and inlaid with gold and silver plates cut into figures of exquisite workmanship. Such inlaid designs are also found in the bronze mirrors and other metal wares in the priceless collection of the Shoso-in. The object which surprises us most is the gilt bronze jug with the figures of a winged horse which is typically Persian in design. Persian patterns are also seen on a tapestry with hunting scenes in which four lion-hunting knights are riding winged horses. The collection of textile fabrics in the Shoso-in and in the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum prove conclusively that, thanks to continental Buddhism, Japan was not only not isolated but she actively participated in the development of Oriental silk industry and other textiles which were so famous that it was imported into Europe in the sixth century by Emperor Justinian. Already in the 5th century Emperor Yuryaku (457-479) encouraged sericulture, and on the Japanese textiles we find the same designs discovered also on those from Persia and Antinoe in Northern Egypt. Sassanian influence appeared to have spread over the vast area extending from Persia to the Roman Empire on the one hand and the Japanese Empire on the other. The barrier between the East and the West would disappear if we could only study the history of Popular arts and crafts from the point of view of such large historical relationships.

From the numerous manuscripts beautifully copied, now preserved in the Shoso-in treasury, we come to know that Japanese literature also felt the creative urge of that great age. The oldest anthology of Japanese poems, the *Manyoshu* or "Ten thousand pages" was compiled about 750 (translated by J. L. Pierson, Leiden, 1929). It contains the grand pieces of early Japanese poets like Hitomaro, Akahito and Prince Aki, who excel even their poetic contemporaries of the T'ang period. Indian music, "the Lumbini orchestra" and dramatic themes also came to enrich the soul of the Japanese people, who, while they considered China as the "centre of civilisation" now looked upon India as the "heavenly kingdom (*Tenj-iku*)."

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KYOTO AND THE ART OF THE HEIAN PERIOD

In 794, Emperor Kammu removed the capital from Nara to Kyoto which remained the imperial capital up to 1868. But the period of its best artistic activity was from 794-889. The priests of Nara were as usual demoralised by power and courtly glamour. So the Emperor backed the reform movement initiated by Dengyo Daishi (767-822) who visited China and introduced therefrom a sort of an *Advaita* doctrine of the *Tendai sect* which believes that all human beings are destined like Buddha to reach the Perfect Illumination. In 804, Dengyo's pupil Kobo Daishi (744-835) also visited China and introduced the mystical doctrine of the *Shingon sect* which came to believe that the Buddha's "Body, Word and Action make up the life of the Universe, both as a whole and in everyone of its parts".

Thus, as Prof. Anesaki has demonstrated in his *Buddhist Art in its Relation to Buddhist Ideals*, the whole Universe came to be considered as one vast symbol of the Divine or the Absolute echoing thereby the Upanishadic Vedanta of India and its Chinese counterpart, namely, Taoism. In 816, Kobo Daishi founded the grand spiritual colony on the Koyasan mountain. He himself was an artist, for several works of painting and sculpture are attributed to him. I found in 1937 that a special museum had been founded there, and Kokka Publishing Company issued a volume entitled *The Art Treasures of the Koyasan Temple*. Here we notice in Japan of this period as in the history of Tibetan Buddhism an invasion of the tendencies and principles of medieval Hindu art exemplified by the Ellora and Elephanta schools (757-900 A. D.) and of the Pala School (750-1060 A. D.). The multiplicity of arms and heads and such other features of Tantric Buddhist art of India suddenly came to disturb the pure anthropomorphism and moderation of the Japanese. Japan, however, conserved better than Buddhist China the sense of proportion and moderation. But Japan definitely ceased henceforth to be the simple "Child of the Sun." She began to grapple with the problems of metaphysics. The Japanese Red Fudo of Koyasan is a spiritual descendant of the Cosmic Indian divinity Siva, and Saivism came to be fused with Buddhism in the Shingon

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sect of Japan. This has happened in earlier epochs, as we have noticed in the art and iconography of Khotan, in the Wei sculpture of China, as well as in the paintings of Tun-Huang. These elements in the Heian art, somewhat foreign to Japanese genius, have been analysed by Prof. Eliseev. In this epoch also the influence of Sassanian Persia came *via* Khotan and Kucha to Japan, as we notice in the figure of war-like divinities like Bishamon or Vaisravana whose historical origin has been traced by Y. Matsumoto (*Kokka*, February, 1930). The celebrated literary anthology of the Heian epoch (794-1192) is the *Kokinshu* or 'poems, ancient and modern,' collected between 905-922. Though the literature of this period mainly depicts the court and domestic life, we find therein a happy fusion of the feelings for nature with the deep moral sensibility of Buddhism. The innate classical spirit and restraint of the Japanese took shape in a series of novels ; the *Ise Monogatari* (about 900 A. D.) and the *Genji Monogatari* (about 1000 A. D.) composed by Lady Murasaki. Another poetess of the court, Sei Shonagon, composed the *Makura-no-soshi* or Pillow Sketches where we find an exquisite blending of humour and refinement. The court atmosphere was surcharged with "love-poems, Buddhist piety, and caprices of fashion." But this polite society soon came to be disturbed by the bellicose spirit of the Fujiwara clan symbolised as it were, by the terrific incarnations of the Fudo (or Achala) with a awful straight sword on one hand and a *pasa* or rope-noose on the other. These like most of the Japanese sculptures are either in wood or in bronze. But an exception for the first time is found in the rock-cut stone images recently discovered. China, as we know, borrowed long ago from India the style of carving rock-cut shrines, which, however, could not be naturalised in Japan, for suitable rocks were not available. But the T'ang dynasty introduced the style of carving Buddhist images on the open cliffs, and it was introduced into Japan in the Heian period. Such images are numerous in the province of Mungo in the island of Kyushu, which was always the first to receive continental influences. The colossal Buddha figure from Fukade is marked by a rare grace and serenity. The veteran Japanese archæologist the late President K. Hamada studied these rare sculptures in detail in a special

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monograph published by Kyoto Imperial University, 1925 ("The Rock-cut Buddhist Images in the province of Bungo"). Prof. T. Ogawa has also discussed these sculptures coming from 9th-10th century A. D. (*Kokka*, Nos. 292-93). The Japanese scholars demonstrate that the Bungo images with their free naturalistic treatment in drapery and physiognomy were offsprings of the T'ang art. The Bungo images come definitely after the style of the Six Dynasties of China reflected on the images of the Suiko period with almond-shaped eyes, rigid drapery and archaic smile. The influence of the Indian caves was obvious on the grottos of the Six Dynasties. But in the T'ang epoch there was a new kind of rock-cut temple of the Lung-Men type, open in front, with the images sheltered by wooden structures. This is exactly what we find in the Bungo province of Kyushu, where suitable rocks were avaibable, Rock-cut images were temporarily in fashion, but disappeared after the Kamakura period. The influence of T'ang art is also visible in the temples and palaces of Kyoto, and the esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai and Shingon sects added new elements in the Buddhistic and Shinto architecture. The soaring five-storied *stupa* of the Muro-oji temple signified to the Japanese devotees all the Laws of the Universe. Industrial arts as well as painting flourished under great artists like Kukai, Saicho, Kawanari, Kanoaka and others who painted religious as well as secular subjects.

III

THE FUJIWARA PERIOD (894-1185)

According to Japanese authorities like Prof. Seiichi Taki (*Year-Book of Japanese Art*, 1929-30), the period is divided into two distinct epochs : 889-1069, and 1069-1192, marked by two distinct styles. The Sino-Indian cultural fabric built up in course of the Nara and Kyoto periods was at first rudely disturbed by the brutality and violence of the feudal lords who represented a characteristic aspect of Japanese history redeemed occasionally by noble episodes of heroism and chivalry prevailing with the Samurai and their code of honour, the *Bushido*, which was almost

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raised to the status of religion. Special heraldic designs, based on floral or geometrical motives. came to characterise henceforth the influential clans or families like the Fujiwara, the Taira, the Minamoto, the Hajo, the Ashikaga and the Tokugawa, who continued the feudal tradition down to the middle of the 19th century. Sometimes the feuds between the rival clans assumed colossal proportions, as in the case of conflicts between the Minamoto and the Taira families which resulted in the defeat of the Southern clans of Kyoto and Kyushu and the ascendency for seven centuries of the warriors of the Northern province of Kanto (near Tokyo).

During this period of feudal violence, Japan developed the wonderful cult of Amida, or Amitabha, who as Bodhi-sattva extended his spiritual sway over India, Iran and Central Asia during the Scythian period. A Parthian Prince Ngan Shih-Kao preached for the first time in China, between 148-170 A. D., the creed of *Sukhavati* or the Blessed Land, or Japanese *Jodo*. The abstract philosophy of the Nirvana was thus replaced by the metaphysical monism or in fact the theism of the Amida who loves all living beings as parts of his own nature and under whose eyes the suffering souls of this world would be reborn in the blissful paradise represented by the mystic lotus of the Japanese painting of this epoch. The greatest champion of this *Bhakti* cult of Japan was Honen (1133-1212), whose life has been ably discussed by R. Ishizuka (Kyoto, 1925). Honen founded the Jodo sect in 1174 and, like the medieval Indian mystics, brought consolation and the hope of salvation not only to the aristocrats and heroes but to the humble men and women, not excluding even thieves and prostitutes. His success was phenomenal, and that is why he was banished at the age of 74 (1207) by his rivals of the aristocratic church which under the deadweight of dogmas missed the gem of Ahimsa or Non-violence and Charity which was the very soul of Buddhism. The exclusive religion of the esoteric sects like the Tendai was replaced by the democratic Amida cult of Salvation by Faith. The artists of this epoch, sculptors as well as painters, were characterised by a rare simplicity and softness, which occasionally degenerated into effeminacy. Many of the Bodhi-sattvas came to be represented with an almost

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feminine elegance which often lacked the vigour of expression of the earlier art. The Moon-Goddess, and Kichijoten or *Sri*, together with *Kshitigarvabh*, in Japanese Jizo came to be represented in many temples of this epoch. Now and then a monk painter like Yoba Soja (1053-1114) showed a rare spirit of realistic humour and caricature in his subtle studies of rabbits and frogs, and of men and monkeys. The great popularity of painting in this epoch was mainly due to the tremendous influence of priest-painters like Eshin Sozu, some of whose paintings are preserved in the Nara Imperial Household Museum and also in the Reiho-Kwan Museum on the Koyasan mountain where I saw the gorgeous picture of Amitabha and 25 Bodhi-sattvas arranged in a heavenly orchestra. One of the glories of the Fujiwara period is the "Resurrection of Sakya-muni" from a gold coffin owned by the Chohoji monastery, now exhibited in the Kyoto Museum of Art, which also exhibits splendid illuminated manuscripts of the Buddhist scriptures in Chinese. Secular stories like those written by Lady Murasaki also came to be illustrated in picture scrolls depicting the life of the nobility of the Fujiwara epoch, which, towards its close, under the patronage of the Art Department of the Imperial Court, developed important schools like Takuma, Kasuga and Tosha. Traditions and samples of the great Sung paintings of China also now entered Japan, to develop new indigenous schools and tendencies. The sculpture lagged behind the painting of this epoch, possibly owing to the urge for mass production by professional sculptors who lacked the inspiration of the priestly carvers of the divine figures. Gold and various rich colours were used profusely in painting as well as in sculpture. In the applied arts the Japanese artists shewed remarkable originality and perfection, assimilating the borrowed Chinese ideas and developing purely indigenous designs in metal, lacquer, inlay work and architectural decoration. The native genius asserted also in architecture through monastaries like Hojo-ji, the five-storied *stupa* of the Diago-ji and the three-storied *stupa* of the Joruri-ji near Kyoto.

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DAWN OF REALISM IN THE KAMAKURA PERIOD (1186-1333)

Through the animal studies, caricatures and the illustration of the secular novels of the Fujiwara period, we felt that the Japanese genius was trying to escape from the obsession of religion and pietism. The art which developed at the new capital Kamakûra was characterised by a martial spirit and a national consciousness. The intercourse with the Sung dynasty of China and the importation of Sung paintings necessarily helped new developments of Japanese art which came to be surcharged with the spirit of Zen Buddhism introduced now, transforming the martial spirit of the race. The old Buddhism was transformed by national reformers like Honen (1133-1212), Shinran (1170-1263) and Nichiren (1222-1282). The strong personality of these reformers naturally helped the growth of individualism in art and culture. The *emakimono* or picture scrolls displayed the pure Japanese spirit in rendering vividly historical, legendary and religious subjects. Some of the most valuable specimens, copies and prototypes of the Sung and Yuan paintings, came to be collected and studied, leading to a veritable revival of the Chinese style in Japan. The figures of the Juni-Ten or Twelve Devas preserved in the To-ji temple of Kyoto, represent the best tradition. In the Sung style also came to be painted the portraits of the makers of Japanese history like Prince Shotoku and general Yoritomo. A picture scroll of the Mongol invasion is in the Imperial Household Collection, which preserves a few brilliant animal caricatures on paper in black and white.

Yoritomo, the first *Shogun* of Kamakura, began the reconstruction of the great monastaries of Nara. This gave a new impetus as much to Japanese architecture as to sculpture. The old conventional repose of the Fujiwara sculptures was transformed by the dynamical spirit of this martial age, and great sculptors like Kokei and his son Unkei worked at the Nara temples emphasising the accurate depiction of the plastic poses and the movements which remind us of the vigorous brush strokes of the contemporary painters. While restoring the monastaries of Nara, these sculptors caught the infection of the master

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sculptors of the Tempyo period. The son of Unkei was also a great sculptor, named Jokei, and their rival was Kwaikei who reinterpreted the old forms through his serene Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Most of the sculptures were in wood, the exception being the colossal bronze statue of Amida in Kamakura. Powerful portrait statues of extraordinary vitality and realism have come from the Kamakura artists, a few of whom had the boldness and originality of producing nude figures of the Buddhist and Shinto deities, including the unique figure of the Goddess of Music Benzaiten (*Sarasvati*). In the department of the minor arts a great impetus was given to metal work through sword-making and the manufacture of arms and armour. Pottery, mostly imported from China from he T'ang to the Sung period, was first made a national industry of Japan by Tashiro who studied the ceramic industry in China for five years and constructed a kiln in the village of Seto near Nagoya. Hence porcelain in Japan came to have the general name of *Setomono*.

In the department of architecture we find three different styles at the beginning of the Kamakura period : (1) The native style or Wa-yo, (2) the *Hindu style* called Tenjiku-yo which was reintroduced from China in order to restore the Nara temples, and (3) the Chinese style called Kara-yo which came in the Sung epoch to Japan with Zen Buddhism and remained to exert a profound influence on the Kamakura and the succeeding styles of architecture. Thus the renewed intercourse between China and Japan in the 13th century gave rise to different styles which tended to be a *hybrid* about the middle of the 14th century. The plan of the Zen temple was elaborate and complicated, but few of them have remained in their original form. The most famous examples of the Hindu style of architecture are to be seen in the Jodo-ji monastery in the province of Harima and the great south-gate (Nandai-mon) of the Daibutan at Nara.

The Kamakura period (*Cf.* K. Hamada—*Japanese Art of the Kamakura Period*, Kokka, April and June 1910) was characterised both in politics and art by two different traditions, that of the civil regime of the Imperial Court at Kyoto and that of the camp government at Kamakura at the mouth of the gulf of Tokyo,

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where Yoritomo established his capital as the *Shogun* or the supreme military chief recognised by the Emperor in 1192. The rival culture currents would be harmonised in the Ashikaga epoch. The power soon went to the Hojo family whose representative Tokimune (1256-1284) gloriously defended Japan from the invasion of the Mongols under Kublai Khan. When the Hojo house decayed threatening Japan with anarchy, the Emperor Daigo after centuries assumed full sovereignty in 1319. But his noble work was soon frustrated by the Ashikaga Shoguns who murdered the Crown Prince and started the Muromachi period (1334-1573) famous for its idealistic art under Zen inspiration. The conquerors of the Mongols as well as the military aristocracy of the 13th and 14th centuries drew their strength and rare courage from the transcendental calm of the Zen-shu, a rare combination of Indian Buddhism and Chinese Taoism.

ART DURING THE ASHIKAGA OR MUROMACHI PERIOD (1334-1573)

The temporary ascendency of the royal family of Japan came to a sad end when Masashige, the Bayard of the Imperial cause, was killed in 1336, and the Ashikaga Takanji triumphantly entered Kyoto, building their residence of Muromachi which gave its name to the literary period from 1592 to 1603. Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1368-1408) as well as Yoshimasa (1449-90), who built the silver pavilion, the *Ginkakuji* east of Kyoto, were great patrons of art and literature. But soon the Daimyos or the feudal barons got the upper hand and frequently plunged the country into civil wars. Thus 16th century Japan resembled the 15th century Italy with political confusions marching hand in hand with artistic reanissance. The boisterous spirit of the age forced the adventurous clans to embark upon repeated expeditions to the coasts of Central and Southern China as well as to Formosa, Hainan and the Philippines. In the 16th century, the Japanese mariners specially from Kyushu often crossed the path of the Spanish, the Portuguese and the Dutch adventurers and traders. Francis Xavier, the Roman Catholic preacher, landed in Japan (August, 1549), remaining there till November 1551, and the Jesuit brought Japan in contact with Western life and arts. But before Japan

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would be called to tackle with the occidental problems in the 19th century, she could make a substantial contribution to Asiatic art through her portraitists and landscape painters (of the 15th and 16th centuries) who, in spite of their being deeply influenced by the Chinese art of the Sung and Yuan periods, nevertheless asserted their Japanese individuality. The master painter of this period was Sesshu (1420-1506) who visited China (1463-1469) and was received at the court of the Ming Emperors. With rare originality he rose above the vagueness of the Sung metaphysical school, and introduced a rugged romanticism, liberating thereby the personality of the Japanese artists hitherto dominated by the collective religious traditions of the Sino-Indian art. His splendid portrait of Bodhi-Dharma as well as his profound nature studies marked Sesshu as one of the greatest painters of all ages. Anothr great painter is Soami (1450-1530), who was a master of tender delineation of nature without any metaphysical suggestion. A third great painter was Session, who continued to work till 1572 and linked up the earlier schools of Japanese art with the famous *Kano* school which came to fill the history of Japanese art from the middle of the 15th to the middle of the 19th century. Its founder was Kano Masanobu (1453-1490) whose tradition was continued by his son Motonobu (1476-1559). The Kano school generally represented the Sino-Japanese academic style, lacking the divine urge of creative artists, yet it was infinitely superior to the conventional Ming painters. That is how the Kano school dominated Japanese art for over 300 years by their absolute master of technique and their keen sense of the "earth earthy." They were not mere grammarians like the Ming painters, they were great stylists as well. Art not only came to be professional but almost hereditary by way of father to son or master to pupil, as we find also in the famous Tosa school led by Mitsunobu (1435-1525) with extraordinary finish in their drawings and their delicate feeling for colour. According to Prof. Eliseev, their works mark the epoch of the general *secularization* of art and assertion of national individuality.

The return from Kamakura to Kyto naturally developed the Kyoto school of art, and that is why we find some of their finest

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specimens in the Kyoto Museum. although many of them have come to be acquired by the Tokyo Imperial Museum. This was an age of progressive *Japanisation*, and the Buddhist cults and temples as things foreign in origin were somewhat neglected. Confucianism and Taoism slowly panetrated and were assimilated by the Japanese genius. Towards the beginning of the 15th century we find a few important architectural constructions such as the five-storied *stupa* and the golden hall of the Kofuku-ji monastery at Nara. In secular architectures we find the influence of Zen Buddhism, as well as in the Tea Cult, both closely associated with the development of the art of gardening. Kakuzo Okakura has shown in his famous *Book of Tea* how the Tea Ceremony came to influence profoundly the social and artistic life of Japan. Yoshimasa (1449-1490) was an enthusiastic collector of art objects from China, and catalogue was compiled by his attendant connoisseur Noami. There we find a commentary on tea bowls and on other items of the Tea Ceremony, together with instructions as to how to judge pictures and the genuineness of art objects. This catalogue came to have almost a scriptural authority amongst Tea Masters and Art Critics, Yoshimasa neglected politics as he was passionately devoted to literature and art. He surrounded himself with learned Buddhist priests, poets and actors, who collaborated in the development of that great art of Japan manifested in the *No* dramas largely based on Buddhist subjects, and stimulated the progress of portrait sculpture through the infinite variety and subtlety of *No masks*.

MOMOYAMA PERIOD (1574-1614)

The Ashikaga family was superseded by an astute politician Nobunaga (1534-82) who strengthened his position by forming the best feudal army of the day, winning over to his side an aristocrat like Tokugawa Ieyasu and a peasant military genius, who after Nobunaga came to be the Japanese Napoleon, Hideyoshi. The Buddhist orders like the Honganji group of Osaka, who formed a state, were ruthlessly suppressed, and temples and monasteries which were citadels were destroyed. The first dictator Nobunaga was assassinated in 1582, and his general

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Hideyoshi (1583-1598) stepped into the breach. He was the first to set the example of political unification of the country by suppressing all sectional and separatists tendencies of the feudal clans, specially of the island of Kyushu. For the first time in Japanese history a *plebian* came to be the protector of the realm, transcending caste prejudices Under him unified Japan ceased to be an isolated country and definitely desired an Asiatic empire. Hence his expeditions to China and Korea. In 1590 the Korean king ordered the destruction of Fusan, the Japanese trading colony. Thus under the flag of Hideyoshi the warriors of the different feudal clans for the first time stood united. The Ming dynasty was decaying, but its forces joined the Korean and continued defensive wars. Korea, if not the whole of China, would have been conquered by the Japanese but for the sudden death of Hideyoshi in 1598. His ideas, however, was carried on by the third dictator Ieyasu who triumphed over all contending factions in a big battle of October, 1600.

The two great national schools of painting were the *Tosas* who faithfully depicted the epic tradition of Japan, and the *Kanos* who left admirable animal studies and mural decorations as in the famous Monoyama palace of Hideyoshi and also in the Nishi Hongan-ji temple at Kyoto. The Kano artists through their preference for decorative art were the real precursors of the *Ukiyo-e* school of popular art. The grand Sung tradition of drawing mono-chrome pieces in wash with Chinese ink was gone, being now replaced by gaudy colours and gold backgrounds characterising the Ming art with its "sensuous diletantism." Gorgeous lacquer works came to be as much valued as painting, and the arch spirit of this age was Koetsu (1557-1637) who worked side by side with Sotatsu (1576-1643), and whose style of decorative painting of rich colour was developed further by Korin. Koetsu was called the Leonardo da Vinci of Japan by Yone Noguchi. He was a born decorator of the grand style in every medium. His portraits and lacquer works are the treasures of the Odin and the Vever collection of Paris, and his magnificent screens are cherished by the Boston Museum and the Freer Gallery of Washington. The three great military heroes, Hideyoshi above all, wanted to display their greatness through

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architectural decorations, as we find in the paintings of Eitoku (1543-1590) on the golden walls of the Osaka Castle. This master of the Kano school trained another great artist Sanraku (1559-1635) who excelled in painting flowers and birds. His fellow-student under Eitoku was Ousho (1533-1615). He was equally famous in animal and human figures. One of his famous screens, now in the Kyoto Museum, represents the Three Tasters of Vinegar, symbolishing the fact that the ultimate source of Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism was the same though their attitudes to life and their preaching were different. Buddhism was definitely declining at that time, and it was specially noticeable in sculpture. The only noteworthy Buddhist architecture of the period was the Golden Hall of the To-ji monastery of Kyoto. It was an age of grand castles and sumptuous dwelling houses. A new style was introduced in Shinto architecture with interior decorations in Buddhist style. The whole of this gorgeous art stands in striking contrast against the archaic simplicity in the architecture and decorations of the houses for Tea Ceremony, *Sukiya*. Here we find a veritable poetry of rusticity as we notice in that wonderful Raku-yaki tea bowl made by Chojiro the master of ceramic art employed by Hideyoshi. Many Korean potters were brought to Japan during the expeditions of Hideyoshi, and they helped in the remarkable development of the porcelain industry in Japan. The weak son of Hideyoshi was overthrown by Ieyasu who in 1603 made Yedo (later known as Tokyo) his headquarters, and Yedo came to be the most important centre of the political, social and artistic life of the nation from 1615 when Ieyasu formally established the Tokugawa Shogunate, which continued down to 1867.

YEDO PERIOD (1615-1866)

The age of the Tokugawas was an age of discipline and regulations. The troublesome and adventurous Daimyos whom Hideyoshi wanted to utilize for his grand project of Asiatic empire were obliged to spend most of their time near about the Tokyo court of the Shogun. Their spirit was completely ruined amid the luxuries and festivities of Yedo. The Tokugawas closed

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their country to all foreigners, whether missionaries, merchants, or mariners, while the previous generation was receptive because of Japanese sailors and merchants who frequently visited China, Korea, Formosa, the Philippines, Indo-China and even India. In the following age of narrowness and isolation, Japanese art was largely characterised by "feats of virtuosity," as we find in the works of Sansetsu (1589-1651) and of Naonobu (1607-1650), and Tannyu (1602-74), the elder brother of Naonobu.

Between 1688-1703, known as the Genroku Period, there appeared an all-round genius combining the Kano and the Tosa traditions, showing the bold designs of the former and the decorative effects of the latter. Such was Ogata Korin (1653-1716), a master in painting as well as in lacquer work to whom Yone Noguchi dedicated a special study (1922). Korin was the most famous painter of the Genroku era (1688-1703). A great landscape and animal painter was Okyo (1733-95) who was followed by other noble landscape painters like Buncho and Buson who continued to work almost up to the beginning of the Mei-ji revolution.

But the general public was apparently fed up with the academic subjects and plunged into the study and appreciation of *plebian life*, developing thereby the popular school of the *Ukiyo-e*. This school was influenced by the Ming and Ch'ing paintings pre-occupied with the portraits of young girls or courtesans. Everyday life came to be expressed through painting, but mostly through *popular prints*, now the glory of Japanese wood-engraving. At first the prints were in black and white, but about 1742 the Japanese discovered the process of printing from several blocks charged with different colours. A master of such colour printing was Masanobu who died about 1761. But probably the greatest master of colour prints was Harunobu (1730-1770), a great interpreter of the womanhood of Japan. In the works of Kiyonaga (1742-1815), Japanese colour print reached its highest level, according to M. Grousset who quotes approvingly the opinion of Fenollosa: "The lines are more harmonious than Botticelli, more suave and flowing than Greek painting, and suggesting even Greek sculpture." Another artist, Sharaku, devoted himself to the psychological study of the famous actors

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of his day (1789-1800). A great painter of the *Geishas* and courtesans was Utamaro (1754-1806), to whom also Poet Noguchi devoted a special volume (1925). Though depicting the underworld, no vulgarity could be traced in the works of Utamaro who was a master colourist.

The head of the realistic school was Hokusai (1760-1849) who staggers us by his variety and productiveness. He was the first to introduce realistic landscapes and animated crowds. His most remarkable work was "the Thirty-six Views of Fuji". Another great artist was Hiroshige (1797-1858) who was a veritable poet of nature and who transformed everything by the magic touch of his brush. He surveys everything, the earth and the sea in a bird's eye-view suggesting the flights of the soul through space and immensity. Jiro Harada of the Imperial Household Museum has written an authoritative volume on Hiroshige, and recently in commemoration of the 2,600th anniversary of the foundation of the Japanese State, Yone Noguchi brought out a sumptuous study of Hiroshige with a number of fine plates. Thus down to the middle of the 19th century Japan could produce great artists, thanks partially to the aristocratic isolation imposed by the Tokugawas, while India, China and Persia, as lamented by Grousset, suffered terribly from internal decay of art instincts and the external imposition of Western commercialism. Japan luckily escaped denationalisation and thus pointed to the path of regeneration for the other nations of Asia with a tradition and history of Art.

MODERN JAPANESE ARTS

In the Yedo period, the ceramic art of Japan made remarkable progress, and famous kilns produced wonderful specimens from Kyoto, Hizen, Satsuma and Kaga. One of the leading ceramist was Ninsei (1596-1660), who rose above the Chinese or Korean styles and vindicated the claims of the Japanese genius. The art of gold lacquer reached the zenith of perfection in this period and the famous Koetsu was a veritable genius in this branch of art and his style was developed in Kyoto by Korin. Kyoto was also the most important centre of high-grade

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weaving. The Chinese trading ships, followed by the Portuguese, the Spanish and the Dutch vessels introduced some of the best samples of textile industry of Japan. The industry was further developed with the enormous popularity of the No drama. The gorgeous costumes of the actors were mostly fabricated in Kyoto and Yedo.

In architecture we find little originality. A few Buddhist temples deserve mention : The Hall of Buddha (1583) and the Hall of Preaching (1656) in the Myoshin-ji monastery of Kyoto, and the Daibutsu Hall (1708) of the Todai-ji monastery of Nara. In the Mampuku-ji monastery near Kyoto we notice the pure Chinese style, which entered Japan with the Obaku branch of the Zen sect of Buddhism.

In 1867 the last Shogun of the Tokugawa retired, making room for the great emperor Matsu-hito Mei-ji who removed his capital from Kyoto to Yedo (changed into Tokyo). This was an age of aggressive Western influence which will be checked by Lafcadio Hearn, Okakura, Fenollosa and others. From 1887 there was a healthy reaction against the blind imitation of the West. This movement was led by Ernest Fenollosa, a graduate of the Harvard University, who came in 1878 as a professor of philosophy at the Tokyo Imperial University. He secured the co-operation of the great Japanese art critic Okakura Kakuzo who later on went to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Okakura the friend of Vivekananda and Nivedita also spent some time in India co-operating intimately with the Tagores who are pioneers of the revival of Indian art. In 1888, the Japanese government established an Art school at Uyeno Park, Tokyo and two of its professors Kano Hogai (1828-1888) and Hasimoto Gaho (1835-1908) were greatly influenced by Okakura and Fenollosa. The picture of the all-merciful Mother (Hibo Kwannon) is the most famous work of the idealistic type drawn by Hogai. He died in 1888 before the opening of the art school but his style was followed and developed by Gaho, among whose masterpieces we notice the "Autumn Landscape" now in the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum. Some of the pupils of Gaho are great masters of contemporary Japan who resigned with Mr. Okakura from the Government school and organised a new art

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Academy, the Nihon Bijutsu-in at Yanaka, Tokyo. To mention only a few of this famous group of painters we refer to Hishida Shunso, Kawai Gyokudo, Arai Kampo, and, above all, two veritable masters Shimomura Kanzan and Yokoyama Taikan, who started the new movement with the motto—"Life true to self." Many of these painters serve in the Art Exhibition Committee for Japanese painting which grew out of the exhibition of Japanese and Western paintings organised in 1907 by the Department of Education. From 1919, the annual Government Exhibition is being held under the auspices of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy. After a temporary domination of the West there was a distinct revival of nationalism with an attempt to harmonise the old and the new, best illustrated by Taikan with his eclectic researches into Oriental as well as Occidental schools of art. Taikan worked for sometimes in the studio of Abanindranath Tagore founder of the Indian School of Art in Calcutta.

The Imperial Fine Arts Academy has for its object the promotion of national arts. It holds the annual exhibition in autumn dividing it into four sections; Japanese Painting, Western Painting, Sculpture and Applied Arts. At the end the Committee issues certificates of special merit and confers the academic prizes. The National School of Painting, presided over by Taikan also holds exhibitions. The Western styles of painting of the modern and ultra-modern artists find a ready response amongst a large number of modern Japanese artists, who hold exhibitions in spring and autumn. A few leading artists of this school are Ishii Hakutei, and Arishima Ikuma, besides others. There is now a permanent Museum of Modern art, for the contemporary artists of Japan, who also show their works often in small galleries in Tokyo and Kyoto, Nagoya and Osaka as I visited them during my trip of 1954.

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IV

THE NATIONAL ART TREASURES AND MUSEUMS OF JAPAN

Within 5 years from the accession of the noble emperor Mei-ji, the Imperial Household Museum was opened (1882) in the Ueno Park, Tokyo. Before describing this magnificent museum in detail, I should give the general outline of the policy of the Government with regard to the preservation of national treasures and monuments. During my visit to Japan with Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in 1924, I had the rare good fortune of being shown round some of the unique art collections, thanks to the kindness and courtesy of great artists like Shimomura and Taikan who personally took Nandalal Bose and myself through many public as well as private collections. Eminent scholars like Prof. Anesaki and Dr. Takakusu kindly introduced us to the academic groups, while the brother of the late Kakuzo Okakura and the poet Yone Noguchi were of very great assistance to us. So during my last visits to the Japanese collections on my way to and from Honolulu and also while attending the World Conference of Education in Tokyo (1937), I was thankful for the spontaneous help offered by eminent archæologists and art critics like President K. Hamada and Prof. Umehara of the Kyoto Imperial University, and by Dr. Jiro Harada of the Imperial Household Museum, Tokyo. I was thankful to the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai* for supplying me generously with their publications and photographic documents; and I remember in this connection the help rendered by Count Kabayama, Count Kuroda, Baron Ino Dan, Mr. Aoki and others. I was fortunate also to travel to South America, to attend the International P. E. N. Congress at Buenos Aires in 1936, in the enlightened company of Shimazaki Toson (the Tagore of Japan) and the celebrated modern artist Ikuma Arishima, from whom I got valuable hints with regard to the contemporary trends of Japanese literature and art. I was fortunate to find in Count Kuroda a real enthusiast in my subject, and he gave me much useful information as he was the nephew of Baron R. Kuki, who was instrumental in shaping the policy of the nation in this matter. Kuki was a

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contemporary of the builders of Modern Japan like Ito and Togo, and like them he was sent to the West for specialisation. On his return to Japan, when he rose to the rank of the Privy Councillor, Buron Kuki drafted the Memorial on the Conservation of National Monuments, and introduced a Bill on the National Treasures. Already in 1889 the Imperial Household Department organised a Committee for the investigation of historical and art treasures in Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines. This led in 1897 to the establishment of a definite Code for the Protection of National Treasures and Historical Monuments. Meanwhile the Imperial Academy of Japan was founded stimulating the activities along these lines, and Ministry of Education also helped the movement through its Department of Fine Arts financing the exploration of ancient sites as well as the exhibition of *ancient and modern* art objects. The taste for arts and antiquities is inborn in Japanese men and women, and naturally art objects are seen not only in the big Metropolitan Museum but also in private homes and isolated temples. The Museum Association of Japan is a growing institution ; it publishes its bulletin and the directory of Japanese Museums for the benefit of those who do not understand Japanese. There are also journals like the *Kokka* and the *Year Book of Japanese Art.*

Tokyo has several museums and collections : The Oyama Institute of Pre-historic Research shows an important collection of neolithic potteries and stone implements which should be studied with the select specimens of pre-historic antiquities at the Imperial University of Tokyo. Some fine samples of Chinese sculpture and Japanese art are in the Okura Antique Museum. Japanese arms and armours of all ages are in the Yushu-Kwan Museum and in the Yamada collection. Japanese costumes, paintings, etc. are in the Mitsui collection. Chinese and Japanese paintings and sculptures are found in the Nezu and Miyama collections. The *Noh* costumes and Japanese pottery of different ages are to be found in the Fukui collection. The Waseda University, founded by Count Okuma, takes special interest in the drama, and has, therefore, developed a special Histrionic Arts Museum showing models, colour prints, etc., relating to theatrical performances. Japanese porcelain of different types are found

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State Museu
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in Shiobara and Mukita collections. The Masuda collection offers important specimens of Japanese painting, sculpture, and industrial arts. Baron Ino Dan in his residence made a valuable collection of Japanese painting and folk arts and crafts.

After Tokyo, the historic City of Kyoto exhibits valuable art treasures. The biggest collections are in the Kyoto Onshi Museum of Art and also in the University Museum. Most valuable series of ancient Chinese bronzes are in the Sumitomo collection, which is so important that two eminent antiquarians like Prof. Hamada and Dr. Harada devoted several years of their life in publishing six volumes of plates with four volumes of introductory notes published as *Senoku-Seisho* (1921). This was utilized by Albert J. Koop in his *Early Chinese Bronzes* (1924). Chinese clay-figures, ancient Korean tiles and samples of Buddhist arts are in the Ito collection. The Hashimoto collection shows fine samples of Chinese pottery and Japanese Buddhist sculpture.

In the provinces there are several important centres, the most important being the Imperial Household Museum of Nara, the Sosho-in and the Temple Treasures of Horyu-ji and the Reiho-kwan Museum on the Koyasan hills. The Osaka prefecture has many studios and shows valuable arms, armours and neolithic implements deposited in Motoyama Shoin-Do Museum. The Ueno collection is near Osaka, as well as the Hakkaku Museum of Fine Arts, with metal work and Chinese and Japanese porcelain. Valuable objects from Shinto temples are found in the Kokuho Kwan Museum of Kamakura. Historical relics of Shintoism are in the Choko Kwan Museum near the *Ise* shrine. Mr. Tomitaro Hara, who in 1916, was the host of Dr. Tagore made a valuable collection in his residence near Yokohama. Valuable objects are also found in the treasury of the lovely Nikko shrine. Most of the important temples and castles of Japan that have escaped the ravages of fire earthquake and war, contain valuable objects of applied arts, mural decorations and cult objects which deserve to be carefully catalogued and studied. A co-ordinated inventory of all the scattered objects of art should be compiled and published in English for the benefit of the lovers of Japanese art who cannot utilise Japanese books or catalogues. But such works were

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postponed owing to long wars with China (since 1932) and the World war (1941-45).

THE ART TREASURES OF HORYU-JI

One of the earliest and most important monuments of Buddhism in Japan is the temple group of Horyu-ji, which was founded by the first Japanese Empress and her beloved nephew, the Crown Prince Uma Yado, whose honorific title was Shotoku Taishi. Founded in 607, its oldest sections have survived through 13 centuries. The entire group is divided into the eastern and western temples comprising about 27 separate buildings : four of the Asuka period, five of the Nara period, two of the Fujiwara period, nine of the Kamakura period, and seven of the Ashikaga and Tokugawa periods. It is a veritable city of temples, like the Delphi of Greece. The Buddhist sculptures and other objects of art, numbering 421 pieces in all, are listed as National Treasures. The iconography is specially interesting from the point of view of primitive Buddhism in Japan. The central figure in bronze is that of Sakyamuni occupying the southern side of the *Kondo* or the main hall. Buddha there is accompanied by two Bodhi-sattvas, and the whole group is called Shaka Trinity, erected about 621 by the son of Shotoku Taishi. To the east of this group is the Yakushi Trinity, *i. e.*, Yakushi or *Bhaisajya-guru*, Nikko or *Surya-prabha* and Gakko or *Chandra-prabha*. The figures were executed by the artists of Empress Suiko and Prince Shotoku. To the west of the Shaka Trinity we find the Amida Trinity composed of Amitabha, Avalokitesvara and Mahasthanaprapta. We find also among the minor deities the coloured wooden statues of Sri (Kichijoten) and Vaisravana (Bishamon or Tamonten). We also find the Four Dik-palas or Guardians of the Quarters (Shi Ten-no or Four Heavenly Kings") occupying the four corners of the platform : Dhritarastra, Virudhaka, Virupaksa and Kubera. Samanta-bhadra was also worshipped for imparting long life to the devotees.

An image of Monju or Maitreya, the presiding deity of wisdom, is reported to have been introduced into Japan by a

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Hindu priest of royal descent, Subhakara-simha, who also visited China between 716 and 723. A very famous object is the portable shrine, originally the property of Empress Suiko (592-628) which reflected the style of the Asuka period (552-645). On the portable shrine and its pedestal, which are both lacquered in black all over, is displayed the earliest examples of Japanese painting representing some *Jataka stories*, which are also to be found in the five-storied wooden pagoda built about 607. The life of Buddha is also partially represented in *clay figures* on the earthen pedestal at the centre of the first storey of the five-storied *stupa*. The *Kofuzo* or Treasure House contains the precious objects donated by Prince Shotoku and successive sovereigns. This is the only surviving one of the 33 treasure-houses reported to have been given to the Horyu-ji temple. In the eastern temple, there is a beautiful octagonal hall erected in 739 and called the Hall of Dreams which was named in memory of Prince Shotoku who is reported often to fall into a trance (*Samadhi*) whenever he ran against incomprehensible passages while annotating his three favourite *sutras*: the *Saddharma-Pundarika*, the *Vimala-kirti* and the *Srimala*.

The Hall of Dreams is also proud to possess the glorious wooden statue of the saviour Kunze-Kwannon or Avalokitesvara, one of the finest specimens of Far Eastern sculpture, with flowing robes, slim figures of perfect grace with hands holding the *Chintamani* or Wishing-gem and with eyes beaming with mercy. Buddha's bone relics are deposited in the Shari-den. Another very precious image of wood is found in the Chugu-ji nunnery which treasures the oldest embroidery representing the *Mandala* of Paradise. It represents Buddhist images, palaces, birds, flowers, etc., embroidered on silk of purple gauge and of yellow damask woven with threads white, red, yellow, green, purple and orange, a veritable rainbow of tapestry. Another wonderful treasure of the nunnery is the image of Miroku or Chintamani Avalokitesvara of rare plastic dignity and mystic charm. Last, though not the least, is the collection of *fresco paintings* in the Golden Hall or Horyu-ji. The long band of mural painting is divided into twelve sections, four of which are somewhat larger than the rest, measuring about 10 ft. in height and 8½ ft. in width.

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These four bigger panels represent the Paradise with a Buddha in the centre of each composition. On the eight smaller walls we see Bodhi-sattvas in standing posture. The method followed by the painters has been analysed. The outline of the figures was drawn first in red lines and afterwards shaded in the same colour. On the dry *stucco* finish of the walls, the following colours were applied: black, vermilion, rouge, ochre, cobalt and verdigris. Some secondary colours were also used, and the style strongly reminds us of those from Khotan and Ajanta. Japanese experts generally agree that the expression of the Buddhas and Bodhi-sattvas was distinctly Indian. But alas, we pilgrims of 1954 found the whole burnt down. The outlines of the body and the robe were coloured red, the symbol of life and activity, and in contrast the head and the lotus-throne were coloured green and blue which suggest the feeling of peace and harmony. These invaluable treasures of Eastern Asiatic painting like our Ajanta, have often been reproduced and recopied.

Near Horyu-ji we find two important temples: the Toshodai-ji with its dry lacquer images of Vairochana, and the wooden statue of the thousand-handed Avalokitesvara. So the Yakushi-ji temple contains the bronze statues of Bhaisajya-guru and of the Gakko Bosatsu or Chandra-prabha.

NARA AND ITS MUSEUMS

The sacred city of Nara with its shrines, images, festivals and deer park reminds us of the holy city of Sarnath, Banaras. The gigantic Todai-ji temple houses the colossal bronze image of Vairocana. It is the main shrine of the Kegon (Avatamsaka) sect. The Todai-ji is considered to be the largest wooden building in the world. It was erected between 747 and 752 A. D. It was damaged several times and renovated towards the beginning of the 20th century, with the total expense of 75,000 yen,

The gigantic bronze image of Vairocana is 53½ ft. high, probably the biggest in the world. Its casting was begun in 743 and was completed in 749. The face alone measures 16 ft. by 9½ft. and the whole figure weighs about 500 tons. The statue is seated upon a huge pedestal which is composed of 56 bronze

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lotus petals, each 10 ft. high. The bronze-caster Kimimaro was an expert from the Kudara province of Korea. In the dedication ceremony of the image, the whole royal family with the court officials and 10,000 priests and nuns reverentially participated. Apart from the huge statues in bronze, wood or lacquer there are innumerable objects like the lanterns and the bell-towers, testifying to the phenomenal growth of industrial arts in that grand epoch of Japanese Buddhism.

THE NARA MUSEUM

Some of the most valuable objects of early Japanese art are treasured in the Imperial Museum of Nara established in 1894. The exhibits are divided into groups of painting, sculpture, illuminated manuscripts and industrial arts, besides a valuable loan collection. Some fine statues of the Suiko and the Nara periods are treasured in the Museum. The later periods are also well represented. Some valuable paintings, earthen and porcelain wares, terra-cotta figures and other archæological materials are also exhibited.

SHOSOIN OR THE IMPERIAL TREASURY

When Emperor Shomu died in 765, the valuable art objecrs in his collection were noted down in catalogues and presented to the Todai-ji monastery of Nara, which built the simple treasure house in the log cabin style. About 3,003 art objects of rare historical value were thus preserved in this building of over 1,150 years old. They belonged to the epoch when Japan was getting from the Continent the earliest relics of Buddhist art and culture. Pottery, furniture, wooden and leather boxes, lacquered or inlaid with gold, silver, ivory or different coloured wood, masks, musical instruments, textile fabrics, writing materials. documents and Buddhist scriptures are found in the Shosoin collection. About 50 beautiful bronze mirrors and their designs clearly show that they were of Chinese manufacture and superior to the mirrors of the Greeks and the Romans. But although most of these objects were foreign things imported from outside, many of them were made by Japanese artists. Even at that early age Japan was

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capable of assimilating and developing the various art motifs. Buddhism, of course, was the principal source of inspiration, and the Buddhist decorative designs are found inlaid on the sandal-wood *Vina* or lute, called *Biwa* in Japanese. Two *Kinnaras* or human-headed birds are finely depicted, and they are characterised by the Japanese artists as the Buddhist sacred birds called *Kalavinka* coming from the Himalayas whose songs remind Japan of the music of the voice of the Buddha. The importation of Indian musical modes into Japan was proved by Prof. Sylvain Levi in his paper on the "Lumbini Orchestra." Some of the textile fabrics, nearly 70,000 of which have so far been mounted, in their designs, colours and technical processes prove them to be of Indian, Persian, Chinese or Byzantine origins or influences. Renowned Japanese art historians have collaborated to produce an excellent *Catalogue of Treasures in the Imperial Repository* (Tokyo, 1932). But they have only examined about one-half of the objects in the cases which are kept open for only 26 days in the year for airing and inspection. The public were allowed to visit the treasury from 1907 and in an inventory of 1908, the objects were classfied under 2,794 items which grew to be 5,645 when a more exhaustive catalogue was compiled in Japanese by Mr. Y. Osima, a former President of the Imperial Household Museum.

In the same compound there is a small store-house, the *Shogozo*, which contains nearly 5,000 scrolls of the copies of ancient Buddhist *sutras* : 22 scrolls copied in China in the Sui dynasty (581-617), 221 copied in the T'ang dynasty (618-906) and 1,492 scrolls copied in Japan in the Tempyo period (708-781). The Repository contains also many articles which were used in connection with the "eye-opening" ceremony of the Daibutsu which took place in 752, May 26. With a grand solemn ceremony the eyes of the great Buddha were opened by the priest *Bodhisena* who made the gestures of putting in the pupils of the eyes with *sumi* and brush ; and to the brush were tied long cords held by thousands of people. These objects are still to be found in the Shosoin.

Buddhist figures are found carved on solid blocks of copper embossed on bronzes, and also painted on silk as on hemp and cloth. Not only Mahayana but Hinayana miscellaneous

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sutras were preserved here, as we find from the inscriptions on bamboo mat-cover called *Chitsu*. The names of some of the *sutras* are clearly laid down, e. g., the *Suvarna-prabhasa*, the *Maha-vaipulya*, the *Brahma-jala* etc. Rosaries of lotus-seeds rock-crystal, amber and glass are also found. Three-pronged *Vajras* (really Trisulas) are found as symbols of the irresistible power of prayer, meditation and incantation. Models of Buddhist pagodas of various styles are also found. The seeds of the Bodhi tree are also used as rosaries. Following the example of Emperor Asoka, the Japanese Empress Komyo established here a sort of a *charitable hospital* for free distribution of medicine to the poor ; and various kinds of jars and bowls for powders and ointments, minerals, medicinal fruits and herbs were treasured, probably following the Indian Ayurvedic texts. Coral beads are very scarce, and ebony is also rarely used. Ancient Japanese ornaments like the *Kuda-dama* (tube-jewels) and *Magatama* (carved jewels) have also been found. The cult of the *mystic gem* of India, *Chintamani* (*Nyoi-Hoju*) had already reached Japan. Relics of Buddhist saints were called Shari (from Sanskrit *Sarira*). Many objects of ivory have been found and the Shosoin collection as a whole deserves to be studied on a comparative basis from the point of view of the evolution of Asiatic arts and crafts. The textile collection has been exhaustively treated in two volumes with 114 plates published in 1929 by the Imperial Household Museum of Tokyo, and Dr. K. Dohi has published in English his "Study of Some Drugs Preserved in the Shosoin."

KYOTO TREASURES

Kyoto having been the political and spiritual capital of Japan for centuries, its palaces and temples are veritable museums of Japanese arts and crafts. Some of the finest examples of painting and sculpture as well as illustrated manuscripts have been assembled in the Central Museum of Art (Kyoto Onshi), to the great convenience of those who cannot afford to visit separately the various collections in and about Kyoto. The museum was established by the Imperial Household and opened to the public in 1897. In 1924, when we had the privilege of

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visiting Kyoto, the museum was given over to the municipality of Kyoto. It is specially rich in painting and sculptures, many of which are marked as national treasures. The oldest style of painting derived from the Six Dynasties of China is represented by the illustrated manuscript of the Buddhist "Sutra on the Cause and Effect." Although painted in Japan of the Tempyo era (729-748), the figures, costumes and other objects on the scroll represent the types of Northern China in the 6th century. Another richly decorated scroll of the 12th century illustrates the *Saddharma-Pundarika*. Portraits of Seven Patriarchs are ascribed to the T'ang dynasty, five being painted by the great Chinese painter Li Chen (Ri Shin in Japanese) and two by the saint-painter Kobo Daishi The story of the resurrection of the Buddha (taken from the 6th century Chinese translation of the *Maya Sutra*) is the subject of a unique painting of the Fujiwara period. The Buddha is seen rising from a golden coffin and turning towards his mother, while angels and demons gaze in wonder. Unlike the Nirvana representation we feel the atmosphere of joy and tenderness in this Japanese masterpiece. From the Kamakura period come the two pictorial biographies of Ippen Shonin and Honen Shonin, reflecting the style of the Sung paintings. Honen was the great protagonist of *Bhakti* in the *Amitabha* cult, and naturally we find a perfectly unique representation of the Amida Trinity. A picture of the wind and thunder deities is attributed to Sototsu, and a powerful landscape of Sesshu represent summer and winter. Some of the sculptures in wood and lacquer display rare genius and portraiture. A few Shinto deities are represented in Buddhist pose. Gold lacquer utensils and furniture come from the Kodai-ji temple erected by the wife of Hideyoshi, and some fine samples of Japanese industrial arts and mirrors with exquisite designs are to be found in the Kyoto Museum which has published a richly illustrated catalogue in 5 volumes. But a volume which I examined wistfully but could not bring to India was an album of Indian and Indo-Persian paintings deposited at the Kyoto Museum by some Japanese art-lovers who undoubtedly travelled in India. The old bookshops of Kyoto, like the old shops for art materials, may offer to patient explorers many such

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interesting items which are seldom noticed in general books on Japanese art.

Another very important centre of the study of Far Eastern art and archæology is the Imperial University of Kyoto. It provides for the systematic study of pre-historic Japan and Korea and their relations with China and Manchuria. Several professors of the University took active part in excavation work, and developed thereby a valuable collection of antiquities which should be carefully examined. Prof. K. Hamada, later on the President of the University, was the leader of the Kyoto school; and during my last visit he helped me to get an idea of the activities of the Kyoto group for which I am grateful to him as well as to his learned colleague Prof. S. Umehara. The Archæological Institute of the University has published valuable reports, some of which I note down below: "Ornamented Tombs in Higo" (Hamada and Umehara, 1917); "Excavations of Neolithic Sites" (Hamada, Umehara, Shimada and Suzuki, 1918); "Excavations of Shell-mounds" (Kiyono, Sakakibara, etc., 1920); "A Pre-historic Site at Ibusaki" (Hamada, 1921); "Ancient Sepulchre at Midzuo" (Hamada, Umehara, 1923); "Rock-cut Buddhist Images in the Province of Bungo" (Hamada, 1925); "Remains of Ancient Bead Workers" (Shimada, Umehara, 1927); "The Pre-historic Site in Suku and a Study of the Ancient Mirrors" (Shimada, Umehara, 1930); "Study on the Cairns on Mount Iwasen" (Umehara, 1933).

Prof. Hamada was a veteran archæologist who during his studies in Europe worked with Sayce, Petrie and such eminent Orientalists. Prof. Umehara after studies in Europe passed through Ceylon, as he told me, and he takes keen interest in Indian art and archæology. He is an indefatigable worker publishing both in Japanese and in English. He takes deep interest in China and Korea, as I gathered from the translated title of his Japanese monographs: "On the White Earthen Pottery from the Ruins of Honan," "Copper Cutleries in Ancient China," "Report on the Excavation of the Ancient Tombs near Keishu, Korea." Prof. Umehara very kindly took me through the valuable collection of the University Archæological Museum (opened in 1914). I found the exhibits scientifically arranged: the pre-historic potteries and the stone implements of Neolithic

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Japan ; clay-houses and Haniwa figures from the Tumulus period ; neolithic implements from Kansu (China) and from Jehol (Manchuria) ; neolithic relics from Korea ; Korean tomb bricks and tiles ; ornaments and crown jewels of the Korean royal house ; terra-cotta Buddha figures from Korea and Manchuria ; relics of the Nara period ; and many such valuable archæological remains.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD MUSEUM, TOKYO

This Museum, the biggest and one of the earliest in Japan, was organised in 1872 and opened to the public in 1882. It has several departments managed by a Chairman-Curator attending specially to the Department of Fine Arts. So, special authorities on Japanese art supervise the departments of Painting Sculpture, Ceramics and Lacquer. Jiro Harada, specialist in the history of Japanese art who returned from a lecture-tour through America, published a splendid album on the treasures of the museum. Another renowned art-critic attached to the Museum is Dr. Yukio Yashiro. He gained international renown by his magnificent volume on Botticelli in which he conclusively proved that many of the artists of European renaissance were familiar with the art of the Far East. He is also the Director of the Institute of Art Research of Tokyo. Returning from his English lecture-tour, Dr. Yashiro expressed his regret that with the exception of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Free Gallery of Washington, very few museums, outside Japan, show real interest and judicious selection. The Western minds associate Japanese art with the realistic colour prints, which, however, in spite of their excellence, cannot be taken as representative of the varied beauty and grandeur of Japanese art, which is occasionally realistic but mainly symbolical and decorative. "Living in a beautiful country where nature seems decorative, the Japanese people find the sensuous stimulus of ornamentation indispensable to their life. The Japanese sense of the decorative again has two sides : the gorgeous and exciting on the one hand, the simple and silent on the other. These elements appearing with

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surprising alteration constitute the special enchantment of the decorative art of Japan." China, that melting-pot of Far Eastern culture, was no doubt the land of origin, but for that very reason Japan should not be neglected as merely the land of derivative and later developments. For Japan, within her shorter historical existence, while drawing from continental sources, nevertheless made her own developments embodying the national character of the race. Japan, according to this recent interpretation of Dr. Yashiro, is ever representing the incomparable beauty of the land and thereby contributing richly to the art of the world. These observations of the Japanese art-critic should be kept in mind by all those who are privileged to study the masterpieces of Japanese art in a central museum like that of Tokyo.

The magnificent collection of the Tokyo Museum is administered along with the Museum of Nara, the Shosoin and the Shogozo. All these are managed by the central governing body of the Imperial Household Museums. In the case of the special collection of the Shosoin, separate rules are framed for the classification and special inspection of the art objects. For the Nara Museum special provisions have been made for field inspection and tours, repairs of national treasures, publication, gallery talks, installation of exhibits, extraordinary exhibitions, etc.

The Imperial Museum of Tokyo has several departments, as we have noted above, attending to various administrative duties like accepting and returning loan-exhibits, loaning out objects, special exhibitions, lectures, publications, museum library, conservation and repairing of national treasures, field-work and tours, exhibition of excavated objects. The curators meet regularly whenever questions of purchase, donation or accession in the three major departments of Historical Records, Fine Arts and Applied Arts arise. Some rare pre-historic Haniwa male or female figures and other objects excavated in the Tochigi and Gumma prefecture are exhibited, together with terra-cotta models of contemporary dwelling houses. The clay-modelling tradition continued till the Buddhist epoch, for we see fine specimens of 300 Buddhistic clay-figures found near Dai-nichi-do in Nikko. Some of the sacred robes are of wonderful workmanship and design. The bronze objects and ceramic

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specimens from China are remarkable. Some of the finest wood-carvings and dated paintings make the Museum of Tokyo a veritable shrine of spiritual beauty: the Bodhi-sattva of all-pervading wisdom (Fugen) and the Sakya-muni of Fujiwara period, Sung landscapes, animal caricatures of the Kamakura period (1186-1333), such as a large monkey wearing the costume of a Buddhist monk and arguing with a big frog sitting on an altar in the posture of the Buddha. Of the same period are the pictures of arrogant monks and hungry devils, the latter attributed to Tosa Mitsunaga. We see also a concentrated nature study of Sesshu (1420-1506), the Zen priest who was the founder of the Yunkko school and one of the great landscape painters of Japan. When he was 77 years old he painted "Priest Eka Cutting his Arm" which is a national treasure. A gorgeous landscape by Motonobu, "Three Laughers in the Tiger Valley" by Kano Sunraku, "Dragon and Cloud" by Okyo and illustrations of the Japanese romance Ise Monogatari by Korin are some of the masterpieces in the huge collections of the museum. Art objects and furniture in metal and lacquer as well as the ceramic collections are so big that one can only follow them with the help of an expert; and in this connection I must remember with thanks Dr. Jiro Harada who was all attention to me during my stay in Tokyo in 1937. Harada was for the present writer a "friend, philosopher and guide" all in one. Within the museum with its bewildering variety of art objects he was an invaluable guide. But no sooner did he finish the description of the objects than he plunged into the realm of the subjective, making us realise the philosophy of the art phenomenon. And when he found his guests fatigued with the analysis of objects and subjects, he took his tired guests into a reposeful Japanese restaurant to enjoy with him a freshly cooked Japanese meal which helps so much in assimilating the lessons of Japanese art. In discussing the wonderful lacquer objects Prof. Harada gave copious details about the distribution of lacquer from Siam to Japan. He informed us that lacquer wares of the Han period (1st century B. C.) have been excavated at Lolang, Korea, by Japanese scholars who found them undamaged after 2,000 years. He showed us with just pride the two writing-box lids, designed

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by the great artists Koetsu (1568-1637) and Korin (1659-1716), real gems of Japanese *applied* art. In dealing with the ceramic objects, Harada confided to us that some of the tea utensils fetched for each piece 4,000 yen, while big-size bowels were sold for between 165,000 to 180,000 yen. The *Cha-no-yu* or Tea Ceremony taught the people to adore the beautiful in the every-day life, so much so that the feudal lords of medieval Japan "would exchange their castles for a single tea-caddy of a simple glaze." Ceramic art was possibly imported from China, but it was given a rare dignity by the Japanese. Japanese genius in sculpture is best represented in the wood-carvings, as well as in the Gigaku and Noh masks carved in wood and coloured afterwards. In 612 a Korean Buddhist priest introduced a form of musical performance called Gigaku, where masks were used, and in carving them marvellous skill was shown—specially in the Tempyo era (710-784), the Golden Age of Japanese Sculpture. Later on the more introspective Noh drama came into vogue, showing a symbolical type of masks which were often superior to made-to-order sculptures. The Tokyo Museum treasures a gilt-bronze Buddha image and Amitabha with attendants in copper *repousse*, both belonging to the Nara period (646-781). The founder of the Nara culture, Prince Shotoku (572-681) was the patron saint of all branches of national art. His remarkable portrait from the Imperial Household collection is now in the Tokyo Museum. Zen Buddhism is represented by the remarkable monochrome landscape by Shubun (1394-1427), who paved the way for great artists like Sesshu and Masanobu. From the work of such old masters we are taken through the picture gallery to the landscapes of modern painters like Hashimoto Gaho (1825-1908) and Kawabata Gyokusho (1842-1913), showing the continuous tradition of Japanese pictorial art, which transmitted some of the profound traits of Esoteric Buddhism. What was religion and philosophy in India came to be visualised in Japan, thanks to the artistic genius of the people. Buddhism joined hands with Taoist mysticism in order to train this highly gifted race of Nippon about whom Dr. Harada has made the following significant observations: "The highest aim of the painter in Japan, as was the case in China also, has been to represent

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everything he painted in its right relation to the Infinite. Yes, that has always been the supreme aim of our painters. Whatever they painted, be it a human figure, an insect or a plant, they have tried, not only to depict the thing itself but to suggest or imply also its relative position in the scheme of the Universe, revealing it, however trifling in form, as in right proportion to the Infinite. Not only in painting but also in other forms of the art of Japan—such as sculpture, landscape gardening, tray landscapes, designs in pottery or lacquerware, or even in flower arrangement—this supreme aim manifests itself . . . . it is this spiritual rhythm or rhythmic vitality which has been the supreme aim of Eastern artists for many centuries past."*

V

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN JAPAN

The individuality of the Japanese genius in the domain of arts is an admitted fact to-day, though some writers would appear to exaggerate its derivative character. But even there Japan showed the strength of her limitations by conserving clear traces of the sources from which she derived suggestions and inspirations of art from age to age. Thus consciously as well as unconsciously Japan was serving the cause of Oriental Art as its loyal and painstaking art historian ; and that tradition she carried down to our modern days. For in no other Oriental country do we find the same ardour for and organised study of Art on a nation-wide scale. I shall try to demonstrate this by referring to Japanese institutions and publications which were brought to my notice by the Japanese scholars. We are thankful to Yutaka Tazawa of the Department of Education, Tokyo, for publishing before the world war, heaps of precise information in his "Orientation in the Study of Japanese Art," in the volume on *Japanese Studies*, published by the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai (Tokyo, 1937).

* Jiro Harada—"A Glimpse of Japanese Ideals" Tokyo 1938

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Drawing as she did the main inspiration of art from Buddhist China of the T'ang period, Japan has conserved the most valuable pictorial documents of this epoch in the Horyu-ji frescoes. These remained, till the recent discovery of the Tun-Huang paintings, the most important links between the Buddhist art of India and that of the Far East. Innumerable art treasures and traditions of the Sung, the Yuan and the Ming schools were faithfully preserved from utter destruction by the Japanese admirers. Already in the 11th century Japanese romance the *Genji Monogatari* we find critical discussions on painting and such criticism occurs also in a 13th century compilation. These were most probably influenced by the art studies of the Sung scholars, as we find from two valuable Chinese publications of the 11th and 12th centuries: Lu-Ta-lin's "Illustrated Treatise on Antiquities" in 10 vols. (*K'aoku-t'ou* 1092 A. D.) and Wang Fu's "Illustrated Record of Antiquities in the Hsuan-ho Palace," in 30 vols. (*Po-ku-tu-lu*, 1107 A. D.). In 1751 was published in 42 vols., the "Survey of Antiquities in the Hsi-Ching Palace" (of Emperor Chien Lung) and while the Chinese and the world at large cared little about these valuable sources of Far Eastern art, the Japanese published an abridged edition, the *Seisei-Kokau* in 1892.

From the 17th century onwards, writings on the lives of painters and essays on painting increased in number, and, as in the Sung and Ming periods, veritable dictionaries on painting came to be compiled by persons who were antiquarians, artists and historians. Two such outstanding works are *Fuso Meiga Den* and *Koga Biko*, the latter completed about 1850. When the Tokyo Imperial Museum was instituted in 1872, we find two American scholars invited to collaborate with the Japanese. Prof. E. S. Morse started with the pre-historic antiquities of Japan, and finished by taking over to America the most remarkable collection of Japanese pottery now in the Boston Museum. So in 1878 came Prof. Fenollosa, who inaugurated a national movement in art in collaboration with Okakura who started the magazine *Kokka* in 1889. In the same year was established the National Treasure Preservation Board. In 1912, the *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, a posthumous

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work of Fenollosa, was published. So the valuable studies and criticisms of Okakura were published (1922) in his collected works *Tenshin Zenshu*.

With the progress of the technique of reproduction, specially of photography, there began to appear a series of documentary studies on art: "The Selected Relics of Japanese Art" *(Shimbi Taikan*, 1899-1908, 20 vols.); "Selected masterpices from the Arts of the Far East" *(Toyo Bijutsu Taikan*, 1909-1911, 16 vols.); "Catalogue of the Art Treasures of Horyu-ji" (1913-18, 64 vols.); "Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the Temple of Nara" (77 vols.); such are some of the monumental publications of art-loving Japan. On the occasion of the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition of 1910, the Department of Home Affairs arranged to publish a most comprehensive work "Japanese Temples and their Treasures," in which the best Japanese scholars collaborated. In 1913, the Tokyo Imperial University established a chair on the History of Art, with Dr. Seichi Taki as the first professor. He as well as Dr. T. Sekino not only furthered the cause of art-study in Japan but ungrudgingly helped foreign scholars in their studies on Far Eastern Art, as often acknowledged by Western scholars like Siren and Waley. Dr. Sekino's researches are in the domain of architecture and sculpture, while Dr. Taki, who retired from the University in 1934 but still edited the *Kokka* which he took up from Okakura in 1901, was a veteran authority on many departments of art both ancient and modern. His writings show a rare combination of synthetic treatment and descriptive survey, and his articles on sculpture and painting are quoted widely. Like him Prof. Toyozo Tanaka of Keijo Imperial University shows a profound knowledge of Chinese literature and painting. Similar tendencies of synthetic treatment are noticeable in the studies on Sino-Japanese architecture by Dr. Chuta Ito, and in the department of ceramics and industrial arts by S. Okuda.

Early Japanese art, both sculpture and painting, is intimately connected with Buddhism. To ensure the precise dating of Buddhist sculptures, the Archæological Society of Japan published a very valuable work, "Inscriptions on Buddhist Images." Several Japanese scholars applied themselves to the study of Buddhist iconography. The importance of the subject

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is manifested from the fact that the huge Taisho edition of Tripitaka (edited by Dr. Takakusu and Prof. Watanabe) devoted 12 volumes to iconography, A pioneer in this branch of study is Prof. Seigai Omura who lectured at the Tokyo school of Fine Arts, and, being well-versed both in Chinese and Japanese documents, Prof. Omura promoted researches into the histo y of Chinese art and the development of Tantric religion (Mikkyo Hattatsu-shi) and published representations of iconography in "Relics of Old Buddhist Paintings" in 18 volumes. Prof. Omura's work was supplemented by Dr. G. Ono, and also by T. Naito who published his "History of Japanese Iconography" (1933) and the "History of Japanese Buddhist Painting" (1934), tracing it back to the original sources of China, Central Asia and India. Another profound scholar in this line is Prof. Toyozo Tanaka of the Keijo Imperial University who emphasies the historical and comparative treatment with reference to Chinese and Indian Buddhism. Prof. T. Minamoto of the Kyoto Imperial University studied the pre-Kamakura Buddhist paintings. The Yamato-ye (chiefly picture scroll) of the 12th and 13th centuries, the Kanga (based on the Sung and the Yuan styles) of the 15th and 16th centuries, the screen painting of the second-half of the 16th century, are being vigorously studied. The Tokugawa period of art (17th and 18th century) represented by the Kanga, the Ukiyo-ye and other forms of popular art, is also finding enthusiastic admirers. The Bureau of Historiography in the Tokyo Imperial University as well as its prehistoric department fosters researches in various departments of art and archæology. So Dr. Kosaku Hamada, whose untimely death we regretted, developed under his expert guidance a new school of Japanese art and archæology in the Kyoto University. The Department of Education, Tokyo, is also helping the progress of art studies by appointing Mr. S. Maruo as the appraiser of the National Treasures and Mr. T. Myochin to be in charge of repair work and conservation. Both the scholars have published valuable studies on Buddhist sculpture. The department has also sponsored the studies on temple architecture by one of its officers, Minoru Ooka.*

*The department is publishing since 1923 a complete illustrated catalogue of the National Treasures of Japan.

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Several scholars are devoting their attention to the Japanese black and white paintings and its relation to the Sung and Yuan schools. Prof. R. Fukui of the Tohoku Imperial University is an authority on the paintings of the 15th and the 16th centuries, studied also by S. Wakimoto of the Taisho College.

The cause of art, however, is not exclusively furthered by specialists, for we see here in Japan as elsewhere, a group of *amateur* art historians who helped in diffusing art ideas and publications on a large scale. Dr. S. Fujioka's "History of Modern Painting," published in 1903, marked an epoch by initiating a comparative study of Japanese literature and painting. He traced also the influence of social conditions on painting from the 17th to 19th centuries. Equally inspired by literary interest Dr. R. Takayma published in 1914 *A History of Japanese Art* which exerted tremendous influence on the public. A similar book by Dr. T. Watsuji is entitled *Pilgrimage in Ancient Temples* (1919). There he discusses the merits of Buddhist art in the 7th and 8th centuries with reference to the social and cultural back-ground of the time, tracing their origin to arts of China, India and Greece.

Owing to the influence of the Shirakaba school, European art came temporarily to usurp the attention of the younger generation. But a significant change came after the great earthquake (1923) and most of the learned magazines of Japanese art, published after 1924, started their study from the ancient Buddhist arts. The *Kokka* of Tokyo, of course, was the oldest monthly journal, founded in 1889. In 1910 the Archæological Society of Tokyo published *Archæological Review*. In 1921, the *Bukkyo Bitjutsu* (Buddhist Art) was published by Prof. T. Minamoto of the Kyoto Imperial University. Between 1924 and 1930, three art journals came to be published somewhat irregularly from Nara, thanks to the enthusiasm created by Dr. Watsu-ji among the young monks of the temple. The *Toyo Bitjutsu* (Oriental Art) was started in 1929 from Nara, and in 1931 Kyoto art lovers began to publish two journals on the historic remains and arts.

Art research proper is fostered by (1) The Oriental Ceramic Research Institute, Tokyo, (2) The Ancient Cultural Research Institute, Tokyo, (3) The Fine Arts School, Tokyo, and (4) The Institute of Art Research, Tokyo, the last publishing, from 1932

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its *Bijutsu Kenkyu* or monthly Journal of Art Study which encourages young scholars to base their observations on concrete documents. Each number of the Journal publishes excellent photographic reproduction of art objects, together with quotations from or reprints of relevant documents as materials for study. Thus the *Bijutsu Kenkya* of the Institute of Art Research directed by Yukio Yashiro, together with the *Kokka* and the Quarterly Report of the Japan Fine Arts Society, furnished us with the most authoritative studies on art in contemporary Japan.

The Department of Education, Tokyo, maintains several organisations for the preservation and examination of art objects. With Marquis Moritatsu as chairman, the National Treasure Preservation Board attends to the collection of Paintings and Sculptures, Applied Arts, Swords and Arms, Architectural specimens and Historic Monuments. So the Committee for Preserving Important Specimens of Fine Art works under its learned chairman Seichi Taki. The Bureau of Religion also attends to the conservation works through the National Treasure Appraisement Section financed by the Department of Education. Such official initiative apart, there are many rich and influential *non-official* organisations furthering the cause of art and archæology, as we found in the case of the missions of Count Otani and of the University in Kyoto named after him. Art lovers and collectors in their personal capacity have sunk enormous fortunes to acquire valuable objects. Through the study of Japanese architecture many engineering colleges and technical schools have come to organise courses on art and architecture, as we see in the Imperial Universities of Tokyo and Kyoto (Engineering Department), the Waseda University and the College of Technology, Tokyo. Regular professorships in art were instituted in the Imperial Universities of Tokyo, Kyoto, Tohoku, Keijo, Kyushu, and also in the Koyasan College, Komazawa College, Kokugakuin College and Waseda University. Many other colleges have regular lectures, making substantial contribution to art and archæology.

It is necessary in this connection to remember the valuable work done by the Japanese Buddhist scholars whose solid

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contributions were described by Prof. Sylvain Levi in his *Materiaux Japonais pour l'Etude du Bouddhisme* (1927). Outside the big Imperial Universities Prof. Levi found excellent arrangements for the study and research into Buddhism and Indian culture, provided by several free institutions, religious and secular. In the latter group may be placed the big Keio University under its learned President Koizumi; the Free University of Nippon (Tokyo) where Prof. Nagai lectured on Indian Philosophy; the Free University of Tokyo and the Taisho-Daigaku where Dr. J. Takakusu worked with rare devotion backed by his learned colleagues. So the Raissho-Digaku at Osaka, the Komazawa Daigaku near Tokyo, the Ryukoku University and the Otani University in Kyoto, the Koyasan University, among several others, are veritable nurseries of scholars who, through their studies and researches, are bringing cultural Japan and India nearer from day to day. The greatest achievement of the Japanese Buddhists is the completion of the Taisho edition of the Buddhist Tripitakas, edited by Prof. J. Takakusu, Prof. K. Watanabe and Prof. G. Ono. It is completed in 100 volumes with 1,000 pages in each; 85 vols. devoted to Chinese Buddhist texts; 12 vols. to Buddhist iconography; and 3 vols. to the general and comparative index of authors and subjects. Thanks to the hospitaliy of Prof. Dr. Takakusu, I could watch from his quiet home in Tokyo the progress of this grand edition through the devoted collaboration of his friends and pupils who handled the Indian, Tibetan, Chinese, Korean and Japanese texts, including the latest Buddhist Mss. and fragments discovered in Tun-Huang. Prof. Takakusu also collaborated with Sylvain Levi and Paul Demieville in publishing the Encyclopædic Dictionary of Buddhism *(Hobogirin)* under the patronage of the Imperial Academy of Japan. The Academy contributes generously towards researches in art and archæology. The Asiatic Society of Japan since 1872 and the Japan Society of London since 1895 are also making valuable contributions through their *Transactions.*

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CONCLUSION

I

PRE-HISTORY AND PROTO-HISTORY OF ASIA

In course of our survey of the Indo-Pacific domain we were repeatedly confronted with the problems of Man in Asia. A new chapter in the study of Asiatic pre-history was opened with the discovery in 1890 of the *Pithecanthropus Erectus* or the Java Man by Eugene Dubois. The fossil mammals that were discovered by him along with the Trinil Skull were placed by Dubois as early as the Pleistocene age. But he changed his opinion with regard to the actual skull, which he supposed was that of an anthropoid ape allied to the gibbon and not of a man. But his original theory has been confirmed by the eminent Dutch Palæontologist G. H. R. von Koenigswald (*A Review of the Stratigraphy of Java and its Relation to Early Man*, 1937). After a searching scientific analysis of the materials Dr. Koenigswald came to the significant conclusion that the age of the Trinil culture was Middle Pleistocene, and that it was preceded by an *earlier* culture represented by *Homo Modjokertensis* whose fossil bones have been discovered near Modjokerto, west of Surabaya. He further added that the fauna as well as the stone implements of Java of these epochs and of the Siwalik and the Narbada valley "will make for good correlations between the Pleistocene of Java and India."

In 1931, the late Mr. C. ter Haar of the Dutch Geological Survey discovered various remains of fossil men near Ngandon on the Solo river. This new Solo Man is reported to show the greatest affinities to the Rhodesian Man from South Africa. Thus not only the fossil bones but the stone implements also show a wide distribution of early human cultures extending across the Indian Ocean, from South Africa to Java ; and although the so-called Australoid Wadjak Man of Dubois has not been admitted as coming from the Pleistocene age, yet a similar Australoid population of the Neolithic period is now known to have connected Java with Australia.

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In the light of these discoveries we may read profitably the paper of Prof. D. S. Davidson of the University of Pennsylvania (*The Antiquity of Man in the Pacific and the Question of Trans-Pacific Migrations*, 1937). He opines that towards the end of the Pleistocene age with its characteristic fauna the *dingo*, the Proto-Australoid people (probably represented by the Wadjak remains) lived in Java and passed through Java into Australia where we notice the lack of bow and arrow, of pottery, of horticulture and domestication of animals. Thus the proto-Australians probably departed from South-Eastern Asia before the above cultural traits were developed. After these Australoids of the Early Recent period came the Negroids in the Middle Recent epoch, and these peoples, according to Davidson, appear not to have possessed water-craft capable of extended journeys on the open sea (Davidson : *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, No. 44, 1935). Thus we find that the Negritos, Papuans and Melanesians (all descending from the black races) "confined their colonization to a chain of islands few of which are separated by straits more than 50 miles in width at present sea level."

After the Melanesians there appear on the Pacific horizon the Indo-Mongoloid Indonesian races who colonised Micronesia and Polynesia—far-off zones of the North Pacific "which could be reached only in *ocean-going* watercraft capable of extended sea journey. Although lengthy coastwise journeys were known to be common in earlier times, when we scrutinize the evidence from early peoples, like the Egyptians and the Indians, we find that "ocean navigation was not prominent until sometime during the 1st millennium B. C.," which marked the transition from the pre-historic to the proto-historic chapter of Asiatic culture. Thanks to the hoary antiquity of the Peking Man and the Java Man which we have already described and also of the Rhodesian Man and of the Mount Carmel Man of Palestine, Western scholars are approaching Asia and Africa with a new spirit of revaluation and expectation. They are inclined to place the Palæolithic and the Mesolithic cultures only in the real *pre-historic* group, relegating the Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures to the *proto-historic* epoch. But while the culture of the pre-historic man in this sense is definitely correlated with geochronology,

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thanks to the painstaking and scientific analysis of geologists, palæontologists and pre-historians, the chronology and diffusion of neolithic and chalcolithic cultures appear indefinite, complicated and apparently in disjointed series of evolution. This was very candidly admitted by an expert archæologist like Dorothy Garrod of Cambridge who was the Director of the Joint Expedition of the American School of Pre-historic Research and the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. In a brilliant paper (*The Near East as a Gateway of Pre-historic Migration*, 1937), she gave the following summary of the pre-historic cultures of Western Asia which resembled on general lines Western Europe : In the Early Palæolithic age, the culture of Palestine Jordon and Syria resembled the Upper Acheulian culture of Western Europe. In the Middle Palæolithic epoch, *African influence* pre-dominated, spreading somewhat eastward. But with the upper or Late Palæolithic stage *Asiatic influence* gained the upper hand and persisted into the Mesolithic period. Thus South Africa with its Rhodesian Man has come to throw a new light on the Aurignacian and Magdalenian cultures of Western Europe ; and the grand pictorial and artistic traditions of the latter are being examined anew in the light of the Bushman paintings of South Africa, and of the migration of Capsian culture through North Africa into South Europe, specially in the Iberian Peninsula which is the veritable Paradise for pre-historians. They have boldly broken the *taboo* of "untouchability" prevailing between Black Africa and White Europe."

But if this cultural relation between Africa and Europe, in the Stone Age, is still only partially admitted, the contact and collaboration between Africa and Asia are beyond any shade of doubt. If the Rhodesian Man and the Java Man with their respective cultures are at present but vaguely equated, there cannot be any doubt as to the existence of the dark races (pure or mixed) and their distribution in Asia. The Negritos spread over South India, Malay Peninsula and the Philippine islands; the Papuans were in the heart of New Guinea; and the Melanesians reached the far-off New Caledonia. When or whether these Negroids mixed with some other races and discovered the biggest island in the world is not definitely known.

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But the proto-Australoids (including the Veddas of Ceylon and possibly a few other South Indian tribes) and the Negroids follow strikingly parallel lines in their cultural expansion from the Indian Ocean right up to Melanesia and Australasia. Already Heine-Geldern (*Anthropos*, 1932) suggested a chronological limit of about 1500 B. C. when the Negroids (who followed the Negritos) came to be dominated over by the Mongoloid Indonesian peoples who, as we have observed, were the first to colonize Micronesia and Polynesia, thanks to their progress in *ocean-going water-craft.* We have noticed also that during the 1st millenium B. C., ocean-navigation came to be prominent for the first time, as observed by Davidson. While the early Vedic texts offer little conclusive evidence with regard to the familiarity of the Indians with the ocean and ocean-navigation, these come to be more and more conspicuous in later Vedic Buddhistic and Epic literatures. The Indonesian world Malaya and Java are clearly mentioned in the *Ramayana* and *Maha-niddesa.* From the geographical data in Indian books like the *Artha-shastra* and from *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and *Ptolemy's Geography*, we can definitely conclude that the centuries immediately before and after Christ were marked by a phenomenal development in ocean-navigation. Navigators from India, together with the Indian merchants (Vaisyas), with their leaders : Kshatriyas and Brahmans, were real pioneers in the Western Pacific, founding big and prosperous kingdoms in Indo-China (Champa and Kamboja) and Insulindia (Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Celebes). It was in this Indonesian field of Greater Indian civilization that the ancestors of the Micronesians and Polynesians probably derived their earliest culture ; and their inspiration and technique of *ocean-navigation* which enable them to explore the Pacific from the Hawaii Islands in tne North to New Zealand in the South and to Rapa Nui or Easter Island facing South America in the farthest East.*

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* The advent of the Aryan-looking Caucasoid Polynesians synchronised very significantly with the eastward expansion of the Melanesians right up to Fiji and also with the northward movement of the Malays who are now admitted to be a mixture of the primitive South East-Asiatic races with the Mongoloids and thus may be a branch of the Mongoloid Indonesians preceding them.

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This expansion, however, was in the historic epoch, extending over about one thousand years, from the earliest Indian inscriptions in Indonesia (*circa* 4th century A. D.) to the landing of the Maoris in New Zealand (*circa* 14th century A. D.).

But Australasia in the Proto-historic and Pre-historic periods negotiated rather closely with far-off North China—the cradle of the Peking Man who is considered by several pre-historians as a distant cousin of the Java Man. The most sensational discovery in the domain of the recent pre-historic studies is the progressive correlation of the Pleistocene *fauna* of North China, India and Java. This has been clearly demonstrated by the eminent French pre-historian Pere P. Teilhard de Chardin (*The Pleistocene of China : Stratigraphy and Correlations*, 1937). He showed that the faunal analogies between the Equus-bearing lake-deposits of North China and the Equus beds of India (in Upper Siwaliks : Tatrot and Pinjor) and of Western Europe were quite clear and convincing. He also showed that the Middle Pleistocene of North China corresponded to similar beds of Java "which are almost actually linked with the Sinanthropus beds by a chain of Stegodon-bearing fissures, from Java to the Yang-tze river basin, through Indo-China." It is also significant that these synchronised beds of China, Java, India and Western Europe contained "the first sure traces of man" (vide : De Terra : *Cenozoic Cycles in Asia and their bearing on Human Pre-history : Proc. Amer, Phil, Soc., Vol. 77, No. 3, 1937).* The cultural relations between Java in South-East Asia and the Siwalik and Choukoutien beds in Central and North Asia were probably carried on by the land route through Malay Peninsula and Indo-China where many pre-historic relics have already been discovered, and more will be forthcoming.

We are not sure, however, the cultural movement in this remote Stone Age of Asia was from the South to the North or *vice versa.* But there is no doubt whatsoever as to the dominant rôle of the Mongoloid races in the peopling of America. Exactly at what particular stage of the Stone Age culture this migration to the New World took place, there is no chance of knowing definitely. Only one thing is sure, that all attempts to prove the

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existence of a non-Asiatic New World Man have been frustrated, as shown by Dr. Ales Hrdlicka of the United States National Museum, in his paper *Early Man in America: What have the Bones to say 1937*. The Vero finds on the Atlantic coast in central Eastern Florida, the Folsom deposits in New Mexico and Colorado no doubt mark a new departure in the study of American origins. They have added new chapters on Folsom-Yma cultures which grew with the appearance of the first Mongoloid ancestors of the American Indians towards the end of the Pleistocene or Holocene epoch. H. J. Spinden, in his suggestive paper *First Peopling of America as a Chronological Problem, 1937*, observes that from the point of view of chronology, the Mongoloid migration into America may be as late as the Neolithic age; for the artifacts and implements of Early Man in America bear the mark of "relatively advanced Neolithic arts, with the flint knife and the stone axe as accepted symbols." He is also of the opinion that the culture was transferred to America *via* the Siberia-Alaskan bridge. According to Spinden, the ancestral cultures of the American Indian could be traced into Neolithic cemeteries near lake Baikal, where polished celts, chisels, knives, etc., are found along with harpoon points, fish-hooks, bonesaws and daggers, basket-marked pottery and copper objects—many of which could be compared with the cultural finds of America where Folsom and Yma blades show a skill in chipping unequalled during the Mesolithic period.

As regards the route of migration, Spinden points to the way of the Amur river and the coast and also to the water-road from lake Baikal, along the river Lena to the East Cape. East Cape in Asia is only 56 miles from the Cape Mountain of America and, in between, there are three rocky island in the Behring Strait so that there is every possibility of crossing, the longest stretch of open water being only 25 miles. This was pointed out by P. S. Smith, Chief Alaskan Geologist, who observed that Alaska in those early days might have been an attractive land and that "the fossil remains of its then existing flora and fauna show that it could well have supplied the wants of many migrant people passing through or dwelling within it." Thus in tracing the earliest cultural relations

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of America with the outside world we are driven to the study of the Early Man and fauna of Eastern Asia. In course of the last few years of intensive exploration and study, following the discovery of the Peking Man, South-Eastern Asia has therefore assumed a position of unique importance ; for here we not only meet some of the earliest ancestors of Man but also a clear sequence of cultures—Palæolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic and Aeneolithic or Chalcolithic—such as is rarely to be found in many other parts of Asia. Then the discovery of the *Yang Shao* civilization, of the third millennium B. C. and its possible connections with the culture of Anau (Turkestan), of Tripolji (South Russia) and of the Baltic provinces, are forcing us to revise many of our theories with regard to the cultural migrations from Asia to Europe, especially towards the end of the Neolithic age when Chalcolithic civilization like that of Mohen-jo-Dara and Harappa*, linked with Susa in Iran and Kish in Iraq opened new chapters in the proto-history of Asia as I realized during my visit to the Middle East (1950-51).

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* The discovery (1923-24) of the Indus Valley Civilization by the late Prof. Rakhaldas Banerjee opened a new chapter in the study of Indian culture with reference to the archæological finds in other parts of Asia. His researches were further expanded and strengthened by his colleagues of the Archæological Survey led by Sir John Marshall whose three monumental volumes *Mohen-jo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, London, 1931, have roused the attention of archæologists from different parts of the world. The chronology of this civilization was somewhat definitely fixed (2750-2500 B. C.) with reference to the datable levels of Mesopotamia, by Dr. H. Frankfort in his "The Indus civilization and the Near East (*Ann. Bibl. of Ind. Arch. for the year 1932, Leyden, 1934*). Its date of origin, however, has already been pushed as far back as 3500 B. C. by Dr. H. de Terra in his "Stone Age Man in Ice Age India and Burma"—*Asia*, March, 1939. The late Mr. N. G. Majumdar added new sites like Chanhu-daro, Jhukar, Amri, etc., while he published his *Explorations in Sind* in 1934. Mr. E. J. H. Mackay added new materials in his *Further Excavations at Mohen-jo-daro*, Delhi, 1937-38. Mr. Madho Sarup Vats presented the results of *Excavations at Harappa* (Delhi, 1940) in two big volumes ; and the skeletal materials from Harappa still await scientific examination from the hand of Dr. B. S. Guha who has already published a report on the bones from Nal in Baluchistan. In central Baluchistan specially at *Kulli* and *Mehi*, pottery similar to that of Amri.

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II

INDIA AND THE ASIAN BACKGROUND

The Indus Valley people of the 4th-3rd millennium B. C. are now known to be in close cultural relations with Mesopotamia and even with far-off Egypt, as recently shown by Earnest Mackay. In his latest excavation reports he draws also our attention to the oblique-eyed Mongolian figurines which go to strengthen the finding of Dr. B. S. Guha who identified the solitary Mongoloid skull discovered so far in the Indus Valley. So in the Chalcolithic age, possibly as early as the 4th millennium B. C., India was negotiating with the Mongolian world where the Neolithic antiquity may reach as high as 10,000 B. C. Beyond that stretches the (as-yet-indefinite from the point of view of time, but culturally clear-cut), sequences of the Palæolithic age and culture. To the partial elucidation of the problems of those

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has been found. Further West (almost in Iran), at Shah-i-Tumps, an ornamental motif related to that of ancient Susa (First period *before* 3500 B.C.) and other objects have been found.

The pictographs and scripts of the Indus Valley Seals have been examined by several scholars among whom the late Rev. H. Heras tried to interpret that script as writing "an early Dravidian language." An exhaustive study came from Prof. G. G. R. Hunter in his *The Script of Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro and its Connections with other Scripts*, London, 1934. Some very valuable studies tending to link up the Indus Valley Culture sites with possibly similar sites in the Gangetic Valley and Eastern India, in the Narbada Valley, in Rajputana, in Kathiawad and in other parts of India, have come from Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, and other Archæologists (*Pre-historic Civilizations of the Indus Valley*, Madras, 1939).

Prof. W. Norman Brown of the University of Pennsylvania, has thrown a new light on the Indus Valley discoveries in a highly suggestive paper. "The Beginnings of Civilizations in India" (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, December, 1939). He pointed out that inspite of many points of resemblances between the Indus cultures and those of later historic cultures of India, the civilizations of the Vedic Aryans could not yet be satisfactorily connected with Indus cultures. But his view has got to be modified in the light of the latest volume "Vedic India" edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

Mr. Stuart Piggot in his "Pre-historic India", gives the latest summary and interpretations of the Indus Valley materials.

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remote ages three pre-historians—H. de Terra, P. Teilhard and T. T. Paterson—collaborated on the Siwalik finds, announcing the summary of their results, from 1936, through scientific periodicals. The earliest Stone Age culture of India is represented by the hand-axe technique of Madras ; and the Old Stone Age peoples may have migrated from South India into Central India where, in the Narbada valley, have been found Middle Pleistocene tools and fauna which gradually extended through the Ganges and Jamuna valleys to North-Western India right up to the Himalayan hills. These valuable conclusions which gave a new significance to the early history of Man in India were the results of the scientific explorations under Dr. Hellmut de Terra in the Siwalik hills under the auspices of Yale University, the Carnegie Institution of Washington and the American Philosophical Society. The first valuable paper, *The Siwaliks of India and Early Man*, was communicated by Dr. de Terra to the *Symposium* (March, 1937) on *Early Man* published in commemoration of the 125th anniversary of the foundation of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. Most of the papers that I have quoted in this concluding chapter were published in this remarkable volume edited by Dr. George Grant MacCurdy, Director of the American School of Pre-historic Research.

Since the publication of "The Siwaliks of India and Early Man" in 1937, Dr. H. de Terra and his colleagues have published their systematic report entitled *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures* (Carnegie Institution Washington, 1939). The most ancient fossil mammals were discovered in 1836 by Falconer and Cautley in the Siwalik Hills. Almost a century after, Dr. de Terra discovered (1932-33) Stone Age artifacts in Kashmir and in the Punjab Salt Range together with a number of new fossil anthropoids from the Siwalik beds ; and Dr. de Terra sought the collaboration of T. T. Paterson of the Cambridge University and of P. Teilhard de Chardin, the renowned French Palæontolonist of the Peking Man's laboratory. Their joint collaboration has produced a report which, for years to come, would be consulted as an authoritative document on the pre-historic archæology of India. The field work was resumed in 1935 when two promising Indian scholars Mr. D. Sen of the

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Calcutta University and Mr. N. K. Aiyengar joined the party exploring Kashmir and Jammu, the Salt Range, the Soan valley of the Patwar region near Rawalpindi and thence, through Sukkur region and Mohen-jo-Daro in Sindh to the Narbada valley and the Palæolithic site of Khandivli (near Bombay), and further South, examining the terrace-geology and archæology of the regions near Madras. They thus contributed for the first time to a clear understanding of Pleistocene geology and pre-history in Asia in their relations with India. Their conclusions with regard to the associated human cultures deserve special attention : Palæolithic Man invaded the foothills in the Punjab and in Poonch as early as the Middle Pleistocene epoch. But similar records are lacking from Kashmir proper where tools showing flaking tradition have been recovered with pot sherds in alluvial deposits on the banks of the Jhelum and in terrace sites of the Neolithic age. But the chronology of Neolithic age in India is still vague and depends on scientific exploration for further clarification. In the Megalithic site of Burzahom between Srinagar and Gandarbal, have been discovered flakes and cores, reminiscent of Palæolithic technique but most of the flakes were associated with pottery-bearing layers of either Neolithic of Aeneolithic culture. In the industries of Rohri and Sukkur area were found extensive use of cores and blades of different techniques, suggesting that the industries were late, but certainly earlier than the earliest period of the Chalcolithic civilization of the Indus valley (c. 3,000 B. C.). For we notice the absence of pottery and of metal in the industries of Rohri and Sukkur area, marking the upper limit of the Chalcolithic Age of the Indus Valley.

The pre-historic hunter of the Old Stone Age apparently found the Pir Panjal Range too dangerous to cross for he "came from Peninsular India where no mountain barriers of equal height and wildness arose on his migration routes." Let us hope that the pre-historians in near future will trace clearly these routes of migration, linking up satisfactorily the Stone Age cultures of Madras and the Narbada valley with those of the Indus valley from Sindh to the Punjab. The oldest agricultural periods in the history of Mesopotamia range from 4000 to 6000 B. C. With

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the intensive study of allied problems in India we may hope to mark gradually the transition from the pre-agricultural to the agricultural periods in the culture history of India, supplying thereby the background to our Chalcolithic culture of the 4th millennium B. C.

This fascinating subject is being studied zealously by Dr. de Terra as we find from his two important papers* through which he tries to fix an approximate date of the early Indian Palæolithic culture. Assigning to Java Man and to Peking Man 500,000 to 400,000 B. C., he places the Indian early Palæolithic culture in the second interglacial (300,000-200,000 B. C.) and the Solo Man in *circa* 100,000 B. C.

New light on the pre-historic chapter of Peninsular India has been thrown by Mr. V. D. Krishnaswami through a valuable paper† published in the *Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, March, 1938. As early as 1864, Robert Bruce Foote made surface finds of Stone Age tools among river gravels near Madras and those were catalogued under the "Foote Collection." But no serious attempt was made to work out their stratigraphical or cultural sequences till Prof. M. C. Burkitt Cambridge University began to interpret‡ the South Indian Stone tools.

But while many such traces of Stone Age culture in the North and in the South of India have been discovered yet unfortunately, as lamented by our esteemed friend Dr. B. S. Guha "no trace of the skeletal remains of Early Man associated with these finds, has so far been discovered in any part of India

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* 1. The Quaternary Terrace System of Southern Asia and the Age of Man (*American Geographical Review*, 1939). 2. Geologic Dating of Human Evolution in Asia (*The Scientific Monthly*, August, 1940).

I am thankful to my friend, Mr. D. Sen of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, for drawing my attention to these recent studies of Dr. de Terra whose valuable researches were reviewed by Mr. Sen in his paper on "The Trail of a Past Climate" published in the *Calcutta Geographical Review*, 1940-41).

† Environmental and Cultural Changes of Pre-historic Man near Madras.

‡ Burkitt—*Antiquity*, September, 1930; *Geographical Magazine*, May, 1932.

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enabling us to judge his physical type and of his possible affinities with the Stone Age races of Europe and other parts of Asia. The skeletal remains from the Indus valley (3rd-2nd millennia B. C.), therefore provide real landmarks in the racial history of India. Dr. Guha identified two long-headed types and one broad-headed type with high cranial vault and prominent nose. All these three groups have been found in Al-Ubaid and Kish showing "that the racial strains of pre-Sargonic Mesopotamia and the Indus valley during the Chalcolithic times were closely allied." One of the pre-historic sites of South India, *viz.*, that of Aditanallur in the Tinnevelley district, had yielded several human skeletons which may be of later date; because the pre-historic sites excavated so far, in Central and Southern India are all associated with *iron*; and even if we assign an early Iron Age for Peninsular India it could not be earlier than 2nd millennium B. C. Meadows Taylor published the drawing of a skull from the Megalithic ruins of Jewurgi which showed pronounced Negroid characteristics. The late Prof. Elliot Smith also examined some skulls from the Madras Museum and noticed "a definitely Australoid and an Armenoid strain among them"

In his valuable paper "An Outline of the Racial Ethnology of India," (Calcutta, November, 1937), Dr. B. S. Guha has given the most up-to-date and scientific analysis of the ethnic composition of present-day India. The following types emerge from his survey: (1) The Negritos, (2) The Proto-Australoids (*Nishada*); (3) The Basic Dolicho-cephalic, (4) The large-brained Chalcolithic, (5) The Indus, (6) The Alpo-Dinaric, (7) The Proto-Nordic, (8) The Oriental, (9) The Tibetan (*Kirata*). (10) The Dolicho-cephalic Mongoloid, (11) The Brachy-cephalic Short Mongoloid and (12) The Oceanic.

It is significant that in discussing the main strains in the racial composition of the people of India Dr. Guha has not neglected to notice some minor drifts also. One such minor drift of the Negrito race, definitely identified by him, has opened our eyes to the presence, in South India and elsewhere, of the descendants of the Black races who in different periods of history might have migrated from their homeland of Africa and passed through South India, the Andamans and Malay Peninsula to the

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Philippines and the very heart of Melanesia. This migration was mostly by the land-route along coast lines and island bridges; for the sub-continental man of Peninsular India and of Africa might be expected to develop a "land-locked mentality" which, according to Dr. Guha, was partially counterbalanced by our contact with the races and cultures of Insulindia or Indonesia which was much more favourable for the development of primitive navigation and ocean-craft. Dr. Guha is convinced that the Oceanic type which came to India brought "the outrigger canoe and the cocoanut with it. Its influence appears to have been confined chiefly to the southernmost strip of the Tamil Nad and Malabar, though it is possible that a wave of this movement reached as far north as Orissa'," where we have found Stone Age tools.

Another possible line of migration has been suggested by the veteran anthropologist the late Sarat Chandra Roy, who characterized the Dravidians as "Indo-Mediterraneans." Thus some branch of the Mediterranean race also probably reached South India which, towards the end of the second millennium B. C., was negotiating with their neighbours towards the west like the East Africans, the Hebrews and allied races. Thus the Indian Ocean as well as the Indian sub-continent seemed to have been the choice field of ethnic and cultural cross-currents. The most primitive autochthonous races, (Proto-Australoids or Pre-Dravidians, just as we please to call them) are now detected to have sent their offshoots towards Australasia.* Their path was crossed by the no less adventurous Negritos and Indonesians† moving from the West to the East. From the West again have come the Indo-Mediterraneans by the sea-route and other hordes by the land-route whom we now classify as Armenoid, Dinaric, Alpine, Proto-Nordic, (Aryan), Caucasoid, etc.

From North-Eastern Asia have come the Tibetan, the Dolicho-cephalic Mongoloid of Northern and Eastern Assam and the Brachy-cephalic Mongoloid of Burma, Shan States and adjoining

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* A. H. Keane : Australasia : Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. II, pp. 236-245.

† Kruijit : Indonesians : Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics. Vol. VII.

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lands. These race movements have continued through millenniums, from the dim pre-historic past, through the proto-historic to the historic periods. Then the advent of the Indo-Aryans and the sustained hegemony of the Aryan civilization, from the 2nd millennium B. C. to the end of the 1st millennium A. D., naturally made India the radiating centre of culture for nearly three thousand years. The expansion of Indian culture over the comparatively well-known countries of Asia has already been studied systematically, developing a new branch of Oriental history—the history of Greater India. But its vast context of the Pacific civilization has been ignored so far and yet it appears now to have a tremendous significance, as we have tried to show through our discussions on the problems of the "Indo-Pacific domain" which is the true historical setting and geographical background of Greater India.*

III

PACIFIC CIVILIZATION AND INDIA

The expansion of Indian culture into the Pacific World is a grand chapter of human history. Towards the end of the first millennium B. C., we find that the place-names and family names of Indian origin were naturalised in Ceylon and Burma, Malaya and Java. Thence the whole of the Western Pacific came to fertilised by the ideals and institutions of Brahmanism and Buddhism. Clear references to Vedic ceremonies in the far off island of Borneo, occur in the Yupa inscription of King Mulavarman of 4th century A. D. Thanks to the revealing researches of the late Prof. Sylvain Levi, we now know that later Vedic texts and *mantras* reached the island of Bali and are still being treasured by the local Brahmin priests or *pedandas*. This early Vedic and Brahmanical currents were strengthened by Buddhistic cross-currents of the Hinayana and the Mahayana, as we find from the copious materials of Hindu-Buddhistic epigraphy and iconography discovered in Champa and Cambodge, Siam and Loas, Java and Sumatra, Bornis, Celebes and the Philip-

* Nag : Greater India : Greater India Society Bulletin No. 1 (1926).

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pines. Parallel to this southern sea-route of expansion was the northern land-route *via* Gandhara and eastern Iran, Khotan and Kucha, Turfan and Tun-Huang leading to the very heart of China. Sino-Indian collaboration in the field of art, literature and philosophy formed the noblest chapter in the history of North-Eastern Asia whence Indian culture penetrated through Korea into Japan and to other islands of the North Pacific. What parts of this cultural complex could reach the Eastern Pacific basin and the New World are problems for future anthropologists and antiquarians. It is now generally admitted that some of the significant culture-traits of the Polynesian world were derived from Hindu-Buddhistic India during the first millennium A.D. With the extension of the Polynesian culture to New Zealand and the Easter Island by the 14th century A.D., we reach the furthest point in the expansion of Indo-Polynesian culture. In that furthest corner of the South Pacific we find that these later cultural waves of the historical period were overlapping the proto-Australoid ethnic waves of the pre-historic period. This colossal cultural drama is reappearing to us like an ancient mutilated play with many acts and interludes, still missing, which future research alone would probably restore and reconstruct. But whatever fragments have already been recovered inspire us with awe and admiration. There might have been occasional lapses into racial conflicts in course of racial migrations ; but there was no sordid chapter of continued economic exploitation or political domination in the development of Greater India which, coming as a legacy from Emperor Asoka of 3rd century B.C., continued for over 1,000 years to foster the fundamental principle of *maitri* (fellowship) and *Kalyana* (universal well-being) which form the bed-rocks of Hindu-Buddhistic idealism. What India brought as her real and abiding contributions to the nations of the Pacific were not the conquering armies or the ruling dynasties long forgotten, but a veritable fertilising influence in the domain of the spiritual, intellectual and artistic creation. That is probably why and how veteran scholars like Prof. Kern and Dr. Skeat found, after years of research, that the oldest *loan-words* in the languages of the Malayo-Polynesian world were "words for religious, moral and intellectual ideas coming from India." In his highly interesting

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monograph on the "Indonesians," Mr. Kruijit noticed how the name for *God* in most of the languages of this Malayo-Polynesian world was derived from the Indian word *Devata.* In Siau, the highest god is called *Duata* which is also found among the Macassars and Buginese as *Dewata*, among the Dayaks of Borneo as *Jebata* and *Jata*, among the Mongondouians as *Duata*, and among the people of the Philippine islands as *Divata*, *Davata*, *Diuata.*" Mr. A. H. Keane also observes : (*Ency. Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 7 and Vol. 2) :

"At times the Polynesian singers appear to soar into the ethereal spaces and to realise the concept of a Supreme Being . . . Tangaroa is spoken of as Toivi, the Eternal or else like the Hindu *Brahma* or the Dodonian Zeus, that "was is and shall be," . . . . and described in the loftiest language as dwelling "in the limitless void of space when the World was not yet, nor the Heavens nor the Sea, nor Man." . . . Such sublime conceptions, such subtle theosophies, such personifications of Chaos, Immensity, Gloomy Night, and others were abstractions, in these children of nature, excite wonder and are inexplicable in their present fragmentary state. Everywhere we find Heaven, Earth, the Universe the After-World, recurring under diverse names and forms, personified by a language embodied in theocratic and anthropomorphic philosophies *echoes, as it were, of the Vedic hymns* reverberating from isle to isle over the broad Pacific waters. The question arises : *Have there been Vedic contacts*".

Thus even in the days when the history of the cultural expansion of India was either hotly contested or but vaguely understood, some of the outstanding scholars of the West had repeatedly tried to link up the various cultural waves of the Pacific world with those of India. During the last half of a century we have noticed how the positive contributions of India have been appraised and acknowledged beyond all doubt, thanks to the latest researches in the domain of anthropology, philology and archæology ; the scholars of Europe and America have made substantial contribution to those sciences and we are thankful to them. May we not hope that the Academies and the Universities of India and of the other Asian countries would now begin to encourage the rising generation of their

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scholars to pursue this new and fascinating line of research, linking the achievements of the Man in India with those of the Man in Asia and of the Man in the Pacific world? Drowning the temporary typhoons of wars and violent conquests, the voice of the Universal Man is ever ringing in our ears and the corridors of History are reverberating with the music of human sympathy. In the firm conviction that civilized Humanity will ultimately triumph over all the savage instincts of destruction, we close the book by offering to our readers some fragments, saved by happy chance, of the Polynesian Vedas reflecting the soul of the Pacific world.

POLYNESIAN VEDAS

I

I dwelt within the breathing-space of immensity.
The universe was in darkness with water everywhere.
There was no glimmer of dawn, no clearness, no light.
And He began by saying these words,—
That He might cease remaining inactive:
"Darkness, become a light-possessing darkness."
And at once Light appeared.
(He) then repeated those self-same words in this manner,
That He might cease remaining inactive:
"Darkness become a light-possessing darkness."

II

From eternity [Po, Darkness] came the universe [Ao, Light],
From the universe [Ao] the bright clear light,
From the bright clear light the enduring light,
From the enduring light the void unattainable,
From the void unattainable the void intangible,
From the void intangible the void unstable,
From the void unstable the void (endowed with) paternity,
From which came moisture, which combining with limitless thought,
Produced the visible Heavens [Rangi, the Sky Father] .....

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III

Seeking, earnestly seeking in the gloom.
Searching—yes, on the coast-line—
On the bounds of light of day.
Looking into night.
Night had conceived
The seed of night
The heart, the foundation of night,
Had stood forth self-existing
Even in the gloom.
It grows in gloom—
The sap and succulent parts,
The life pulsating,
And the cup of life.
The Shadows screen
The faintest gleam of light.
The procreating power,
The ecstasy of Life first known,
And joy of issuing forth
From silence into sound.
Thus the Progeny
Of the great extending
Filled the heaven's expanse;
The chorus of life
Rose and swelled
Into ecstasy,
Then rested in
Bliss of calm and quiet.

IV

Enter deeply, enter to the very origins,
Into the very foundations of all knowledge,
Thou of the hidden face!
Gather as in a great and lengthy net, in the inner recesses
of the ears,
As also in the desire, the perseverance, of these
thy offspring, thy sons.

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Descend on them thy memory, thy knowledge,
Rest within the heart, within the roots of origin;
Thou the learned! Thou the determined!
Thou the self-created.

V

O *aumakuas* from sunrise to sunset,
From North to South, from above and below.
O spirits of the precipice and spirits of the sea,
All who dwell in flowing waters,
Here is a Sacrifice—our gifts are to you.
Bring life to us, to all the family,
To the young also.
This our life,
From the Gods.

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DISCOVERY OF ASIA

IV

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY ABROAD

DEDICATED
TO
Dr. SYMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE
VICE-CHANCELLOR, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY,
ON HIS INAUGURATING
THE ASUTOSH MUSEUM OF ARTS
1936-37

K. N.

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INTRODUCTION

In the average text books of History, man is treated mainly as an economic or a political animal preoccupied with food-gathering or plunder, often at the expense of his neighbours. Thus raids, wars and conquests fill up the major part of the books, giving a wrong view of Society and Civilization.

Luckily for us, a few of our teachers of History, before the world war of 1914 were deeply interested in Art and Archæology; and they ever pointed out to us the vast horizons of time and space regulating the march of human culture from the crude pre-historic cave-dwellings and implements to the more refined homes and tools of modern civilisation. The European background of archæology and history was revealed to us by Prof. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon), one of the founders of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. We were also indebted to Prof. R. D. Banerjee of the Indian Museum for supplying us with the Asian context of Indian history starting with his "Scythian Period" and terminating with his epoch-making discovery of the Indus Civilisation so closely connected with Mesopotamia and West Asia. Thanks to their guidance we were encouraged to roam around, outside our regional college limits, visiting ancient sites and the variegated collections of anthropology, archæology and art in the Museums of Madras, Bombay, Delhi and elsewhere. The rare coins and manuscripts of our Asiatic Society of Bengal and the art collections of the Calcutta Museum ever roused us to enquire how could Greco-Roman art played such an important role in early Buddhist art and how the diverse scripts, texts and illustrations of our early manuscripts link up the history of India with those of Central Asia, Tibet, Nepal, Burma and Indonesia.

At the end of the first world war, I, with some of my college-day friends, got the chance of visiting Europe (1919-23), when the European museums were showing signal devotion to the preservation of National Monuments and development of the new Science of Museology. Our eyes were opened by the veteran directors of the British Museum and of the other collections of England, Scotland and Ireland. With equal zeal and

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consummate artistry the French experts were reorganizing their National museum of the Louvre and other collections which fascinated us. Then migrating from Paris to Berlin and Munich Brussels and Leyden, Christiania and Stockholm, Florence, Venice and Rome, Barcelona and Granada, Madrid and Lisbon,—we watched with admiration how each nation was doing its utmost to salvage the works of art from the ravages of war ; over and above attending to their national *objects d'Art*, they have made admirable collections of *Oriental Arts*, embracing Iran and India, China and Japan, Egypt and Mesopotamia.

On our return journey from Europe to India, I was happy to visit the archæological sites and museums of Egypt and Palestine which are the most important links in the cultural relations between the East and the West. The French and the British experts were working there, side by side, in the museums of Egypt and Syria just as we found the Americans and the Germans, working in Palestine where there was then no hostility between the Arabs and the Jews—both invited to study in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the American University of Beirut.

In 1923-24 I had the rare good fortune of being invited by our Poet-Pioneer Dr. Tagore to accompany him in his momentous *Visva Bharati* mission to South East Asia. Its opened up to me the vast horizon of Asian art and Archæology which we partially surveyed in European Museums. Unconsciously treading on the pre-historic graves of the hoary Peking Man, I came to visit the proto-histroic excavation sites of the Honan and other provinces of China. Their painted potteries of the same epoch (2500 B. C.) as our Indus Valley era and the Chinese Bronze ritual vessels of our Vedic period were wonderful. I was amazed to explore the grand collection of the old Imperial Museum of Peking enabling us to survey the continuous art tradition (in sculpture painting and architecture) from the ancient Chou Dynasty to the Ming and the Manchu dynasties of modern China.

Then crossing over to Japan, I surveyed the splendid collection of the museums of Tokyo, Kyoto, and other art shrines exhibiting rare Japanese objects placed alongside their collections from Central Asia and Korea, China and the Pacific Islands.

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From Japan I crossed over to Indo China where the French *savants* of the Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient, gave me their friendly aid to explore the wonderful Hindu-Buddhistic monuments of Champa (Annam) and Cambodge and the rare collections of the museums of Hanoi and Angkor. I was thrilled to find there how the currents of early Indian religion and culture came via Burma, Siam and Laos to Cambodge and Champa (now Viet Nam which treasure still so many Sanskrit inscriptions of these remote days of Hindu colonisation. Then taking a boat from Saigon I visited Malaya and the Raffles Museum of Singapore and thence came to Batavia (now Djakarta) and the grand collection of the Batavian Society and its museum. The Dutch archæologists who were friends of my teachers of Paris, offered me all facilities to visit the Hindu-Buddhistic monuments and cultures of Borobudur and Prambanan Panataran and Singasari. Not only the ancient arts but the sustained traditions of living crafts in textiles, carvings and ornaments of Jogjakarta and Surakarta enthused me to visit the lovely island of Bali where I found (in 1924 and in 1954), thousands of miles from India, Hindu villages with their temples priests and ritual dances. When, on my return to India, I reported on my findings to Dr. Tagore he decided to visit Indonesia, as he did in 1927, and gave us his unforgettable *poetic* commentaries to our Greater India. This half-forgotten yet glorious chapter of our Indian history I and my colleagues, tried to revive in the mind of our countrymen, by means of lantern-lectures, pamphlates, books and articles under the auspices of our Greater India Society. We hoped that if and when independence would come to India, our Indian Museums would develop Greater India galleries of comparative architecture, sculpture and iconography with samples from the art collections of our Asian neighbours. I planned the publication of an *Album* of *Asian Arts and Crafts* but was ever prevented by financial and other problems. The very few illustrations, that I add to this volume are but types of my "Sample Survey."

In 1930, invited by the League of Nations to serve as a "temporary Collaborator", I revisited the Museums and Galleries of Europe from London and Paris, Berlin and Prague, Budapest and Belgrade, and of Italy, Bulgaria and Greece. The excavations

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at Delphi and the monuments of Athens, the conservation work in Corinth and Epidaurus, specially in pre-Homeric Tyrins and Mycenæ, fascinated me, specially after my attending the Jubilee in London of Sir Arthur Evan's Exhibition of the Minoan and Aegian Civilization. The experts of the International Institute of Museums in the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris opend their valuable archives to me and sent me regularly their excellent organ the *Museion*.

From Europe, I crossed the Atlantic to deliver lectures on Indian art and culture as Visiting Professor (1930-31) of the Institute of International Education, New York. Travelling from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast of the U. S. A., I was happy to visit the art collections of the major Universities like Harvard Yale, Pennsylvania and the Museums of Boston, New York, Chicago, Washington, Berkeley Los Angeles and Oregon among others. The American Association of Museums offered me their full co-operation and thus I could give to our Indian museologists some ideas as to how magnificently our American colleagues are helping the cause of Museology.

I appreciated the zeal with which the American archeologists were collecting the ruined fabrics of Pre-Columbian arts and cultures. These pervaded once the whole of the two Americas (North and South) reaching its culmination in Mexico and Peru. But most of them were destroyed by the bigoted Catholic colonialists of Spain and Portugal where I saw their trophies of vandalism in Madrid and Lisbon.

In 1936, I passed through Ceylon to Durban, *via* the Cape to Brazil; for I was invited to attend, as delegate, the International P. E. N. Congress in Argentina. So, I could examine many more significant relics of Pre-Columbian arts and cultures as prescribed in the Latin American States of Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina—supplementing our knowledge derived from the North American Museums.

These creations of the so called *Amerindians* are closely connected with those of the Pacific races, mainly Mongoloid, who by sea or by land routes, reached America centuries before Christopher Columbus. This Asian heritage of modern America is being appreciated by the liberal American anthropologist; and I

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State Museu
LUCKNOW.

contacted an outstanding scholar Dr. E. C. Handy author of "Polynesian Religion"—who was indirectly responsible for my invitation the University of Hawaii in 1937.

Visiting Polynesia and lecturing in the islands of Kauai and Hawaii, I was amazed to watch the silent fusion of cultures—ancient and modern in Polynesia. The Academy of Arts and the Bishop Museum of Honolulu and specially my learned colleagues of the University of Hawaii, led by Prof. G. M. Sinclair, encouraged me to develop my survey of "Art and Archæology Abroad (1937) in the bigger volume of *India and the Pacific World (1941).*

Thus in 1936-38 I was moving far away from the Atlantic to the vast Pacific Basin ; and after Polynesia, I got the chance of visiting Australasia, as a delegate to the British Commonwealth Relations Conference in 1938. Starting from of Fremantle and Perth in west Australia to Adeleide and Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane, I visited their leading universities and museums, conserving the relics of the Aboriginal Australians linked up with the Proto-Australoid races of South India and Ceylon.

From Sydney I started for New Zealand where I had the pleasure of conveying to the native Maoris the greetings of the Hawaiians who welcomed me in 1937 to their dance festivals. Separated by 2000 miles of the Ocean the Maoris and the Hawaians continue to speak the same Polynesian language and idiom and to perpetuate their rituals and dance-rhythms. No wonder then, that some branch of this Pacific basin peoples might have crossed to and from America where, both in the North and the South, from Canada, U.S.A. and Mexico to Brazil, Peru and Patagonia, we meet survivals of the American Indian art and culture which I showed very modestly in my severely restricted illustrations to the "Art and Archæology Abroad."

On my way back from Australasia, I passed through Melanesia, Micronesia and the Philippines, returning *via* Siam and Indo-China and Malaya to India.

After the tragic suspense of the Second World War which snapped all academic contacts. between the East and the West, I found a faint ray of light in 1947 when our learned Premier Nehru invited to Delhi the Asian Relations Conference, as I reported

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in my "*New Asia*" (1947-48). Then came the India America Conference of 1949 when I rediscovered in New Delhi, some of my old friends of U.S.A. who wished to see me again in America.

But before that I got the rare opportunity of an overland tour through the Middle East (1950-51) traversing the Arabian Sea, the Persian Gulf, then Iran and the Caspian to Iraq Syria Lebanon, Turkey and the Black Sea then *via* Ankara to Istanbul and Cario. The century old explorations by the French German British and American experts in this 'cradle of civilisation', provoked me to write out a new monograph on *India and the Middle East* and I appened there to my panoramic survey of Asian Civilisation hoping it to be visualized by some sponsor-benefactor of the Museum of Man in Asia.

In the museums of Iran, Iraq and Turkey as well as in the collections of Syria, Lebanon and other Arab states, there could be found invaluable links connecting the history of cultural migrations (as in the age of Emperor Asoka) from the Indus Valley to the Nile Valley. So I returned from my Middle Eastern tour with the hope that peace will prevail there to permit historians to reconstruct the tragically war-damaged front of human culture.

In 1952-53 I was appointed Visiting Professor of Asian Civilisation under the Hill Foundation of Saint Paul, Minnesota where, in that hospitable heart of Mid-West America, I could teach and exchange notes with the rising generation of American youths and teachers. Not only the students but some members of the staff of the colleges knew already the Middle East and the South East Asia during the world war. So we could discuss not only the academic history but the living problems of Asia with which America is getting so closely connected. I watched with joy that the world famous Library of Congress, Washington as well as the College and University libraries are building up their special collection of books periodicals and documents on resurgent Asia. I revisited the Museums of New York, Philadelphia, Washington and Chicago, also making an excursion via Texas to the borders of Mexico. The youths of post-war America gave me everywhere the impression that they are anxious, no doubt about the infiltration of communisn in the East,

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but that they are ready to lead also a crusade for Democracy showing what benefits have it brought to America under capitalistic economy.

On our return from U.S.A. via Europe we were distressed by the uncertainty of aims, conflicting interests and other (let us hope temporary) signs of disintegration among the nations in a *partitioned Europe* so different from what I saw travelling from Aberdeen to Athens in 1931 and what I felt in 1921 while, on the occasion of Dante's 600 anniversary, I made a pilgrimage through Paris, Geneva, Lugano to Turin, Milan Venice, Pisa Florence, Perugia, Sienna, Assisi to Rome, Naples and Pestium.

After my return from America and Europe I got an invitation in 1954 from Japan where the Japanese held the World Pacifists' Conference, five years after the one held in Santiniketan Bengal (1949) in memory of Mahatma Gandhi's Martyrdom. Japan was the first victim of Atomic bombs annihilating Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Aug. 1945) which I revisted. So Japan, fully accepting the non-militaristic Constitution welcomed us especially, from India of Mahatma Gandhi and took us to many places to join the Japanese men and women to lay the foundations of many Buddhist shrines on the eve of the 2500 anniversary of the Buddha. I was glad to revisit so many of the famous Buddhist shrines of Japan and the art collections luckily escaping the atomic ravages. From Japan I landed in Free Indonesia where I was glad to revisit the Hindu-Buddhistic monuments like Borobudur and Prambanan which are being renovated with much expense and care by the Indonesian Government under President Soekarno. Then from Surubaya, I flew to the lovely island of Bali where I was glad to find an Indian Pundit collaborating with the Balinise teachers and leaders. Though much changed since my first visit in 1924, I found the atmosphere of Indonesia, specially of Bali, very close to India of Tagore and Gandhi. On my return trip I stopped in Singapore and Malaya getting ready to start work as a self-governing member of the British Commonwealth. Thus I felt that considerable changes, political and economic—have come over the whole of South-East Asia as I sketched in the last section of *Discovery of Asia.*

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Like post-war Europe and America. Asia also has changed radically ; and those changes could be felt not so much from books and periodical as from direct personal contacts and exchanges with the rising generation of the men and women of Asia. They are keenly alive to the freedom movements in the Middle East, specially in Africa—from Cairo to Kenya, from Ghana to Algeria. This was manifest in the Afro Asian Conference in Bandung (April 1955) which opened a new horizon of collaboration between the nations of Asia and Africa. They should co-operate to affirm Human Rights and conserve the historical relics of their submerged cultures I pleaded for international co-operation in this field, citing the examples of Europe and America, in my *Art* and *Archæology Abroad.* It was published in the Calcutta University series in 1937, by my lamented friend Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and I remember him, twenty years after, while reprinting the book in the year of the Centenary of our Alma Mater—hoping that the University of Calcutta will give a lead by developing, in its new Asutosh Museum, the galleries of the arts of India and of Greater India, in their organic relations with the art forms of Greater Asia.

Calcutta University Centenary
1957

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I

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY IN FRANCE

For the study of Fine Arts, theoretical as well as practical, France of all countries of Europe affords the greatest facilities. The contributions of French Artists and art-critics are so valuable that students and aspirants from various countries of the East and of the West flock to the different French schools and studios every year. The enlightened French government attaches so much importance to the teaching and encouragement of arts that they founded a special Council for the Teaching of Fine Arts (Conseil Superieur De L'Enseignement Des Beaux-Arts), composed of the Minister of National Education, the Under-Secretary of State for Fine Arts, the Director-General of Fine Arts, the Perpetual Secretary to the Academy of Fine Arts, the Rector of the University of Paris, the Chief of the Bureau of Information about National Manufactures, the Director of the Library of Art and Archæology as well as distinguished professors and teachers of the different branches of *Fine Arts.*

Besides, there is a Council composed, on above lines, of the National School of *Decorative Arts* as well as a permanent Commission of Art Publications composed of the Directors and responsible officers of the National Museums, of the Museum of Decorative Arts. of Musee Guimet (devoted to Oriental Arts), the Director of the Education Department, the Inspector-General of Historic Monuments, the Inspector-General of Designs in the schools and colleges, the Inspector-General of Libraries, and the Administrator of National Decorations.

In many of these important Committees and Commissions, we find not only eminent *savants* of the Metropolis but successful and talented teachers from the provincial centres of Art education : 32 such regional and municipal schools of art thrive in the *provinces.* Fine arts are often combined with Decorative Arts, Industrial Arts and Applied Arts, for the sake of economy, in many of these *provincial schools, e.g.*, of Bordeaux, Marseilles, Nancy, etc.; and the schools of Grenoble, Lyon,

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Rouen are so famous that they send their representatives to the Council of Fine Arts, Paris. The National School of Decorative Art of Nice, of Dijon and the School of arts applied to Industry of Bourges,—these, to mention among others, are sufficient to dissipate the wrong idea that Paris is the only centre of National Art activities.

Similarly as there is a special School of Architecture in Paris, schools of regional architecture, no less efficient, are found in Lille, Rennes, Strasbourg and other places.

French art, like all living arts, ever keeps close company with national industry and manufacture, many of which grow outside Paris—the tapestry of Beauvais and the porcelain of Sevres have marked distinct epochs in the history of Industrial arts in Europe.

Paris is legitimately proud of two of the leading national institutions : (1) Ecole Nationale Superieure Des Arts Decoratifs (31, rue d' Ulm) and (2) Ecole National Superieure Das Beaux-Arts (14, rue Bonaparte). Eminent professors of the latter like M. Adler (painting), M. Martial (sculpture), M. Roger (ornamental designs) are invited to serve in the National Council. The comprehensiveness of the syllabus of studies is manifested by the provision for a thorough training, among other subjects, in Anatomy, Descriptive Geometry, Stereotomy, Physics, Statics, Geology, Chemistry, Perspective, Design, Modelling, Engraving (metal and wood and precious stone), Lithography, History and Theory of Architecture, Aesthetics, History of Art, General History, Literature, etc. Practical training in painting, fresco-painting, sculpture, architectural construction, etc., is given to the students by the leading creative artists. Moreover, there is a splendid library and museum attached to the School and under the direction of an able Archivist-Curator to help the students in their studies and researches.

The Schools provide also for special *studios* where oral and practical lessons are given. In its galleries preparatory courses in design after the casts are given to beginners. Admission to the Schools is by competition. Students less than 17 years and over 26 are not permitted to compete. Foreign students may compete on the same conditions, only their number is restricted according

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to the rules fixed for French recruits and the *foreign students* must be introduced by some representative of their Government in France.

The National School of Decorative Arts admits students of minimum age of 15 and maximum of 30. They are admitted by competitive examinations held in February and October ; and foreign students are admitted according to the conditions indicated above. The *studios* are open every day between 9 A.M. and 5 P.M. and the library contains over 5,000 precious volumes. There are two special departments of the school—male and female sections—each arranging for the teaching in four divisions : Designs, Sculpture, Architecture and Decorations. Special courses are also given in Decorative Compositions, Decorative Painting, Decorative Architecture, Mathematics, Descriptive Geometry, Pedagogic and Technical Training. Documentary Studies, Industrial Arts. General History and the History of Art are compulsory for both male and female students.

SPECIAL SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE

This is located at 254, Boulevard Raspail, Paris, providing for theoretical and practical lessons to students, indigenous as well as foreign, who are above 16 years of age. The courses are for 4 years, two for general education and two for professional training. The classes are held between 15th October to 15th July and after regular examinations a diploma is given to the students who naturally profit by their stay in Paris, visiting the Museum of Trocadero and other places where plans and mouldings relating to comparative architecture are exhibited. In many University centres outside Paris, specially in the famous Cathedral towns, there are important collections of plans, diagrams and photographs explaining the principles and styles of architecture. One such remarkable collection is in Strasbourg.

ECOLE DU LOUVRE

History of Art is naturally taught to the best advantage within the precincts of the famous National Museum of Louvre which, like the British Museum of London, can boast of holding in its bosom some of the rarest monuments of art and archæology.

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Naturally, a special school attached to the Museum began teaching work as early as 1881 with the special object of training the persons aspiring to serve in the Museums or in scientific missions in the field of art and archæology. The courses of lectures are given each year between November and May ; and students, male and female, without distinction of nationality may attend after registering their names, paying 120 francs only per annum. The course is of three years' duration ; there is a preliminary examination at the end of each year on the subjects specially chosen by the students. Finally, on the presentation and *soutenance* of a thesis, the students get the diploma of the Ecole du Louvre. If the students pay 200 francs more, they may get a special card admitting them to all the lectures, in the different Museums by their curators or by other specialists.

The programme of the lectures embrace : (1) Archæology (prehistoric and French), Egyptian, Oriental, Mesopotamian, Greco-Roman, (2) Ancient Ceramics, (3) History of Asiatic Art, (4) Indian Art and Archæology, (5) History of Sculptures, (6) History of Arts applied to Industry, (7) History of Painting, (8) History of Modern Collections and Museums, (9) History of modern Decorative Arts, etc.

With a view to democratising art-education a synthetic course of lectures, in 32 lessons, twice a week, are arranged for the general public. The first half of the series are devoted to Egyptian, Oriental and Greco-Roman arts while the second are to the arts of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance down to the Modern epochs.

INSTITUTE OF ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

This new wing of the University of Paris started its valuable work in a grand building, a gift of Marquis A. Visconti, constructed at the angle of Avenue de l'Observatoire and rue Michelet. Thanks to the Endowment Jacques Doucet, his famous collection of books, designs and documents went there form the library of the Institute.

Advanced teaching and researches in Archæology, History of Art and Aesthetics form the main objects of the foundation

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of this new Institute which can boast of an extensive collection of documents, casts, photographs and lantern slides to illustrate the lectures.

Oriental Archæology, Byzantine Art, Indian Art, the Art of China and Japan and of the Middle Ages, Modern Art, Aesthetics and the History of Music form the *regular subjects* of teaching. But new subjects would constantly be provided for as recently, by the *endowments* for the study of the arts and civilizations of the Mediterranean world of Syria and of Catalonia.

The Institute confers the *diploma* of art of the University of Paris. But it is open only to those who already possess three certificates in Classical archæology, in history of the art of the Middle Ages and the history of Modern arts. A special test in at least one foreign language is obligatory. The Institute organises a *summer course* of lectures specially intended for foreign students, desiring to improve their knowledge. Having attended two successive sessions of summer courses and having satisfied the professors, the *foreign students* may secure the *certificate* of art of the University of Paris, while regular students may get their doctorate, presenting a thesis under the usual conditions.

The new Institute already commands about 400 students and the standard of the work shown by the advanced students is generally very high. Even the *memoires* of some of the students working for the diploma (and not for the doctorate) have been found worth publishing, *e.g.*, "A Critical Study on the ancient Iconography of the Odyssey," the "Jupiter Cult according to the Monuments," the "Bronze Sculptures of 16th century France," the "Influence of Greek Vases on French Art of the 18th century," the "Emotional Content of Works of Art."

Some of the *thesis* for the Doctorate make substantial contribution to art and aesthetics: "*Genre* painting in England from the death of Hogarth (1764) to Pre-Raphaelitism (1850)," the "Ionic Freize," the "Aesthetics of Greece," the "Salon of Charles Baudelaire" (1845).

The Institute can boast of the creative studies of its illustrious professors: Professor Diehl on Byzantine Painting, Prof. Focillon on the artistic movements from the 11th to the

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15th century, Prof. Foucher on the Sutasoma Jataka on a frieze of Aurangabad, Prof. Masson on Hungarian Music, Prof. Picard on the Classical Archæology of the Mediterranian Zone, Prof. Pirro on the Instrumental Music of the Middle Ages, Prof. Virolleaud on the Phoenician Civilization according to the finds of Ras-Shamra (Syria).

The Institute is also the meeting ground of distinguished foreign scholars who come to Paris and deliver important lectures. Prof. Lugli, Director of the Ancient Monuments and Professor of Topography in the University of Rome, lectured on the Imperial Forums, M. Gabriel, Director of the French Institute of Istanbul lectured on Palmyra.

So the professors of the Institute are cordially invited to lecture before many universities as well as to participate in international conferences like the International Congress of the History of Art in Stockholm (Prof. Diehl and Lavedan) and International Congress of Musicology in Cambridge (Prof. Masson). The President of the Institute, M. Rene Schneider, was invited to lecture in Prague, Budapest and Brussels, Prof. Focillon served as an exchange professor for a term at the University of Yale. From U. S. A. several students came to work at the Institute as stipendiaries of the Institute of International Education, New York. The Institute encourages the students to undertake artistic pilgrimages through different countries or art-centres. It organized a regular exhibition of the important photographs taken by the students in course of their travels. This procedure should be followed by all institutions where art and archæology are taught. The public is made to take interest in art education by occasional demonstrations of great value. A magnificent relief plan of ancient Rome was executed by Prof. Bigot and attracted a huge crowd of admiring visitors. Naturally, valuable gifts are coming from individual lovers of art as well as from famous institutions to enrich the collection of the Institute which further helps important study-circles like the "Association for Aesthetic Studies" holding its regular conferences in the Institute.

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ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

Apart from the regular work of conferring degrees and diplomas, the University of Paris provides facilities for advanced research through its Post-graduate department known everywhere as *L'Ecole Pratique Des Hautes Etudes* founded as early as 1868 by Victor Duruy. Two of its five sections hold their classes at the premises of the Sorbonne :—

(*i*) on the historical and philological sciences under Prof. A. Meillet.

(*ii*) on the religious sciences under Prof. Sylvain Levi. They offered valuable courses of lectures on the Ancient East, Egypt, Semitic Antiquities, Greco-Roman Antiquities, etc., which provide up-to-date information on the researches on those subjects.

Similarly, the section on Religious Science provide intensive lessons on India (Prof. Foucher), Egypt (Prof. Moret), Japan (Prof. Elissiev), Far East (Prof. Granet), etc. A student working for example under Prof. Foucher on Indology or under Prof. Pelliot on Sinology may register his name formally in the Religion or Philology group, but he naturally may derive the greatest benefit from his personal contact with such eminent Orientalists, as famous for their contributions to the *philological* as to the *archæological* sciences. That is why most of the foreign students prepare their theses for the doctorate working in these post-graduate departments under one or the other of these great *savants*.

An additional facility for research and personal contact is offered to the students from India through the happy foundation of the *Institute* of *Indian Civilization* housed now in the University of Paris. It was founded a few years ago through the initiative of eminent Indologists like Mon. E. Senart, Prof. Sylvain Levi, Prof. Finot, Prof. J. Bloch, Prof. Hackin, Prof. Przyluski, Prof. Renou, Prof. Masson-Oursel and others. The President of the Institute was the eminent art-historian Prof. Foucher who had the honour of representing Indology in the French Academy. So its promoter, the late lamented Prof. Sylvain

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Levi, ever generous in helping Indian students, was the renowned President of the Asiatic Society of Paris which elected Rammohun Roy its Honorary Member before his visit to France (1832). So the students from India, privileged to work under such *savants* would get the best guidance as well as facilities for study and research. The biggest libraries and museums are thus open to them and the Indian students are further helped on the social side by their professors introducing them to the larger circle of the Association of the "Friends of the Orient," Les Amis de L'Orient—and sometimes finding places for them in the International Students' Settlement—the Cite Universitaire of Paris.

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY IN COLLEGE DE FRANCE

Founded in 1530 in the reign of King Francis I, this College which celebrated its fourth Centenary, (1930) developed into one of the most free and famous *research* institutions of France. It has the unique distinction of starting the teaching through vernacular (French) when Latin was considered to be the only recognized language. It appoints professors not because of their titles or positions but because of their original researches. Moreover, it permits all serious students, whether they possess any degree or not, to attend the valuable lectures of the College. Thus there is no fixed syllabus, no examination, no degree hunting. Even the Chairs of the Professors are not permanent and the subject of their discourses are not fixed or stereotyped. The principle of liberty reigns supreme everywhere, the professor choosing his own subject, as well as the method and order of presentation, from year to year. Excepting the lectures at the Laboratories for which permission of the professor has to be taken, all the other lectures are open to the public and not a penny is charged as fee. Yet some of the most brilliant lectures were delivered there : Prehistoric Art and Archæology (Prof. Breuil), Assyriology (Prof. Fossey), Aesthetic and History of Art (Prof. G. Millet), Indology (Prof. Sylvain Levi), Archæology of Central Asia (Prof. Pelliot), Art

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and Archæology of Indo-China (Prof. Przyluski), History of Monumental Art (Prof. P. Leon). Such lectures help the listeners as much in collecting new facts as in their critical discrimination and appreciation. Prof. Paul Pelliot's lectures on Central Asia incidentally brought Tibet into his line of discussion, which in its turn helped a Russian scholar, George Roerich, to prepare his volume on *Tibetan Painting*. The inspiring lectures of Prof. André Michel were of immense value, as much from the point of view of documentation in art-history as of aesthetic criticism and evaluation.

THE INTERNATIONAL OFFICE OF MUSEUMS

The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was one of the major divisions of the League of Nations. Its inception was due to the formulation by M. Leon Bourgeois of a scheme of intellectual and artistic collaboration between the different nations. The idea had the warmest support of the British politicians and *savants* like Lord Balfour and Prof. Gilbert Murray. The great French philosopher Henri Bergson also exerted his influence in winning over the sympathy of the French public ; and, in due time, the French Government generously offered to bear the expenses of the Institute and to house it in a grand building (No. 2, rue de Montpensier, Palais Royal, Paris). Thus the Institute, under the able direction of M. Henri Bonnet, did very valuable work of establishing fraternal co-operation amongst nations as much on the intellectual plain as on that of art and archæology. The museums of the different nations are the depositories of some of the priceless treasures of their culture-history. To encourage intellectual co-operation and understanding in the department of *national heritages*, the Institute published a monthly bulletin in French *Informations Mensuelles* which, like the *American Museum News*, supplied the public with up-to-date and authoritative information relating to the progress, in each country, in Archæology, Sculpture, Painting, Architecture, Decorative Arts, etc.. especially from the point of view of explorations and conservation. The technical papers and communications on those subjects were published in another authoritative perodical, *Mouseion*. The Institute also stimulated interest in Arts and

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Letters by initiating as well as sponsoring conferences on the above subjects. Thus the permanent Committee on Arts and Letters (League of Nations) adopted a resolution "to study the means of establishing an international centre of University Institutes of Art-History and Archæology and to determine the functions which such a centre might discharge." The first meeting of experts was held at the Paris Institute and recommended that the new international centre's activities should include *(a)* the pooling of information, *(b)* publication of bibliographies, *(c)* organisation of exchange of professors and students, *(d)* co-ordination of field work, *(e)* issue of bulletins, reports, etc.

The International Museums Office examined periodically legal and technical questions relating to museums, such as donations and legacies, exchanges or deposits of objects, etc. That office organised, in collaboration with the Greek Government, the first international Conference for the study of problems relating to the protection and conservation of the historical and artistic monuments. About 150 experts from different nations participated in the Conference held in the hall of the Academy of Athens (October, 1931). The Athens Conference demonstrated more than ever the necessity of an international collaboration for the protection and conservation of the artistic patriomony of the nations.

Just a year before, in October, 1930, the office organised another Conference in Rome to study the various scientific methods applied to the examination and conservation of the works of art, with special reference to painting and sculpture. Those questions with particular emphasis on architecture were ably discussed through fifty communications of the experts assembled at the Conference in Athens.

LEGAL PROTECTION OF THE NATIONAL PATRIMONIES OF ART

Art objects, as is well known, have got considerable money-value quite apart from their aesthetic worth. Consequently the museums and archæological departments of every civilized country have to confront the unfortunate contingencies of their art treasures being surreptitiously removed or actually stolen. It

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is no doubt a domain of the internal police organisation of each country ; but in view of the international character of the problem, the I. O. M. instituted a searching enquiry into specific legislations on the matter in the different countries, enlisted as members of the League of Nations. It was found out that some countries like Germany, Spain, etc., interdict all exportation of artistic patrimony, while in other countries like Austria, France, Italy, Poland, Japan, etc., it is a matter of protective legislation against illicit traffic of dealers in antiquities. Another group more generously permits honest sale or exchange justifying such steps by the argument that there is a *collective aspect* in the enjoyment of art treasures. Thus while *bona-fide* art acquisitions are permitted. provisions are made also for the vindication of rights to reclaim the objects removed, stolen or sold unlawfully. All these problems were attracting the careful attention of the I. O. M. and the International Commission of intellectual Co-operation moved the Assembly of the League of Nations (1932) to circulate amongst the member states a certain number of recommendations in view of an international collaboration for the protection of artistic patrimony and of mutual assistance in the recovery of objects removed from national collections.

TECHNICAL ENQUIRIES.

Quite apart from the legal questions noted above, the I. O. M. offered its valuable records as well as the services of its experts in the solution of several technical problems affecting art and archæology, *e.g.*, *(i)* conservation of tapestries and old tissues, *(ii)* packing and transport of art, *(iii)* utilization of the fields of exploration from the point of view of public education, *(iv)* possibilities of international collaboration in the collection of coins and medals, *(v)* system of inventories and organization of the archives of historic monuments, *(vi)* professional training for those who would restore works of art, *(vii)* organization of Museums of Popular art in open air, etc.

On the last question of popular art it should be noted to the credit of the Paris Institute that it invited and published a series of studies on the need of co-operation in matters relating to Museums of Ethnography and Folk art. An International

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Congress of popular arts in Prague was organized in 1927 and two magnificently illustrated volumes were published under the auspices of the Institute, offering valuable information on diverse countries mostly western. In Asia, Japan and Java alone got some notices, yet Asian nations offer the richest treasures of Popular arts.

II

ACTIVITIES OF OTHER NATIONS

A rough survey of the institutions and schools of only one European nation, France, thus demonstrates beyond doubt that, for Art and Archæology, the academies and museums of Europe present a gigantic field for study. What we observed with regard to France would be equally true with reference to the art-schools and museums of Germany, Great Britain and other nations. The *London School of Oriental and African Studies* under Sir Denison Ross, once Fellow of the Calcutta University, affords every opportunity to Indian students to study the rich collections not only of the British Museum (Oriental Section) and the South Kensington Museum but furnishes them with letters of introduction to individual scholars and to regional collections like that of the Birmingham Museum which contains some fine specimens of Indian Art. So the India Institute of the *Die Deutsche Akademie of Munich*, under its Secretary-General Dr. Franz Thierfelder, was helping our Indian students not only with letters of introduction and expert guidance but with special scholarships every year. Through the beneficial activities of the *Deutschen Akademieschen Austauschdienstes, Berlin*, our Indian students secured facilities for researches in Berlin and other University centres of Germany and a few of our promising scholars also secured the Humboldt Fellowship enabling them to complete their Doctorate theses. Dr. P. C. Biswas and Dr. Amulya Ch. Sen were among these fortunate lot of students who have done intensive work in the Anthropological and Indological museums and seminars of North Germany as Dr. Bata Krishna Ghosh did

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in the Philological Faculty of the University of Munich. The Folk Museum of Berlin treasures some of the rarest specimens of Central Asian Art (Buddhist paintings from Turfan, Kucha, etc.) brought by the missions of Grunwedel and Von le Coq. These should be studied in comparison with the Central Asian collections of Sir Aurel Stein (England) and of Paul Pelliot (France). So the splendid collections of Sir Flinders Petrie (Egypt and the Near East), of Sir Arthur Evans (Crete) and Sir Leonard Wooley (Chaldæa) among others, must attract our students of Art and Archæology to Great Britain for years to come. There seems to be a comparative lull in the exploration of Central Asia (now under Soviet Russia) and renewed activities in the field of the Middle East. Sir Aurel Stein, that indefatigable explorer of Central Asia, was, in his last days, busy tracing the ramifications of the pre-historic Indus culture in Seistan and Iranian frontiers. So Prof. Petrie, leaving his favourite field of Egypt, was busy in Syria-Palestine and Sir Leonard Wooley in Antioch and Ur. With these European missions have joined several museums and learned societies of U. S. A. as we notice in the collaboration of the Pennsylvania Museum with the Oxford University and the British Museum—as we shall describe in the special report on U. S. A, later on. Thanks to the huge funds invested in the Middle East, Turkey and Egypt, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan are being systematically explored bringing invaluable treasures of art and archæology, which should be co-ordinated with Indian archæology.

Turkey—The new-born republic under its enlightened leader Mustapha Kemal Pasha devoted considerable attention to the reconstruction of Turkish history. Awakening of this historical instinct was amply attested by the national homage accorded to Sinan, the great Turkish architect of the sixteenth century. That was Turkey's age of glory, when the Turkish Sultans were annexing one country after another of Eastern Europe to the Ottoman Empire. Sinan who was a born architect had the rare chance of visiting foreign countries, following the steps of Selim in his campaigns. With the accession of Suleyman the Great, Sinan got the chance of superintending the colossal public constructions of his reign. His masterpiece was the superb

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Suleymaniye Mosque, decorated with the most precious materials. In town-planning as well as in engineering he showed equal genius. Most of the monuments of public utility in Constantinople were his work. He added two minarets to the Church St. Sophia. The mosque of Edirne was the last of his architectural marvels completed when he was past 84.

Turkey occupies now the position of the ancient Hittite Empire which once served as the connecting link between the Egyptian and the Babylonian Empires. So, a rich harvest of antiquities are gathered here and, thanks to the progressive policy of the government, an Annual Report of the Museum of Antiquities of Istanbul is coming out in Turkish and French for the benefit of outside readers. Two new rooms relating to the Ancient East have also been opened, and the Byzantine collections have been enriched by the addition of the potteries discovered by Mr. Casson in 1927-28, while excavating the Hippodrome. The Istanbul museum of the palace of Topkapou opened a new gallery of the rich textiles, costumes and other precious things. A series of guide-books to the Greek, Roman and Byzantine antiquities as well as to the Collection of the Ancient East are in the process of publication in different languages. The old Imperial Museum (founded in 1869) is renovated into the present, Istanbul Museum with Mr. Aziz Bey as Director. The Museum of Antiquities show us the Greek, Roman, Byzantine as well as ancient Asiatic collections. The Museum of Arts—Turkish and Islamic—is established in the ancient Imaret or Kitchen for the poor attached to the grand mosque built by Sinan. The museum of the old palace is on the Sea of Marmora and its earliest buildings were completed before 1500 under Muhammad II, while the later structures of the reign of Abdul Macid, show European style. There are the ethnographic and historical collections as well as the rich library. The chateau of Seven Towers comprising the Golden Gate erected by Theodosius II (413 A.D.) and the towers and ramparts constructed by Mehomet II (1459) have been converted into the repair department of sculptures and of the casts and photographs. The government has organised a permanent commission for the conservation of historic sites and monuments.

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Outside Istanbul and European Turkey we find vigorous archæological explorations are being carried on specially in central Anatolia. Mr. Van der Osten was charged by the Oriental Institute of the Chicago University, under the direction of Prof. Breasted, to explore the antiquities connecting Western Asia with Egypt. Van der Osten excavated (1926-27) the tumulus of Alisar in the Yazgat region which was the very centre of Hittite civilisation. The work was continued with a view to distinguishing the successive strata duly photographed and by the year 1932, the mission could fix some sort of chronology excepting the bronze, the copper and the neolithic ages. Three distinct epochs of Hittite architecture could now be determined. In 1891 an English archæologist, Mr. B. Charles, discovered some reliefs and the head of a sculptured lion now in the Istanbul Museum. The body of that lion was discovered in 1932 and a series of sculptured stones have been discovered by Mr. Van der Osten. Prof. Delaporte has discovered monuments of the thirteenth century B. C. as well as of the Assyrian epoch.

Syria—Syria and Lebanon are free republics formerly under French Mandate and the French Academy of Inscriptions, in collaboration with the American University of Yale, conducted seven campaigns of exploration near Douro-Europos on the Euphrates. The ancient city was destroyed by the Persians in 256 B.C. and now several sections of the city have been unearthed with the discovery of Sassanid and Hellenistic frescoes decorating the rooms. So a grand Synagogue decorated with frescoes has been discovered depicting the stories of Moses, David and Esther. The style shows that of Iranian painters of mid-third century A.D. Parthian and Sassanian antiquities have also been found and four new *Pagan* temples have been unearthed delicated to Zeus, Adonis and Mithra. There have also been found sculptures, paintings and inscriptions of the early Christian centuries as well as valuable rolls of papyrus anticipating the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Persia—The French Academy sent two archæologists to examine in detail the famous Musjids of Ispahan and they brought a rich documentation of plans, photographs, etc., which will be of great use for the study of Persian architecture.

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Under the joint auspices of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Museum of the Pennsylvania University and of the W. B. Thompson Foundation, the excavation at *Rayy* (5 miles from Teheran) was conducted. It occupied an important place in the history of Persia under the Medes, the Achamenides Selucides, Parthans and Sassanides. In the 10th century A. D. an Arab geographer considered *Rayy* as the most flourishing city next to Baghdad. In 1055 it came to be the capital of Toghrut, the first king of the Seljuk Turks. In 1220 the Mongols destroyed it among other Persian cities, but it was under the domination of the Seljuks and the Moguls that the famous "Rhages" potteries were developed. Since 1300 *Rayy* was in ruins completely neglected till the government of Reza Shah Pahlavi accorded to this scientific expedition the authorisation to excavate *Rayy* and its environs which will enable us to fix the several Islamic and pre-Islamic strata.

Iraq—The kingdom of Iraq was created out of the dismemberment of the old Turkish Empire. It occupies the site of the ancient Empires of Sumeria, Babylonia and Assyria and consequently Iraq is a veritable treasure-house of antiquities. The government maintains a special department of antiquities in Baghdad under the Ministry of Education ; and from the reports we gather some information about the excavation and conservation work. There were no less than 11 archæological expeditions : (1) At Ur, organised by the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania under the direction of Dr. C. L. Wooley. (2) At Kish, conducted by the University of Oxford and Chicago Field Museum. (3) At Nuzi (near Kiruk) by the Harvard University and the American School of Oriental Researches in Baghdad. (4) At Urak-Erech (Warka) by the German Society of Berlin. (6) At Ctesiphon by the Municipal Museum of Berlin and by the Metropolitan Museum of New York. (6) At Lagash (Tella) by the Lourve Museum Paris, (7) At Nineveh by the British Museum. (8) At Selucia by the Michigan University and the American School of Oriental Research, Baghdad. (9) At Esnunna, Khafaji, Khorasabad by the Oriental Institute of Chicago. (10) At Tal Billa and Tepe Gawra by the University of Pennsylvania and the American School of

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Baghdad. (11) At Shurruppak by the Persian division of the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.

The Museum of Iraq has recently been renovated and five new galleries have been opened treasuring the objects of the recent excavations. Two rooms have been reserved for the proto-historic, Sumerian and Babylonian relics (South Iraq) ; while the North Iraq room contains the Pre-historic, Assyrian and other antiquities. Two other rooms are devoted to objects post-Babylonian : Seleucide, Parthian, Sassanian, and Islamic. The big sculptures are all displayed in the Central Hall. The number of objects are increasing so rapidly that the government have sanctioned funds to build soon a new and adequately planned National Museum.

When will the museums and universities of India awaken to the urgent need of co-operating mutually along similar lines in the grand work of reconstructing the history of the Orient ? Crores of rupees have been squandered all these years for manufacturing graduate clerks and lawyers. And now that the discovery of the Indus Valley Civilisation has brought India to the very forefront of the attention of the Archæologists, should we not take the initiative in co-operating with and seeking co-operation of the International agencies and groups of Archæologists working so admirably in the domains of our next-door neighbours ?

Nearer home we find the Iraq and Iranian Government and the Afghan rulers encouraging warmly the development of archæological exploration of their respective countries so intimately connected with India. Thus Persepolis and Susa in Iran and Begram, Bamiyan, Hadda and Khair Khaneh of Afghanistan have revealed wonderful relics of antiquity from the prehistoric seals and potteries of Susa (Pope) and Seistan (Stein) to the Achæmenian and Alexandrian remains of Persepolis (Herzfeld), the frescoes of Bamiyan (Goddard) and the Sun Temple of Khair Khaneh near Kabul (Hackin), showing, besides earlier relations, the close contact of the Gandhara art of North-Western India with the Greco-Roman and Sassanian art of Iran (3rd century A. D.) (*Vide* Greater India Society Journal, 1936).

Thus ever new links of Indian art with the art and antiquities of other Oriental countries are being discovered. This

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fascinating branch of study should form a special subject for our Indian scholars who should spend months in the galleries of London, Paris and Leyden. These centres are rendering great service to Asian art and archæology and to Indology in particular ; and thanks to the guidance of the experts of the Kern Institute Leyden and of the Musee Guimet Paris, our Indian students find a very congenial field of research ; and the "Bibliography of Indian Archæology" (Leyden) as well as the volumes of the *Ars Asiatica* (Paris) are indispensable to all serious students of Indology and Asian Art.

The collections of Northern and Central Europe apart, I found splendid materials in the Eastern European museums like those of Vienna, Prague, Budapest Belgrade and Sofia which I visited on my way back to Geneva. In this Swiss metropolis of internationalism I spent the whole month of September, 1930, enjoying all the benefits of a "Collaborator to the League of Nations" as an invited guest. Its Secretary of the Information Section, Mr. A. C. Chatterje, brought me in intimate touch with Mon. P. Comert, Mr. Dufour Feronce, Sir Eric Drummond and others. I had the privilege also of exchanging views with some of my learned colleagues, like Prof. Pijoan, the renowned Spanish historian of Art, who elected me as their representative to lead the deputation of "Collaborators" to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. He assured us of the support of the League and since then, Prof. Gilbert Murray (President) and Mon. Henri Bonnet (Director) of the Intellectual Co-operation Division, encouraged us in our activities through the Greater India Society and through our journal *India and the World*, aspiring to develop closer cultural co-operation of India with the outside world. Starting its career in 1932 with the publication of the *Golden Book of Tagore* (of which I had the privilege of serving as the Honorary Secretary) and commemorating the Centenary of Andrew Carnegie (1935), *India and the World* attracted sufficient attention of the famous organisations like the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (Paris), the International Labour Office (Geneva), the Royal Institute of International Affairs (London), etc,

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THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

Between 1930-31, when I had the privilege of cultivating active relations with the archæologists and art historians of Europe and America, I found them engaged in intensive reorganization. It was due to the session of two of the most important Conferences on Art and Archæology : one in Rome (Oct., 1930) on the conservation of works of art with special reference to *painting* and another in Athens (Oct., 1931) on the preservation of historical and artistic monuments with special reference to *architecture.* These two conferences led naturally to the holding of another in Madrid on the co-ordination of museum work and the progress of Museography. Each of these international conferences were organized by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and its International Office of Museums which were rendering invaluable services to the cause. Through these conferences, a veritable code of artistic exchange on an international basis was being developed with special reference to the collection of photographic reproductions, plaster casts, prints, etc., and exchange of art objetcs in *duplicates*, so necessary for the adequate representation and teaching of art and archæology in our Universities. Most of the important resolutions and finding of experts were published by the Paris Office through their periodicals like *Co-operation Intellectual* and the *Mouseion* which reproduced valuable monographs and technical reports submitted or examined by experts like M. Jules Destree, the former Minister of Sciences and Arts (Belgium), Prof. Henri Focillon of the University of Paris, Dr. Max Friedlaender, Director of the New Museum, Berlin, Henri Verne, Director of the National Museums of France, Mr. F. Alvarez de Sotomayor, Director of the Prado Museum, Madrid, Prof. Toesca and Count Parebeni of the Italian University of Rome.

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III

ART PILGRIMAGE THROUGH GREECE

Of the museums and art relics of the Mediterranean World, I had the privilege of visiting between 1921-23 the monuments of Bercelona, Madrid, Toledo, Cordova, Seville and Granada in Spain and of Palestine and Egypt. But I ever longed for a pilgrimage through Greece and, through the kind courtesy of Mon. Romain Rolland, I had in July, 1930, an introduction to the famous Greek poet Costes Palamas, President of the Athenian Academy with Prof. Simon Menardos as Secretary. The noble poet and his talented daughter Mmlle. Nausica Palamas received me most kindly and gave me invaluable assistance and guidance in my pilgrimage through the historic and archæological sites of Hellas. Among other places Pireus, Eleusis, Corinth, Argos, Nauplia, Epidaurus with its temples of Aesclipius, old hospital establishments and huge open-air theatre, Tyrins and Mycenae of Homeric and pre-Homeric Aegian antiquities, the excavations of the Swedish Crown Prince and of the French, British and American Archæological missions were examined by me. The excavations of Schliemann in Troy, Tyrins and Mycenae and of Arthur Evans and Hallberr in Crete had yielded, in course of the last a century, a wealth of antiquities that have revolutionized our ideas of ancient history and art. But unless one comes to Greece and sees them in detail, one can hardly form an adequate idea of the new orientation of study. Our Indian scholars may get splendid opportunities for field work if they come here with proper credentials and introductions on the Director of the *British School of Athens* who helped Mr. K. N. Dikshit of the Archæological Survey of India during his visit. The French archæologists of the *Eeole Francaise d' Athenes* are also very sympathetic and they have made the exploration of Delphi their speciality as I found after my visit to that remarkable centre of Greek culture. Lastly, the Greek Government is taking keen interest in excavation and restoration work ; and if the Universities of India correspond with the Greek Ministry of Education, it would be generous enough to take Indian scholars every year to be trained

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under the national Service of Archæology and under the Professor of Archæology in the University of Athens. The renowned antiquarian, Prof. Alex. Philadelpheus, filled that office gloriously for years, publishing for nearly half a century several important books and monographs. He brought decisive evidence with regard to the coloration of statues and monuments of ancient Greece as attested by the splendid paintings on the Sarcophagus of Alexander now in the museum of Istanbul (Constantinople). Like a true patriot proud of his history, he appealed passionately for and secured the sanction of the National Government (in his address of 1922 before the Third Assembly) to the reservation of all rights of exploration and expropriation of antiquities. At the foot of the Acropolis, he hoped, the Greek archæologists will some day definitely unearth the hitherto untraced Athens of Pericles and of Demosthenes, Cimon and Themistocles. He would have restored to its former glory the Odeon of Herod Atticus by adequate conservation work. Lastly, Prof. Philadelpheus made a legitimate claim, on behalf of the Greek Nation, against the "spoilers of Athens," specially demanding the splendid columns of the Erecteion and the world-famous Parthenon friezes taken away by the British in the dark days of Greece.

Such invaluable National Treasures, once removed by outsiders, are rarely replaced, and we have noticed lately how the awakening nationhood of the Near East and of Extreme Orient are showing a laudable spirit of "Jealous guardians" of these priceless monuments. Iran, Iraq and Turkey have by adequate legislations secured their treasurers, but alas, India was still helpless and aimlessly exposed to foreign exploitation as attested by so many unique specimens of Indian art and antiquities permanently lost to India to enrich the museums of London and Paris, Boston and Washington. Here India should follow the examples set by young Egypt and Japan where the strict "laws of national treasures" enforce the safe custody of such relics in the national sites and museums. I found this spirit of healthy national self-assertion while surveying the antiquities of Delphi and especially of the enormous collection of the National Museum of Athens.

In the early part of the 19th century Greece under the Turks was as helpless as India and it was possible for Lord Elgin,

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in 1815, to plunder with impunity the priceless friezes of the Parthenon with a *firman* from then Sultan! Thus the immortal creations of great sculptors like Ictinos and Phidias, after having escaped the ravages of centuries were transported to London as "Elgin Marbles!" England has also deprived Greece of some of her real treasures of ceramic art now deposited in the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford (founded in 1683) which I had the privilege of inspecting before coming to Greece. Even the great admiration of the Greeks for Lord Byron and their "Byron Cult," could not make them forgive and forget Lord Elgin.

With the entry of the German Prince Otto as the King of Greece, we find, in 1835, eminent German archæologists collaborating to repair damages to several monuments, and Ross, Schaubert and Hansen deserve special praise. Troy, Mycenae, Tyrins, Olympia and such sites of incomparable glory were practically rediscovered by two German explorers, H. Schliemann and W. Doerpfeld, who were pioneers in the study of Mycenean culture. French savants, like Charles Picard, Edmond Pottier, Gustava Fougere among others, had made substantial contributions to the study of Greek sculpture, architecture, ceramics, etc., and especially in dealing systematically with the Delphic monuments. The outstanding contribution to the Minoan discoveries came from MM. Pernier and Halber unearthing the Palace of Phaestos and specially from Sir Arthur Evans, excavator of Knossus and other sites of Crete which was the great link between Prehistoric Greece and the Orient. A thorough and cautious scholar like Doerpfeld believed that the Mycenean art came from the Orient and that the proto-Homeric Mycenean culture (1500-1100 B. C.), was primarily a product imported by the mixed Semites, the Hyksos who, as early as 1703 B. C., were invading Egypt and, chased therefrom, were spreading over Sidon, Tyre, Cyprus and the Aegean islands as well as over Argos and Boeotia. These facts were attested by Homer, Herodotus, Strabo and other ancient writers; but the pride of the Occident was wounded and European scholars in the 19th century refused to open their eyes to realities and ignored the "Oriental Influence" on Greece which is now an indisputable fact.

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Flinders Petrie and Leonard Wooley excavating in the Middle East and a host of scholars working in that extraordinary field Tel-el Amarna, have been convinced of this cultural penetration of the Orient into the Occident in the proto-historic period—if not in the neolithic age, at least in the Minoan epoch (2509-1500 B. C.) now divided into three ages of Bronze by Sir Arthur Evans. The contact of prehistoric Greece with Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures and the relation of these with prehistoric Babylon, Iran and India are recently proved by the discoveries of Ur and Kish, of Seistan and Susa, Harappa, Nal and Mohenjo-Daro. Thus the Cyclopean architecture of Pelasgic Athens, the Minoan bronzes and pottery designs no less than the finds of Mycenæ and Tyrins should be studied by the rising generation of Asian archæologists. Long before the clash and conflict of Greece with Achaemenid Persia when Ionia was conquered by Darius, Greece was in constant relations with the Orient, chiefly through the Phoenicians. With the Dorian migration and Greek colonization (1000-500 B.C.) the commercial and cultural exchange between Greece and Orient and *vice-versa* was regular, producing a Hellenic culture and Ionic art that would be found to be deeply influenced by the Orient. While we are talking *ad nauseam* of "Hellenic influence" on India and the Orient, we forget that eminent Greek archæologists and Hellenists like Professor Philadelpheus and Dr. Doerpfeld were discovering a new style : "*Orientalisant*" of Greek art : "It is above all Orient where a presecular civilization developed early that exercised a very important influence on the *Hellenic* spirit and art. Thus Greek ceramics was perceptibly influenced by the Oriental ideas, forms and industries." That puissant influence is demonstrated by the vases of Milos, Rhodes, Cyprus and by the sarcophagus of Calzomine. It was in Corinth and Boeotia that the "Oriental Style," getting mixed with the indigenous one, produced that splendid ceramic of 7th Century B. C. These vases with black figures are seen first in Corinth then attaining perfection in Athens as we find in the incomparable collection of its museum. It was no longer the ease of simple and elegant decoration, a few lines and colours rejoicing our eyes, but a different world of poetry, of endless legends, charming scenes of religious and social

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life with human figures playing the preponderating role. In the 5th century B. C. with the results of the Battles of Marathon and Thermopylae and Salamis, Greece definitely withstood the Persian domination and we see a bold national self-assertion in the ceramic design in which red figures are clearly silhouetted on a black ground. It marks the very "apogee" of Greek ceramics and of the Attic type. Its mediocre versions on degenerate replicas only are found, in succeeding centuries, in the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia and Asia Minor.

The Thasian Polygnotus in painting and the Athenian Phidias in sculpture were great and they received their full meed of praise ; but their indebtedness to their artistic forbears of Oriental Ionia have not yet been sufficiently appreciated. Between 7th-5th century B. C. a new school of Greco-Asiatic art developed which can be studied in Western Asia and also in the museums of Athens and Delphi. These *primitives* of the Archaic period were discovered (since 1885) after excavations on the Acropolis. Its museum as that of Delphi, shows nude male figures strongly reminding us of Egyptian statuary and draped female figures with the long tunic of Ionia in most graceful Oriental curves of perfect symmetry. The arched eye-brows and oblique eyes, like those of the Chinese, are extra-ordinary, contrasting against the later Classical type. These "Kores" or youthful beauties are votive statues of the Athenian ladies of 7th-5th Century B. C. No wonder that Greece was penetrated by several Oriental influences, in those formative epochs through West Asia, Ionia and the Aegean islands.

From the chronological point of view, the pre-Mycenean remains of Cretan excavations may be studied in parallel lines with our Indus Valley finds, both belonging to 3rd millennium B. C. The oldest collections of Knossus, Phæstos and other Cretan sites are now deposited in the museum of Heracleion (described by Sir Arthur Evans and his colleagues of the British School) of the same epoch as the aneolithic sites of Thessaly and of Orchomenus in Boeotia. Bronze came to be largely exploited in the 3rd-2nd millennium B. C. leading to a remarkable growth in art in the Cycladic isles of the Aegean sea. From East to West we find the migration of the image of the Naked Goddess,

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She reappears as a Mother Goddess. holdings a baby to her breast in, the Mycenean epoch (1600-1100 B. C.) which was contemporary with the 8th Dynasty of Egypt, with common cults of the Dead, with burial objects, etc., as found in the Tomb of Tutenkhamen. The terracotta and bronze figures of the Indus Valley finds should be studied with constant reference to those Minoan and Mycenean finds of Asia Minor and Greece.

Some of the most important finds are carefully preserved in the galleries of "Minor Arts" so neglected alas in our Indian museums. Marbles and bronzes there are in plenty but the collection of terracotta would be an eye-opener to many. With the pre-historic vases, the small idols and figurines throw a flood of light (as they will undoubtedly do when they are properly collected and classified in our Indian museums) on so many obscure points of daily life in ancient days: food, dress, toys, ornaments, rituals, customs, etc. Many of these specimens reach back to 3000 B. C. coming from Troy, Cyprus and Crete. The Mycenian figurines are dated 2000-1100 B. C. and the terracotta objects of 1000-500 B. C. are styled "archaic." Then comes the "classical" type dated 400-300 B. C. which leads, with the death of Alexander the Great, to the decadent "Hellenistic" and "Greco-Roman" types down to the very extinction of Paganism. Some of the "gems" of classical art are found, not in the pompous collection of marbles and bronzes but among the terracotta figures from Tanagra, a little village of Boeotia and from Myrina, a city of Asia Minor. These important finds have been discussed in the works of E. Pottier and S. Rainach: "La Necropole de Myrina," *Paris;* also by V. Stais: "Collection Mycinienne," *Athens* (1909); "Marbles et Bronzes du Musee National, *Athens* (1910), etc. Among the art objects of the Historical and Ethnographic Museum I was shown a charming tobacco-case worked with diamonds which was presented by the Maharaja of Banaras to the famous Greek Sanskrit scholar Galanos when he was "baptised" (as it was reported to me) in the Ganges "so that he could translate into Greek the Mahabharata and other Vedic works."

Barring the enormous collection centralized in the National Museum of Athens, there are regional museums of less numerous yet not less important antiquities from Eleusis, Aegina, Corinth,

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Olympia, Argos, Nauplia, Epidaurus, etc. But the most remarkable is the Museum of Delphi on the site sacred to the entire Hellenic nation. French archæologists (of the Ecole d'Athens) like Mon. Foucart, partially excavated Delphi in 1863. Thorough excavation began in 1892 by Mon. Hormolle and continued till 1901 giving again to the world of scholarship priceless specimens of Greek art now treasured in the Delphic Museum, representing almost all the important phases of Greek art.

For about four or five centuries we witnessed the dismemberment of the Aegean and Mycenean civilizations (1000-600 B. C.) after which the Hellenic art was born in Crete, in Ionia and in Peloponnesus. The archaic art of 6th century B. C. is represented in Delphi by two remarkable statues of the school of Argos, quite different from the conventional Apollo of the "Couroi" type, covering early Greek temples. By their solidity, symmetry and imposing form, dedicated to pious service, the Aegean statues remind us strongly of the sculptural canons of Memphite Egypt. Egyptian influence is also perceptible in Castor and Pollux reliefs from another Peloponnesian School of Sicyone, already enthusiastic about the cult of Orpheus and the Argonautes.

But the sanctuaries of Delphi were not visited by the Peloponnesians only; the Ionians (to be brought soon under the Persian Empire) of the Isles of Asia Minor, together with the Lydians and Phrygians, also collaborated in the penetration of Asian art even if they failed to impose their political supremacy. Orientalism of Ionia impregnated, ever since 8th century, B. C., the Peloponnesian school and through that the later Greek art. But it operated also directly through a sort of Cycladic hegemony in Delos; and thus we find the offering of that superb Sphynx of Naxos to the temple of Delphi. The motif is definitely Oriental which, through a series of representations on painted vases, came to be sculptured now by the Greeks handling an Asiatic theme. Delphi was destined for that ancient prophetic temple of the Earth Goddess which was later on absorbed in the Oracle of Apollo. The old goddess is supplanted by the new god but the enigmatic smile of the Sphynx seems to announce that eternal mystery for all ages.

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The Dorian island colony of Cnidus dedicated a remarkable structure, the Treasury of the Cnidians in the middle of the 6th century B. C. Two Caryatides at the entrance, supporting the entablature, appear as living columns and serve as originals for the Caryatides of the Erectheion on the Acropolis of Athens. This architectural and plastic use of female figures decorated with Oriental luxuriance, originated from Ionia ; and when the people of Siphnos suddenly became rich through discovery of gold mines, they also dedicated, in 525 B. C., a sumptuous edifice in Delphi with the Caryatides imitated from the Treasury of the Cnidians, both anticipating the Caryatides of the Erectheion. So the divine assembly on the frieze of the Siphnians, anticipated the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon.

In 548 B. C. the grand Delphic temple of Apollo was destroyed by fire and was reconstructed by the talented Alcemeonid family, exiled from Athens in the last decade of 6th century B. C., bringing with them the new school of Athenian art which will inaugurate the real classical age of Greek art. The temporary conquest of Ionia by Darius the Great was followed by the permanent assertion of Greek independence in politics, and art with the victories of Marathon and Salamis under Leonidas the Dorian and Themistocles the Athenian. Classicism will have its new birth on the ruins of the devastated Acropolis of Athens ; but already, after Marathon (490 B. C.), the spirit of thanksgiving took the form of the magnificent "Treasury of Athens" in Delphi, marking by its definiteness and harmony the beginning of classicism or Atticism. Between 480-450 B. C. great artists like Myron and Polyclitus introduced a new audacity and balance ; but extant specimens are rare as the Romans plundered the sites ; only one masterpiece of bronze has been luckily preserved in Delphi through an unlucky encumbering of a temple by rolling boulders (373 B. C.). This bronze *L' Aurige*, the Charioteer, was dedicated by a Syracusian prince, victor in a chariot race about 475 B. C., a marvel of modelling and expression.

Thus in Delphi where Asiatic Greeks collaborated with the Greeks of the mainland, was developed that rare harmony of Oriental and Occidental art in the Golden Age of Greek art

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under Pericles and Phidias. The Acropolis of Athens came to be the grandest creative centre. When Alexander the Great and has generals invaded the Near East and India, Hellenic art like the Hellenic race was already in full decadence ; and though it added a new element to Eastern Art, it filled its vacuity of spirit and barrenness of heart with new ideas, forms and archetypes of manhood and godhead from India, as we see in the Greco-Buddhist art of that epoch, linking Greece again with India and the Orient. The Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhara and Bamiyan was followed by the Romano-Buddhist art of Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda, thus proving that the East and the West were collaborating, as ever, through their art creations no less than through exchange of goods as attested by Periplus and Pliny, Strabo and Virgil.

IV

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY IN ITALY

Privileged to visit Italy in 1921 when the whole nation was gloriously celebrating the 6th Centenary of Dante, I was agreeably surprised to find that I was entering Italy again on the eve of the Bimillennium of Virgil (1930-31). That poet laureate of the Augustan age was already familiar with the history and legends of India which were no less known to his brother poet Horace and to a junior contemporary like Pliny. Indian commodities and fancy goods were flowing to Rome while Roman gold coins were being hoarded in India since the early days of the Roman and the Andhra Empire.

In recent years the Italian Sanskritist Gorresio edited the *Ramayana* In almost all the Universities of Italy there are provisions for the study of Sanskrit and Indology, thanks to the zealous teachings of Professor Carlo Formichi who, with his worthy pupil Professor G. Tucci, visited India, stayed in Santiniketan as Guest-Professors and delivered Readership lectures at our University of Calcutta. They were extraordinarily kind to me, introducing me to the leading Italian savants in the domain of art and archæology and creating every facility for this my second visit to the special collections in the important museums

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and galleries of Italy. Through them I had the pleasure of being introduced to Count Roberto Paribeni, the learned Director of National Academy of Arts who very kindly supplied me with all information about the facilities of training in art and archæology in Italy and assured me that the department will help any serious student from Indian Universities. Prof. Formichi, who is the Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Rome, received me most cordially and informed me that I have been selected to deliver a series of lectures on Indian Art and Archæology under the joint auspices of the *Royal Academy* and the *University of Rome.* My lecture on the Prehistoric "Indus Valley Civilisation" won for me the friendship of Prof. Urgo Rellini, a renowned anthropologist and in my special illustrated lecture on "Indian Painting" (from the age of Ajanta to its derivative schools of Bamiyan, Khotan, Turfan, Kucha, Tuen-Huang, etc., of Central Asia and the Far East), distinguished artists, cultured statesmen like Count Pagliano, the British Ambassador in Rome and others were present. I felt that our Indian students will find a great opportunity in learning actual field-work if they come to Italy backed by proper credentials and introduction. The *British School of Rome* attend to, among other artistic and archæological researches, painting, sculpture and architecture. The Royal Institute of British Architects send their students here for a probationary course of two years. The University of Oxford also grants a scholarship, and thanks to the recommendation of the Royal Commission of the Exhibition of 1851, a scholarship of £200 is offered for three years to a promising British Artist. Indian students may join this British Institute of Rome or may work in any special studio or in the general departments of the various Universities and academies of ancient or modern art. While collaborating with these Italian savants, I was informed that I have been nominated by His Excellency G. Gentile (the Philosopher Minister of Education) as the Indian Representative of the *Inter-University Institute of Rome* and of the *Royal Italian University for Foreigners* in *Perugia.* In those capacities I had the pleasure of not only getting several leading institutions of Italy to admit Indian students but also to considerably reduce their cost of passages through the kind

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courtesy of the Italian Consulate-General, Calcutta, and the progressive shipping line of the Lloyd Treistino. His Excellency Pietro de Francisci who welcomed me as the Rector of the University of Rome, exerted his great influence in furthering the claims of the Oriental students. *The Institute of the Middle and the Far East* created by Royal Charter has also undertaken works of exploration and research, sending several expeditions under H. E. Prof. Tucci to India and Western Tibet and arranging a series of important publications. (*Vide India and the World*, March, 1934). Prof. Tucci is now the outstanding Orientalist of Europe developing Indology through Sinology Buddhology and Tibetology.

Virgil while composing his *Aeneid* in the 1st century B. C. could send his hero to the farthest antiquity then imaginable, the Homeric world (*circa* 1st millennium B. C.). But he could not suspect that, as in Prehistoric Greece, Italy also may yield prehistoric sites going back to the dim neolithic and chalcolithic ages. The Mediterranean races and their activities are being traced by Italian anthropologists, while even in the historic epoch the recent researches into the origins of the Etruscan and the Roman civilization have developed into the new science of Etruscology. The earliest temple of an Indo-European god so far traced is the temple of Jupiter on the Palatine Hills dated 294 B. C. Full one hundred years before, there was the remarkable monument, the quadrilateral Altar of the Unknown God (390 B. C.). Centuries earlier, the foundations of Rome or Rome Quadrata were laid by the legendary Romulus (753 B. C.) and date synchronized with the first definite date of Greek history, the First Olympiad. Primitive structures (*circa* 750-600 B. C.) have been unearthed and at the foot of the peak Germalus a wall formed of large rectangular blocks of tuffs have been discovered, commonly called the Wall of Romulus, but really a later construction (*circa* 390 B. C. after the savage invasion of the Gauls) probably on the Romulus site. Rome under the Kings (753-496 B. C.) is slowly becoming distinct before our eyes as we examine and watch the latest report of Italian archæologists on the primitive sites and remains of the Sabines, the Latins and the Etruscans.

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A magnificent Etruscan collection at the Vatican museum was begun by Pope Gregory XVI out of the excavations and acquisitions from the Etruscan cemeteries of Caeri, Vulci, Tarquini, Tuscania, Orte, and Orbetello. The most ancient Etruscan pottery was not painted but adorned with figures either scratched on moist clay, as that of Viji, or left in flat relief as in the specimens of Caere, or in prominent and rounded relief as in those of Clusium. The Etruscan vases are divided into three classes : (1) Primitive (*circa* 7th century B. C.) where figures are painted on the pale yellow ground of the clay and are brown rather than black, varied which purple or red. The figures represent quaint foliage, flowers, wild beasts, chimera, sphynx, demons, genii, etc., reflecting prehistoric mind. (2) Archaic (6th century B. C.) from Etruria or Sicily, with black figures on grounds of clay which are yellow warming to red ; female body is coloured white and the subjects are generally Greek scenes from the Trojan war, the war of gods and giants, the Hercules myths, etc. The designs are stiff, hard and severe. (3) Attic type from society and Magna Grecia, (5th century B. C.), elegant in form, fine in material, brilliant in varnish and with the designs is of exquisite beauty. The ground is always painted in black with figures of the natural reddish yellow of the clay.

The Vatican collection is supplemented by another collection of Italic and Etruscan finds (from 7th-3rd century B. C.) in the Museum of the Villa of Pope Julius III, the most interesting being the Etruscan Sarcophagus of Caere in terracotta, as in our Harappa, and the statue of Apollo, also in terracotta, recently discovered at Viji. Thus the Greco-Roman gods like Apollo, Mars, Mercury, etc., gradually got themselves installed on the seats of pre-historic divinities worshipped by the earliest races of Italy. Their rude huts and sepulchral furniture are still reflected in the pottery discovered of Alba Longa. Of the metal articles we notice bronze *specula* or mirrors with outer side highly polished and inside adorned with figures scratched on ; also braziers, tripods, candlestands, fumigators in bronze of fantastic designs, a bronze chariot of 5th century B. C. and a boy with a bird in hand from Perugia (3rd century B. C.). The gold and silver ornaments show "strong Oriental influences," coming from

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the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere. I was glad to find these and new materials in the new Etruscan museums in Rome in Perugia and Florence.

Regular relations of the Roman Empire with the Orient from the Nile Valley to the Indus Valley must have brought to Italy enormous quantities of Oriental manuscripts, arts and crafts which may yet be traced. The Vatican Library contains over 150,000 MSS. in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and other Oriental languages with over 700,000 printed works. The Indian collection was catalouged by Dr. F. W. Thomas, the famous Indologist of Oxford. Some Indian scholars should examine the MSS. collection again. In the Hall of Animals of the Vatican, there is a vigorous sculpture of Mithraic sacrifice and a statue of Iranian Mithra; and other Oriental divinities have been found among the ruins of the old Janaculum Hills. In the room where Raphael painted his famous "School of Athens" (1508-1510), he placed by the side of Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Euclid, Archimedes, Epicurus, Diogenes, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, etc., the great Persian sage Zoroaster with a globe studded with stars in his hand! Thus through the Syrian, Parthian and the Sassanian Empires, Rome was kept in touch with the Orient and India down to well known periods of history. The designs on Roman ornaments, gems, tapestries and other objects of art also will yield several clues of relationship with Oriental Decorative art.

Mediaeval Orient, specially Islam, will also be found to leave perceptible impressions on Dante and Tasso and also on the architecture of South Italy, Sicily and other Mediterranean centres of Saracenic art and culture, as we find simultaneously in the Iberian Peninsula, specially in Moorish Spain, down to the fall of of Granada in 1492. The relation of China with the Roman Empire has also been studied and such investigation will yield progressively fruitful results, vindicating the just claims of Oriental art and culture. So Italian travellers in the Orient from Marco Polo to Nicola Conti have left valuable *memoirs* on India and the Orient and such records may still be found scattered in the numerous secular and ecclesiastical archives of Italy. Professor G. Tucci, Professor Belloni Filippi, Professor Ballini, Professor Suali and others made special collection of Indian MSS., etc.,

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in their respective universities. Lastly the various regional museums, and galleries like those of Turin and Milan, Pisa and Bologna, Florence and Perugia, Ravenna and Venice, Assisi and Sienna, Naples and Pestaeum, Palermo and Syracuse, have conserved, all these years, valuable relics of the past which our rising generations of Indian antiquarians should examine and explore with a view to discovering possible cultural links between Orient and Occident. Mazdaism and Mithraism are believed, by an Iranian Orientalist like Professor Poure Daoud of Teheran, to have strongly influenced early Christianity (*vide* J. B. O. R. S., Patna). On such problems decisive evidence may be sought in the remains of primitive Christianity of the Roman Catacombs, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the early sects and denominations.

In the international register of museums, we find Great Britain and France owning about 600 each and Italy has more than 400 museums. But numbers apart, Italy shares with France the glory of guarding some of the rarest manuscripts, especially illuminated MSS. (as I luckily found in 1921 when they were exhibited from the Medici collection—Biblioteca *Laurenziana*—in Florence during the 6th centenary of Dante). The precious original designs of Leonardo da Vinci during his 500 anniversary were exhibited in the *Biblioteca Ambrosiana* of Milan. So the incomparable works of Michael Angelo and the collections of the Capitoline Museum, the Vatican and the *Museo Nazionale alle Terme* of Rome will continue to attract from all countries, the lovers and students of art through the ages.

ARTISTIC EDUCATION IN ITALY

The programme of studies and the regulations of the Royal Academies of Art have been thoroughly modified and new institutes for the general artistic culture called "Licei Artistici" (artistic lycæums) attached to each academy have been founded. Artistic instruction is given in the following schools; *(a)* Royal Schools and Institutes of Art and Higher Institutes for Artistic Education; *(b)* High Schools of Art and Royal Academies of Art; *(c)* Schools of Music and of Education.

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The Royal Schools and Royal Institutes of Art—There are sixty of the Schools and Institutes of Art to give training for practical work and artistic production according to the local tradition, to the industries and to the materials belonging to the region where the abovementioned schools are placed. They must have at least one work-room attached to them. They are divided into as many sections as there are kinds of work to be taught. The School of Art (or inferior course of the Institute of Art) gives the technical preparation and the general culture necessary for an artisan. The work of the craft is taught under the direction of a "Capo d'Arte" (a master craftsman) and applied drawing and plastic arts are taught in those sections where they are required, together with the subjects of general culture.

The higher courses of the Institutes of Art give training to students aspiring to make original works of applied arts and affords them the necessary education to become "Capo d'Arte." Together with the work of the crafts, the students are taught natural forms, drawing, plastic art and painting, domestic architecture, technical subjects, over and above the *general culture* courses. The Ministry of Education promotes the foundation of Higher Institutes for artistic industries. From the lower schools to the higher institutes the promotion is given by competitive examinations. The administration of the Schools and the Institutes is entrusted to a special committee under the Director aided by the Board of Teachers.

Schools of Art and Royal Academies of Fine Arts—In the following Schools and Academies the teaching of art is provided for independently of its application to industry :—Academia di Belle Arti e Liceo Artistico (Bologna), Academia di Belle Arti e Liceo Artistico (Florence), Academia di Belle Arti e Liceo Artistico (Milan), Academia di Belle Arti e Liceo Artistico (Naples), Academia di Belle Arti e Liceo Artistico (Palermo), Academia di Belle Arti e Liceo Artistico (Rome), and Academia di Belle Arti e Liceo Artistico (Venice). A School of Art is attached to each of these Academies. The courses last for four years and are intended (by lessons on arts and general culture) to prepare for the particular study of painting, sculpture, decoration, scene-painting and architecture. Lessons in art (figure-

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drawing, design, modelling, geometrical drawing and perspective, elements of architecture, artistic anatomy, etc.) are given together with lessons of *general culture* (Italian and foreign literature, history of art, mathematics, physics, natural history, chemistry and geography). The Academies of Art are intended to prepare the students for their exercises in Art by regular attendance and working in the studio. They have special courses for painting, sculpture and decoration which last over four years.

A course on landscape painting (4 years) has been instituted in the Royal Academies of Art of Milan, Bologna and Rome with lessons in the different historical styles and on the history of costumes. The lessons are given by professors to all the students belonging to the special courses assembled together. Students are admitted to work in the adjoining rooms and in the studio of the professor himself, who can, at his leisure, make use of their assistance in his own artistic works. The lessons on painting, sculpture, decoration, etc., may also be given privately by the teachers of art, qualified by a Degree of the Ministry, in conformity with the regulations of a special committee. Students inscribed in the above-mentioned courses must specify if they intend to attend the lessons of the regular professor, or the lessons of a private teacher of art. Evening and holiday classes for workmen and a free school for the nude studies are attached to the Academies of Art. The direction of the Academies of Art and of the Schools of Art is entrusted to a President appointed by the Ministry and advised by a Board of Management and by the Committee of the Schools.

Admission, Examination and Fees—Foreigners may be inscribed in the Schools of Art to every year of the course for which they are considered to be fit, according to the judgement of the Committee of the respective Schools. In the Artistic Lycæum and in the School of Music no annual course can be repeated more than once. One cannot follow the same course an Academy for more than five years. Examinations are held for admission, promotion, efficiency and certificate of completion. By the *examination of admission*, the students enter the higher course of the Institute of Art, the Artistic Lycæum, the Academy of Art, the School of Music snd the School of Elocution. By the

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certificate of completion the students enter the Academy of Art and the Higher School of Architecture. To the classes of such Institutes for which no special examination of admission is required, students who already atttend the school are admitted by *examination of promotion*, and students who do not attend, by *examination of efficiency*. *Examinations of certificate* are held after the students accomplished the studies in the School of Art or the Institute of Art, in the Higher Institute for Artistic Industries, in the single courses of the Academy of Art and in the Schools of Music and the School of Elocution. Students may enter the School of Art and the Higher School of the Institute of Art by means of the certificate of promotion to the sixth elementary school, or by that of admission to the Secondary School of first degree. Examination for admission to the Artistic Lycæum for students who have the certificates of Complementary School or the admission and promotion to the fourth class of another secondary school are confined to only general proficiency in art. Students enter the Academy of Art by the certificate delivered by an Institute of Art. In all the Institutes of artistic instruction students are obliged to pay the fees for attendance as settles by law.

Archæological Studies in Italy—The scientific organization dealing with archæology was developed in its different branches. The co-ordinating Institute, the *Royal Institute for Archæology and History of Art* in Rome was founded in 1922 by Corrado Ricci and in 1928 was reorganized especially with regard to its relation with similar foreign Institutes. The Institute comprehends a scientific organ for the higher instruction, a board of management composed of five members and board of eleven directors, all eminent scholars in the domain of art and archæolgoy. The activities of the Institute are as follows : to supervise the artistic publication archæological and historical, giving regular reports of the discoveries made in Italy and in its colonies; to award scholarships to students, to afford them the opportunity of studying in Italy and abroad ; to help exploration and excavation campaigns ; to furnish scholars with the bibliography necessary for their researches. Only Italian scholars can be members of the Institute. To the Institute is attached a very important and well furnished library of Art and Archæology.

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Other Institutes are : The Institute for Etruscan Studies Florence which deals especially with Etruscan archæology and with the study of the history of language of that people. The activities of this Institute is known through its publications, its lectures and its trial excavations. Its most important publication is the review entitled *Studi Etruschi* (Etruscan Studies). Facilities for studies are also provided by the Museums of the same regions, *e. g.*, the topographic museum of Etruria in Florence and the museums of Siena, Cortona, Chiusi, Arezzo and Orvieto. The Agency and the co-ordinating organ of all archæological, historical and artistic services in Italy, is the *General Direction for Antiquities and Fine Arts* (*Ministry of Education*) which acts through its Department and Superintendents. Itineraries, Catalogues, and Inventories concerning the artistic objects in Italy are regularly edited and published by the same General Department.

Attached to the Ministry of Colonies was an Archæological Bureau which deals with archæological studies and researches in the Italian Colonies. Its publications are the *Annuario* (Year Book) of the Colonies and the *Rivista della Tripolitania* (Tripolitania Review). Excavations in Rome are put under the direct charge of the Governatorate on which the Museo Capitolino and the Antiquarium also depend. The important publication of the department is the review *Capitolium.* Another important publication concerning the recent archæological discoveries is the illustrated review *Le notizie degli scavi* (News about excavations issued by the R. Accademia Nazionale die Lincei, Roma). The *Bollettino di Paletnogia Italiana* deals especially with prehistoric antiquities and is connected with the teaching of the same subjects in the University of Rome. Two schools of the University deal especially with the scientific excursions of students and with their archæological field-work. These are the Scuola di Perfezionamento per l'Archæologia (University of Rome) and the Royal Scuola Archæologica Italiana di Atane (Via Dionigi, Areopagita, Athens, Greece). The first school may be attended after the degree in Letters in the archæology group ; and after two years' attendance, students are sent by the University of Rome to Athens where they are looked after by the Italian School which was founded with a

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view to cultivate the study of Greek Art and to train students in excavation. It has built up a good library and every year it undertakes new excavations and issues a Year-book. To some of the Italian Universities like Rome, Pisa, Florence, Naples, Turin, Padua, is attached an archæological section in order to prepare students for the study of the subject. Italian archæological explorations abroad and specially the Italian scientific expeditions in the East are accomplishing important result in Crete, Festos, Egypt, Trans-Jordonia, Albania, etc. For topographic research the Italians have two archæological maps to their credit, one of which is connected with the *Corpus Vasorum*, a systematic catalogue of ancient pottery. Another important publication connected with the Italian scientific expedition in the East is the *Corpus della iscrizioni di Gortyna* issued in many volumes and containing the transcription of Cretan inscriptions from the most ancient to the recent periods.

The Institute "Fert" in the island of Rhodes has already collected and published many important archæological materials on the islands.

Several private institutions work side by side with official Institutes :

The Institute di Studi Romani (Institute for Roman Studies) concerns with the publishing of archæological and historical researches on Rome. This Institute also promotes a course of lectures, holds congresses, issues monographs and is on the way to develop a special Library.

The Societa Magna Graecia (Magna Graecia Society) deals with historical and artistic problems, concerning Sicily and South Italy. It has issued several books and monographs.

The Instituto di Studi Mediterranei (Institute for Mediterranean Studies) deals with archæological studies concerning the vast Mediterranean basin.

The Pontificio Instituto di Archæologia (Pontifical Institute of Archæology) maintained by the Vatican, promotes excavation and restoration of monuments with special reference to the early Christian epochs, assuming a new significants with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (*vide* J. M. Allegro, The Dead Sea Scrolls, 1956).

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V

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY IN U. S. A.

Mr. L. C. Everard, Editor of the *Museum News*, organ of the American Association of Museums, reported that there were "more than 7,000 museums in the world; Markham has estimated the number as 8,000. Of these about 6,500 are in continental Europe, the British Isles and the U. S. A. Germany and the U. S. A. are far in the lead in numbers with more than 1,500 museums each" (*vide* Everard, Museums and Exhibitions; The Encyclopaedia of the Social Science, 1933).

Of the 1,500 museums in U. S. A. nearly 800 are public; more than 400 of these are History Museums; about 170 are Art Museums and 125 ere Science Museums; 24 Industrial Museums and 50 General Museums. About 600 museums in the U. S. A. are owned by Universities, Colleges and Schools. The investment in Public Museum buildings is more than $100,000,000 and in College Museums $10,000,000. Revenues of Museums in U. S. A., exceed $16,000,000 annually with gifts, membership fees and endowments as the chief support of public museums while we find the European Museums mostly supported by Government agencies.

As against these figures we may note that South America has 100 museums, 58 being national ones of which 51 are located in the capital cities. There are about 75 museums in Mexico and the West Indies; 125 in Canada, 160 in Australia and New Zealand and 60 in Africa.

Of the Oriental countries, Japan naturally leads with more than 160 museums; China with about 100 and Soviet Russia has developed over 200 musems. But India, with historical and archæological sites far exceeding in number and importance, shows a really poor record of 90 only after four centuries of European contact and over two centuries of relations with Britain. Not till the Asiatic Society of Bengal (founded 1784) passed its collection to the organizers of the Indian Museum of Calcutta, about a century ago, did India have its first public museum.

America is a new country and naturally cannot stand comparison, in the collection of rare finds of art and archæology,

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with the Musee National du Louvre, Paris, the British Museum of London, the National Museum and the Vatican of Rome, the Deutsche Museum of Munich or the State Museum of Berlin. But in museum administration, arrangements, illumination, no less than in the art of attracting the public with a view to educating in museum affairs, U. S. A. undoubtedly has left far behind the somewhat old-fashioned "treasure tombs" of Europe with primitive methods of cataloguing, classification, observation and study facilities. The museums in London, Madrid and Paris were first opened to the public in the 18th century ; and even then the early rules of the British Museum restricted the admission to only 30 people a day with permits in advance. Then there were over-crowding, indiscriminate flinging of objects for study and for exhibit, in the long monotonous ill-ventilated galleries. All these defects are being remedied in Europe no doubt; but America far excels Europe in general museum arrangements if not in historic collections. The democratic (as against the aristocratic context of Europe) character of the American museums is most notable : the number of visitors, general public, school and college students and research scholars far exceed those of any museum of Europe, as I can bear personal testimony. "The democratizing of the museums," says Mr. Evarard, "has been accompanied by an increasing effort to extend the museum's influence outside its walls, first to the schools and then to the community as a whole. Children Museums and Trailside Museums were first established in America. Fully developed educative departments, using school co-operation, guide service, publications, radio, loan-exhibits, slides, films and all the other educative devices are to be found only in the United States." These together with extension lectures, study groups, special gallery courses, Radio, Television and other audio-visual means, helped to develop adult education considerably during the last quarter of a century. The Trailside Museums are usually connected with Natural History museums or with the National Park educational development, as we found first in the Scandinavian countries which pioneered open air museums (like the beautiful and instructive *Skansen* in Stockholm which I visited in 1923 when I was invited to lecture at the Swedish Historical Society and Museum). The

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great Yosemite Valley of California, the Pertified Forest and the Grand Canyon of the Colorado river, Arizona, which I visited in course of my lecture tour, surprised me by their wonderfully efficient guide service and study facilities. Almost every important city has its Museum of History with some of them preserving the historic houses, leading to a new decentralization of museum instruction which should be initiated in India, with her extensive historic sites and ruins, scattered over a vast area.

About a dozen museums of U. S, A. started new publications to develop public interest in Art, Science, History, etc.; and big newspapers like the *New York Times*, *Herald Tribune* etc., assign generous spaces to museum news and latest discoveries and aquisition. The museums in U. S. A. may be classified according to the following major divisions : Art, Science, History, Industry and General. The Agricultural, Industrial arts, and Folk museums overlap two of the above major divisions. Art museums naturally devote some sections to folk arts and craft or industrial arts and archæology and history. The designers, sales people, buyers etc., in U. S. A. take practical interest in the City museums ; and even in provincial centres (like the Howard University, Washington, the Antioch College in Ohio State, and the Fine Arts College Eugene. Oregon, which invited me to lecture on Indian Art) have classes in drawing, modelling, ceramic, moulding, etc., as preparation for a career and for general knowledge of *technique.* Most of the Fine Arts academies make museum work practically obligatory for all advanced students ; and the leading centres of art in U. S. A. like the famous Chicago University and the Art Institute of Chicago, are great promoters of museum activities.

America fully benefitted by every progressive urge of Europe towards museum development : the second half of the 18th century was the epoch of rationalization ; and naturally we found the beginning of several foundations : the first Christian museum in the Vatican (1740-50) ; Sir Hans Sloane's collection transferred to the British Museum (1753) by an act of Parliament ; the Museo Nacional of Madrid established in 1771 was opened to the public in 1776 ; the Louvre and the Musee Nationale d' Histoire Naturelle remodelled in 1793-94 ; the Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers, Paris, the oldest industrial museum, was inaugurated in

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1799 and the first American Museum was organized in 1773 at Charleston, South Carolina.

With the Industrial Revolution there was economic prosperity but appalling aesthetic decadence and the ruin of handicrafts through cheap machine products, lamented by the Artist Poet William Blake (1757-1827), It became glaringly obvious with the Great Exhibition of 1851 at the Crystal Palace. A little earlier the opening of the Musee de Cluny of Paris in 1844 revealed the wealth of the crafts of the Middle Ages ; and in England, Ruskin and Rossetti, Burn Jones and William Morris started a veritable crusade against the vandalism of the machine age and for the revival of a romantic neo-Mediævalism in Arts and Crafts through their Pre-Raphælitism. The greatest surprise and also the most brilliant vindication of that cause was the superb Burn-Jones collection in the gigantic machine-city of Birmingham, where, as well as in the Carnegie Institute of the Steel-City of Pittsburg, I had some delightful communions with the art critics and art products in an apparently inartistic surrounding.

Several international Exhibitions, also of the 19th century, led to the establishment of permanent museums : Exposition Universelle of 1878 led to the Trocadero Museum, Paris ; the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876 led to the Department of Industrial Arts in the National Museum of Washington and also of the Pennsylvania Museum. of Art which is one of the oldest public arts museum buildings in U. S. A. ; the world's Columbian Exposition of 1893 led to famous Field Museum of Natural History and its latest annexe the Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago.

Close to the oldest University of U. S. A., that of the Harvard in Cambridge Mass, we find the famous Boston Museum of Fine Arts, unique in its Oriental collection, which was opened, like our Indian Museum Calcutta, in 1870. Then among other public museums we should mention the United States National Museum and the Freer Gallery of Art, under the administration of the century-old Smithsonian Institution of Washington. The American Museum of Natural History at New York with several annexes is one of the biggest foundations, specially providing for the collection and study of Pre-Columbian

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art and archæology and ethnology of the American Indians. The Metropolitan Museum of New York is another gigantic organization with enormous funds. So we find important regional art museums at Detroit, Ann Arbor (Michigan) and Cleveland, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, Toledo and Providence, Los Angeles San Francisco and Seattle, to mention only a few of the host of provincial museums which help in the dissemination of the taste for art and archæology all over the continent.

To coordinate the manifold activities of so many museums, the *American Association of Museums* began to function as an organized body from 1906. Its headquarters is at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, and it publishes a bulletin *Museum News* and occasional Reports of great value. "A Handbook of American Museum," "Museums of South America," "Contribution of Museums to Outdoor Recreation," etc., appeared almost simultaneously with two important publications on the Museums of Great Britain: A report on the Public Museums of the British Isles (other than National Museums) to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees (1928); and Great Britain, Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries (1929). The American Museum Association keep in intimate touch with the Pan-American Union, the Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the Museum Workers abroad; and it was represented at the International museum Office of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris, by Mr. Laurence Vail Coleman. I had the privilege of meeting Mr. Coleman during my lecture tour through U. S. A., and he very kindly placed at my disposal many important documents for which I thank him and his learned colleague, Mr. L. C. Everard, Editor, *The Museum News*. The United States Department of the Interior sponsors the "Biennial Survey of Education" in which was published the "Recent Progress and Condition of Museums (1932)" by Director Coleman.

When I visited U. S. A. in 1930-31, the country was already in the grip of world depression although the worst phase of the depression was yet to come. But even in those days of abnormal economic uncertainty, Mr. Coleman could show a record for 1929-30 which reflects great credit on his countrymen in this

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particular department of cultural activity. For we read in his Report that, during the Biennium, 52 public museums were founded, *i. e.*, "one new museum every fortnight which is slightly higher than the average rate for the past 10 years or one museum every 16 days." The interests of the different sections of the people are manifest from the fact that the national support is for Outdoor Museums, the State support is almost exclusively for Scientific and industrial Museums dealing in the mineral plant, and animal resources of the nation. But so far as we could judge from the huge collection, from the gifts and loans from the general public, it shows "a marked gravitation towards Art Museum," which also include History Museums. Just before the biennium we saw the foundation of the richly endowed Museum of Science and Industry of Chicago, followed by the Adler Planetarium and Astronomical Museum costing $600,000 (1930) Henry Ford's Industrial Museum at Dearborn, Michigan, is now known as the Edison Institute of Technology whose exact income is not yet computed but we know that $5,000,000 were spent on buildings alone. The Franklin Institute of Philadelphia (which at its celebration invited our Palit Professor Sir C. V. Raman) was followed by the gigantic building of the Philadelphia Museum of Arts costing $13,850,000 and additions to the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (1929) costing $60,000, while the Historical Museum of the City of New York cost over $1,700,000 for its building only. The Museum of the University of Rochester cost $450,000 and Museum of Fine Arts, University of Oregon, Eugene, where I was invited to lecture, cost $200,000. The Baltimore Museum of Arts (1929) cost $1,000,000, the Los Angeles Museum additions in 1929 cost $1,55,000 showing an admirable arrangement of the ethnographic galleries of the American Indians. While lecturing at the International House of the California University, Berkeley, I had the honour of discussing the importance of Anthropological museums with Prof. Kroeber of the University who showed a keen interest in the works of our Indian anthropologists like Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, Dr. Panchanan Mitra and others. Special studies on American Indians are made in the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, costing $200,000 in 1930; while even in the remote State of Arizona

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we find the building of the Heard Museum (1929) costing $42,000. The Kansas city Art Institute (1930) additions costing $95,000, Dayton Art Institute costing $1,294,000, Buffalo Museum of Science (1929) costing $1,969,000, Cincinnati Art Museum (1930) costing $527,000, New Jersey State Museum (1929) costing $600,000, Ohio State Museum (1929) costing $139,000 and Yellowstone National Park and Museum costing over $100,000 between 1929-30. These are some of the big public museums with practically unlimited resources and potentialities.

But the private schools and colleges, not to mention the smaller Universities, are taking deeper interest in theoretical and applied arts and often provide, from their limited funds, special museums. About 30 such museums "with more than $1,000 of annual operating income were established in colleges and schools during the last 10 years (1920-30)." The School of Social Work and Public Health attached to the College of William and Mary, Richmond, started its Gallery of Arts as I found in courses of my lecture tour to Virginia (1930). So I found a most earnest group of students at the Antioch College, Ohio, attending my lecture. The College shows the creative genius of a progressive educationist, President Arthur Morgan, who was later recruited by President Roosevelt in his New Deal administration and was invited to India. President Morgan received me very kindly and the Professor of Fine Arts explained to me their admirable schemes of combining theoretical teaching of Fine Arts with a sound grounding in applied arts like ceramic industry, bronze casting, etc. The male or female students are permitted to earn while they learn in the Antioch College which I revisited in 1953.

Philadelphia, the seat of the University of Pennsylvania, is taking keen interest in Art, History, Archæology and Museums ever since its Centennial exposition of 1876. The city, apart from the University and the older museum body, started an independent Museum of Art which came to be incorporated into the older museum. Then in 1929 was built here the Rodin Museum, costing $240,000, and the Commercial Museum co-operates with the University Museum in fostering interest and study right from the school stage. For museum visits and the

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use of museum material are regularly incorporated in the school programme and in many cities, the Board of Education assigns special teachers to meet classes at the museum (*vide* Everard: Museum and Exhibition).

While lecturing at the University of Pennsylvania I was delighted to visit the Museum of Art, one of the best organized in U. S. A. It keeps in mind the fact, only recently appreciated, that a museum should not only exhibit *objects* but *subjects* as well. Hence the division of the art exhibits into two parts; one for the public with exhibits giving general survey of the arts and the other for serious students consisting of a systematic group of art objects for reference and in readiness to be removed for close inspection. This method has reacted very favourably on the post-graduate teaching, as I felt when my old friend, Prof. Norman Brown, kindly invited me, after my public lectures, to take his class one morning when I was delighted to address his pupils on Indian Art in his well-equipped seminar. Prof. Brown is an enthusiast in Indology, an authority on Jaina Painting and Curator of Indian Art, Pennsylvania Museum. As an influential member of the American Oriental Society and of the American Council of Learned Societies, he succeeded in initiating the first American Exploration of the Indus Valley which completed its survey and, we hope, similar missions will lead to momentous results.

The Pennsylvania Museum co-operated with the British Museum in financing the Sumerian exploration of Ur in 1927 with Mr. Leonard Wooley as Director; and we all know what extraordinary discoveries came therefrom, revealing the Pre-Diluvian culture which I found exhibited in a special gallery of the British Museum when I visited London (1930). The exquisite ornaments and head-dress of the buried queen Shubad, wrought of delicate gold ribbons, lapis-lazli, carnelian beads, etc., were marvels of ancient art; and some scholars are now of opinion that originally India (and then Africa) chiefly supplied the gold brought by the Sumerian ships of Ur. Mr. Wooley has proved Abraham to be a man of Chaldea which was, for centuries, in active relations with the Indus Valley civilization. These contacts, continued through ages by the Queen of Sheba and her

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successors and the Phoenicians (? *Panis* of the Rig Veda), were remembered and faithfully recorded in our *Baveru Jataka* as discussed by the late Prof. Sylvain Levi.

Pittsburg, the city where Andrew Carnegie made his fortune, is also a progressive centre of art activities, thanks to the benefactions of the Carnegie Trust. While lecturing at the University of Pittsburg, I was cordially invited to conduct two seminars of its Post-Graduate Department and the students appeared most receptive to Indian thoughts. The Carnegie Library and Museum is primarily devoted to Science but it contains a gallery of International Art Exposition where, every year, some special family or school of art is exhibited. A veteran Bengali chemist, Mr. Profulla K. Mukherji, President of the local Hindusthan Association, introduced me to the distinguished residents and assured me that if Indian Art Societies could arrange to send their pictures and art products, the Pittsburg Gallery may be opened to them and thus a large number of cultured Americans will be drawn towards India and her art traditions. Mr. Mukherji was specially commissioned temporarily by the Carnegie Steel Co., where he works, to conduct operations in the new Steel factories of U. S. S. R. He with Dr. Taraknath Das, spends lavishly in fostering cultural relations between India and U. S. A.

Just as Pittsburg, from an industrial city came, through the benefactions of Carnegie, to foster artistic and cultural movements, so Chicago, the most important commercial city of the Middle West, has come to be the nucleus of a gigantic experiment in the new University movement and also in Museum organization, thanks to the munificence of John D. Rockefeller, father and son. Before visiting U. S. A., I had the pleasure of knowing something of the art activities of the Art Institute of Chicago from one of its visiting lecturers, Prof. J. Pijoan, the renowned Spanish author of the "History of Art" (4 vols.). The Art Exhibitions organized by the Institute are famous all over the country and it commands huge resources. Chicago contributes over $200,000 or nearly half of the annual maintenance charges reaches over $400,000. I was invited to lecture at the International House, Chicago University, and its Vice-President, Dr. Woodward,

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received me cordially and announced his intention of visiting India as he did in 1931-32. I lectured also at the Meadville College whose President, Dr. E. Snow, offered the hospitality of the Channing House (Unitarian Foundation) and introduced me to Prof. Chiera who conducted several exploration in Mesopotamia and Egypt on behalf of the University. He was deeply interested in all that I said about the discoveries of the Indus Valley which appeared to him to be coeval with the earliest finds of Mesopotamian culture. Prof. Campton, Nobel Laureate in Physics from the Chicago University, enquired of our Calcutta University and especially of Dr. D. M. Bose, (Director, Bose Institute), whom he met at the Centenary of Volta in Italy. Prof. Eduard Schaub of the University of Evanston (suburb of Chicago) kindly invited me to lecture on "Indian Art" and on "Greater India" which attracted large audiences. As a friend of Prof. S. N. Dasgupta, and of Dr. Radhakrishnan, Prof. Schaub has already lecturad as a Reader of the Calcutta University. He is very sympathetic to India and is the distinguished Editor of the *Monist*. He is a member of the *Paul Carus Foundation* which published the *Open Court*; and under its auspices published special studies on the Oriental countries, supervised by the newly founded '*New Orient Society of America*." It has published so far two volumes of monographs on the cultural development of the Oriental countries; one on the Near East with an introduction by James Henry Breasted, Director of the Oriental Institute of Chicago, and another volume on the Far East, prefaced by Dr. Berthold Laufer, the distinguished Orientalists and Chinese scholar of the Field Museum of Chicago. The Society lost both these learned scholars as well as its President, Prof. W. R. Shepherd of the Columbia University, whom I met often in New York and who was deeply interested in the cultural activities of Bengal. Its new Presiden, Prof. A. H. Lybyer of the University of Illlinois, took a keen interest in Oriental History and wrote recently on "Leadership in Ancient Asia" (Open Court, January, 1936). The Secretary of the Institute Catherine Cook, kept contact with the scholars of the Orient and the Society is doing admirable work in cultural fellowship between the East and the West.

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On the academic side of this work, in the field of philological research and archæological exploration, the late Prof. Breasted (Hony. President of the Society, 1932-35) was a real pioneer. His career in a way illustrates the progress of Oriental studies in the American University circles and research groups. He started his career in the University of Chicago as an Assistant Director of the Haskell Oriental Museum and as a Professor of Egyptology (1894-96) when he was already exploring Egypt, his favourite field. Between 1896-1905, for about a decade, he acted as instructor, assistant professor and associate professor teaching Egyptology and Semitic languages. In 1905-07 he was the Director of an Egyptian Expedition and published his now famous book "History of Egypt." He was already commissioned in 1900 by the Royal Academies of Germany to copy and arrange Egyptian inscriptions in European museums for an Egyptian Dictionary. That severe discipline brought out the close connection of ancient history with ancient languages and literature, thereby subordinating politics to culture, as Prof. A. T. Olmstead has justly said in his obituary note on "Breasted the Historian" (*Open Court*, Jany., 1936). He was the Director of the Haskell Oriental Museum (1901-31), Chairman, Department of Oriental Languages (since 1915), Director, Oriental Institute (since 1919) and in charge of the archæological Survey in Mesopotamia (1920). Meanwhile his "Ancient Times" and his "Conquest of Civilization", used as the text-book in ancient history in countless high schools and colleges, taught thousands of young minds that the "ancient world was as fascinating as the modern for whose understanding the ancient world offered so much practical wisdom."

In 1909 the American Historical Association recognised the new field of Orient by a special session to honour the German Orientalist Eduard Meyer. We find also Prof. Hirth lecturing and publishing books on Ancient China and Prof. A. V. Jackson on Ancient Iran and India with a special series, on the Indian and the Iranian classics, of the Columbia University. So Harvard University started its famous "Oriental Series" and its expeditions in the Near East and in China. The Yale University also financed the expeditions to Dura-Europus and the University

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of Pennsylvania to the memorable site of Ur. Chicago sent its Field Museum expedition to Kish and now the American research centres of Cairo, Jerusalem and Baghdad and in Persia and India are bringing out remarkable finds, elucidating so many obscure points of Oriental history.

But however brilliant may seem the achievements of Breasted, he had to face cruel disappointments, for he found that the public were more eager for sensational "archæological news" fewer opportunities were open to young scholars and thus Oriental research was declining! "In my desperation," said Breasted, "I thought of a great organization to train and support the youth who wished to enter this field and thus save Oriental studies in America."

This noble dream, almost killed by the World War, met its consecration through his dogged persistence and the princely benefactions of John D. Rockefeller Jr., gradually developing the Oriental Institute (1928) which I had the privilege of being shown round in 1931 by the son of Prof. Breasted Mr. Charles Breasted, the executive secretary of the Oriental Institute. It aspires to inaugurate a new era in the study of the Orient and it is already exploring virgin fields in the unexplored Hittite sites of Anatolia as I learn from Dr. Van der Osten, a worker of the Institute, a versatile German explorer and Turkologist. It was the work of the Institute abroad that took away Prof. Breasted who suddenly died in course of his visit of inspection, leaving a brilliant record of selfless work in the cause of Oriental studies in U. S. A.

Supplementing the work of the Chicago University with its Oriental Institute, stands the colossal collection of the Field Museum of Natural History. With the Museum of Natural History, New York and the Peabody Museum of Harvard, the Field Museum offers the best field for anthropological studies in America. Two of our rising Indian anthropologists, Dr. B. S. Guha of the Indian Museum and Dr. Panchanan Mitra of the Calcutta University, benefitted by the anthropological foundations of Havard and Yale. So far very few Indian scholars has profited by the gigantic research facilities of the Chicago Field Museum; but its former Curator, Dr. Berthold Laufer, was deeply read in Chinese, Tibetan, Indian and Iranian lore, as we known from his

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valuable contribution to *T'oung Pao* and other journals and especially by his books "*Sino-Iranica*" and "*Das Chitralakshana.*" His studies on the "Chinese Jade" and his "Ivory in China" are indispensable works of reference. In course of my visits to the galleries I was amazed to find the hugeness and variety of its collections which are explained adequately by its Anthropological leaflets, illustrated and written in non-technical style. The Chinese and Japanese collections have special leaflets, and monographs: "The Gods and Heroes of Japan, "the Chinese Gateway," "The use of Human Skulls and Bones in Tibet," "Tobacco and its use in Asia," "Japanese Temples and Houses, Swords and its Decoration", etc. The museum guides like "The Ethnology of Polynesia and Micronesia," by Mr. Ralph Linton; "The Civilization of the Mayas," by Eric Thompson, furnish us with valuable information. They opened our eyes to the researches undertaken by American scholars to explore the lines of cultural migration across the Pacific which has already developed independent research centres in the University of Hawaii (under President Crawford) with its Oriental Institute under Professor Gregg M. Sinclair (later President); and in the Bishop Bernice Museum of Honolulu (under Dr. Gregory) which once sent Dr. E. C. Handy, its learned Ethnographist, to the Indian Science Congress held in 1928 at the University of Calcutta. Dr. Panchanan Mitra visited the Bishop Museum and published a series of thought-provoking articles supporting Dr. Handy in his thesis on the migration of Indian Culture *via* Indonesia and Polynesia to the New World.

New York is a city of Museums and Galleries and Exhibitions of different orders and grades. Being the commercial capital of the New World, it attracts a large number of dealers in antiquities and art objects as we find from several important private collections (*e.g.*, of Mrs. Moore, Mr. Heeramaneck and others on China and India). The Brooklyn Museum, in the suburb, renders signal service to art education; and many of the important colleges and University centres of New York have special collections which will easily pass for a museum in India. New York is rich and wealth often brings indiscriminate selection; but the University of New York was trying nobly for

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the last few years to improve public taste by encouraging intensive courses of lectures as those delivered by Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy on Indian Art.

But the outstanding monument to American love of art collection is the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Its annual expense goes beyond $600,000 and half of that huge sum comes from the city of New York which also provided the Museum with a site and the buildings costing enormous sums. Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr. are among the benefactors of the Museum. Invited by the Institute of International Education, New York, to deliver lectures on India as the Visiting Professor of the Institute (1930-31), I had the honour of being introduced by Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, LL.D., Director of the Institute, to the authorities of the Metropolitan Museum which arranged for my first public lecture on Indian art and archæology to be followed by my lectures on the "Universities and Higher Education in India" at several centres of New York specially at the Columbia University where I was cordially received by Professor J. Gerigg, Professor A. V. Jackson and other learned colleagues of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the President of Columbia and Chairman of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The Metropolitan Museum offers a representative collection of a rare order and may claim to be the biggest Museum of the New World. There are special study rooms, Print Room, Library and Extension Office (with over 50,000 slides and photos, etc.), with a special officer as Director of Educational Work in the person of Dr. Huger Elliot who was formerly Principal, School of Industrial Art, Pennsylvania Museum and Supervisor of Educational Work, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. He very kindly arranged for my illustrated lecture on "Indian Art" in the auditorium of the museum. Washington has now built the grandest European Art Collection, thanks to the donation of Mellon.

The European collection of New York is mainly derivative, although some rare things in European painting and sculpture have entered its galleries, thanks to the funds generously supplied by Pierpont Morgan and others. The Morgan Wing is devoted to European sculpture and decorative Arts and adjoining is the American wing introducing the visitors to early American arts.

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A valuable collection of European paintings and about 20 works (the largest outside Paris) of the great French sculptor Auguste Rodin (1840-1917), enrich the museum. But I confined my attention to the noticing of the ancient and specially the Oriental collections which are of outstanding merit.

The Egyptian Galleries are exceptionally rich and well arranged. The Prehistoric period (4000-3400 B. C.), and the Earliest dynasties (3400-3000 B. C.), are presented chronologically with characteristic specimens. The rarest finds of these epochs must necessarily be sought in the famous museum of Cairo, as arranged by G. Maspero and other French archæologists or in the British Museum. Still the collection of the Metropolitan is noteworthy : a prehistoric grave, showing "contracted" burial (as we are discovering in Adicchanallur and other parts of South India) and the various objects with which the dead were provided : prehistoric flint, beads and pottery, variously decorated and painted figurines illustrative of the earliest attempts at Egyptian sculpture. A cemetery of the II-III Dynasties of Sakkara furnished objects in flint, copper, ivory and faience (as we find in Indus Valley), with seal-cylinders inscribed with the earliest characters.

The period of archaic art and of the Pyramids is represented by the superbly sculptured Offering Chamber of Prince Ra-em-Kai at Sakkara (V Dynasty) with reliefs showing the very *apogee* of archaic art.

The Museum also acquired many important things of the Middle Kingdom (2100-1700 B. C.) from its excavations at Thebes and relief sculptures from the temples and tombs of V and VI dynasties at Memphis, brought by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition (1906-07), at the Pyramids of Lisht (20 miles south of Memphis), yielding the red granite altar from the Pyramid-temple of King Amenemhat I (XII Dynasty) and from that of his son Sesostris I. The most remarkable finds of the museum's Expedition of 1920 were the series of painted *wooden* funerary models of boats and of groups reproducing the daily activities of Prince Mehenkwetre at Thebes 20th century B. C.

The most important collection of jewellery and ornaments showing the climax of Egyptian goldsmith's art (outside the Cairo Museum which guards the Dahsur treasures) are to be

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found here as recovered from the tomb of the daughter of King Sesostris II (1906-1887 B. C.) discovered by Prof. W. M. F. Petrie in 1914 near the Fayum.

The Intermediate Period (1700-1580 B. C.) gave among other objects, a painted wooden figure of a horse and a rider, the only known instance of this subject, sculptured in the round, and we know that horse was introduced only then into Egypt from Asia by the Hyksos invaders.

Egyptian Art reached its culminating point under the great kings of the Theban Empire (18th-21st Dynasty), ranging from about 1580 to 945 B. C. The Museum got large finds after excavating, in 1910-20 and in 1922-23, the Palace of Amenhotep III (1411-1375 B. C.) and the temple of Queen Hatshepsut (1520-1500 B. C.). We find also several objects of the period of the heretic King Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) 1375-1358 B. C., who tried to introduce the Sun Worship (under Indo-Iranian influence ?) and the sculptors' *trial pieces* in relief and in the round, found by Prof. Petrie in Tel-el-Amarna.

Leaving aside the later Egyptian period down to the Roman epoch and other objects of the *classical* Greek and the Roman periods, we may appreciate some of the rare collections of Prehistoric Greece (3500-11 B. C.)

The Cretan and the Mycenean cultures are represented by casts of vases, reliefs, etc., and by reproductions of the frescoes from the Palaces. But there is a good selection, of original gold jewellery, stone vases and bronze offerings, from the Diktaean cave and original Cretan seal stones and gems classified according to their periods.

There are vases and bronzes of the periods following the collapse of the Cretan civilization and of "orientalizing influence" (1100-700 B. C.), showing the beginnings of the "primitive art" of classical Greece and Rome: Rhodian and Corinthian pottery of "marked Oriental influence" and Pre-Attic types of vases are shown side by side with only the Etruscan pottery of black "Bucchero" ware. The only complete ancient bronze chariot is the Etruscan one from Monteleone, richly decorated with reliefs in *repousee* work, the most notable example of ancient metal work. Bronze statute of an European girl is shown by the side of a

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dancing girl from Cyprus, polished bronze mirrors (as used by the Egyptians), terracotta reliefs and engraved gems, both Etruscan and Greek, are some of the important things of pre-classical art which is profusely represented by well-known types.

A really unique collection of the Metropolitan Museum is that of sculptures, terracottas, inscriptions, glass and pottery objects found in Cyprus by General Luigi Palma di Cesnola between 1865-1876. These form the richest Cypriot collection in the world both from the archæological and artistic point of view (3000-2000 B. C.); and to find them in the heart of the most modern city of the New World was the greatest surprise to me after my voyage through Greece and the Balkan Peninsula.

The pottery shows fantastic originality and a rare sense of form and decoration. The sculptures reflect chronologically: Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek and Roman styles. A sarcophagus of 6th century B. C. shows great "Oriental influence" specially in the "varied colouring which once must have covered most of the sculptures." There is also a special collection of engraved bowls and jewellery from Cyprus, exhibited in the best manner and reflecting great credit on the authorities of the Museum.

Far Eastern Art representing China, Korea and Japan is fairly represented, a bronze vessel of the Chou period (1112 B. C.) and objects from the tomb finds of the Han period (206 B. C.-220 A. D.) to those of the Ming epoch (1368-1644) are beautifully arranged. Chinese gold and silver jewellery and Scythian bronzes together with a rare collection of Oriental Jades from China, India, New Zealand, Alaska, Mexico, as well as those from the pre-historic Swiss lake settlements, are placed side by side for the benefit of the students. A gilt bronze statue of Maitreya of the Wei Dynasty (486 A. D.), four wooden Bodhisattvas and two sitting figures from the Yun Kang caves (6th century A. D.) and varieties of Chinese and Japanese ceramic prints, costumes, textiles, embroideries, jewelleries, etc., are arranged beautifully. In the Edward C. Moore collection we find special exhibits of Persian glass, Asiatic jewellery and Oriental metalwork (12th-17th century), Syro-Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Persian and Indian, together with fine specimens of Near Eastern ceramics, Turkish tiles, rugs, etc.

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India is rather indifferently rspresented : sculptures from Gandhara and Nalanda, an Indo-Javanese Buddha head from Borobudur, Jaina woodworks and paintings, an 11th century A. D. figure of Brahma from South India, Rajput and Mughal miniatures. A rare collection of Alexander Smith Cochran is that of illustrated books showing the development of miniature painting from 11th to 17th century A. D. A book of Nizami, once owned by Akbar and Shah Jehan with 5 miniatures signed by Bihzad, and others from the hands of great artists like Mirak, Mir Ali and other artists together with two of the finest Mughal Indian carpets of the 16th century.

The only Museum in America that does justice to Orient in general and to India in particular is the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, for which I reserve the last few pages of my report on art and archæology in U. S. A. Incorporated in 1870 it established its Library in 1880, its Departments of Prints and of Classical Art in 1887, of Chinese and Japanese Art in 1890, of Egyptian Arts in 1902, of Paintings in 1902, of Western Art in 1910 and of Indian Art in 1917*. The Department of Asiatic Art with Mr. J. E. Lodge as Curator, has now two divisions, that of the Chinese and Japanese art with Kojro Tomita as Keeper and the division of Indian, Persian and Muhammedan art with Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy as Keeper. Although the Museum contains some fine things of European art, it will chiefly be remembered because of its pronounced sympathy for things Oriental and it would be considered the foremost museum of Oriental and Indian art in the New World.

Almost simultaneously with its foundation it obtained the gifts in 1872 of the Way Collection of Egyptian antiquities. In 1905 the Museum joined the Harvard University in an expedition to Egypt directed by Dr. G. A. Reisner (later Curator) whose excavation at the great Pyramids of Giza brought a rare collection of Old Kingdom sculptures unrivalled excepts those at Cairo ; a very rare specimen being the wood sculpture of

* In 1909 the old building was closed and a new one on the Huntington Avenue was opene to the public. Its total cost was about $2,900,000.

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the VI Dynasty and the painted wooden sarcophagus of the XII Dynasty. The Classical department established in 1887 was enriched by purchases between 1895-1904 and from excavations in Asia Minor and at Naukratis in Egypt. A gem of Minoan art is the statuette of the Cretan Snake-goddess (16th century B. C.), wrought in ivory and gold of rare technical skill, a head of Homer of the Hellenistic period (2nd century B. C.) and a terracotta Roman portrait of 1st century B. C. are rare acquisitions. Egyptian tapestry of the Græco-Roman period (4th century A. D.) and late Egyptian silk (6th century A. D.) found in a Coptic grave, are rarities of the Textile Department.

Attention to the Far Eastern Art was directed as early as 1890 when the gallery of Japanese art was established with Ernest Fenollosa as the first Curator. In 1903 its title was more appropriately changed into the Department of Japanese. Art which brought Okakura Kakuzo, the great Japanese art critic, as the fourth Curator in 1906. Ten years later, in 1916, J. E. Lodge came to be the fifth Curator of the Department and was later on the Curator of the general Department of Asiatic Art with two divisions. The earliest and best collections were the Japanese objects which were followed by things Chinese, Korean and Tibetan; while new finds from Central Asia and Mongolia were being acquired. Only a fraction of this huge collection could be exhibited for space is limited; but these could be studied conveniently in connection with a splendid Library of over 30,000 volumes in Oriental and European languages. The Bijelow, the Rose and the Weld-Fenollosa collections together with other gifts and purchases, make this museum the biggest in Asiatic antiquities. Mr. Benjamin Ives Gilman, Secretary of the Museum in 1920, could say with just pride: "A fortunate conjunction of opportunity, ability and generosity has brought together in our Museum a more important collection of Japanese and Chinese art than exist anywhere else in the world under one roof and has since provided unexampled facilities for the study of the culture from which the objects sprang." The Japanese ceramic collection is more complete than of all other museums put together. A bronze ceremonial vessel of the "*Yu*" type, is from the Chou Dynasty (1128 B. C.-225 B. C.). A bronze jar wrought with gold and

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silver is from early Han Dynasty (2nd century B. C.). A charming 5th century A. D. bronze Maitreya statue of the Wei Dynasty was given by Dr. Denman W. Ross in memory of his Japanese collaborator Okakura Kakuzo. We find a Chinese Buddhist carved stelæ (6th century A. D.), and a Padmapani (7th century). The 12th century A. D. wooden statue of Avalokitesvara and the grand Chinese Buddhist painting of the Arhan Darbha Mallaputra are remarkable. A rare Japanese Bodhisattva in wood is of the Tempyo period (790-800 A. D.) and there are wonderful specimens of original Chinese and Japanese paintings, classified and arranged by great authorities like Fenollosa and Okakura.

The Indian section was largely built out of the Rose collection and Coomaraswamy collection presented to the museum by Dr. Denman W. Ross. The Government Museum of Madras presented a series of sculptures from the Amaravati Stupa and other objects. Several fragments of Gandhara sculpture and Mughal and Nepalese paintings were given by Mr. E. W. Forbes, and a rare collection of Indian Jewellry came from diverse sources. The Indian portion of the Goloubew collection of Persian and Indian miniatures were purchased in 1914 and numerous objects and sculptures were also purchased in India (1921-25) from several funds. A superb torso of a Yakshi from Sanchi (100 B. C.) decorates the central hall; a Ceylonese Avalokitesvara, seated as a teacher (8th century A. D.); a Nepalese Bodhisattva gilted and jewelled (9th centuary A. D.); a Cambodian Hari-Hara (8th century A. D.), a South Indian Nataraja (15th century A. D.); a Gujrati Jaina Painting (15th century A. D.) representing the tonsure (Chudakarana) of Mahavira; the Mughal Court pictures and Rajasthani *Ragini* pictures (17th century A. D.) are some of the remarkable specimens of Indian art which are grouped together with the Muhammadan art of India and the art of Indonesia, while a special section shows the *Islamic arts* of Arabia, Persia, Turkestan, Asia Minor, Egypt, Morocco and Spain.

The Museum authorities and staff officers are very keen on publications which are as numerous as they are valuable. A bi-monthly *Bulletin* offers an adequate chronicle of events with topical illustrations and the latest list of acquisitions. Dr. Ananda

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Coomaraswamy very kindly invited me to lecture at the Museum, after my lectures at the Museum of the Yale University and at the Fogg Art Museums of Harvard. I had splendid opportunities to examine the galleries of Harvard and Boston and felt that what the "Harvard Oriental Series," under Whitney, Bloomfield and Lanman did for Indian literature, the Boston Museum did the same for Indian art, thanks to the devoted collection of Dr. Ross and the researches of Dr. Coomaraswamy. Already famous by his publications on India and his "Mediaeval Sinhalese Art" (1911) and "Rajput Painting" (1916), Dr. Coomaraswamy had, since joining the Museum, published his splendid *Catalogue of the Indian Collection* (1923-30); (*a*) Sculpture (1923), (*b*) Jaina Painting (1926), (*c*) Rajput Painting (1926), (*d*) Mughal Paintings (1930). A volume of Buddhist Paintings was in preparation as also other parts to deal with Indian jewellry, textiles and minor arts. His Portfolios of Indian Art (1923), Bibliography of Indian Art (1925) and History of Indian and Indonesian Art (1927), not to mention various articles, from an important library of reference.

So the Catalogue of the Japanese Pottery, by Edward S. Morse (1901), is the foremost guide to the subject with 1,545 potters' marks in the text. The Museum Catalogue of Greek and Roman sculptures, of Greek and Etruscan vases, etc., are of capital importance. So the Boston Museum authorities may take legitimate pride in the fact that with all its divisions of Asiatic art, it affords such a grand opportunity for the comparative study of Asiatic arts and cultures.

While spending a few days in Boston and its suburbs, I had the pleasure of participating in and delivering a special address at the Annual Convention of Hindusthan Students of America. There I had also the honour of addressing the Harvard public, speaking from the same platform with President Lowel, Professor Charles Lanman (Editor, The Harvard Oriental Series) and Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy. So Professor Clark of the Department of Sanskrit and Prof. Woods of the Department of Philosophy were also very kind to me introducing me to their colleagues of the Harvard University which invited me for a special lecture on the "Influence of Indian Art on the Far

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Eastern Art Evolution." That lecture was delivered, under the *Yen-Ching Foundation*, at the Fogg Art Museum which was completed at the cost of $1,200,000. In connection with my Harvard lectures I had the privilege of knowing intimately Professor Woods and his dear friend, Professor W. E. Hocking (successor to William James in the Chair of Philosophy)—both deeply interested in Indian culture. Professor Hocking visited India (soon after my return to Calcutta), in 1931 as the Chairman of the Layman's Inquiry Commission, and at my invitation, participated with his colleagues in the Septuagenary Celebration of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

Cambridge, Mass., is proud to show a noble record in museum activities, *e.g.*, of the Cambridge Historical Society, of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities; and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has, among other divisions, a splendid Museum of architectural casts, of economic geology, of nautical science, etc.

The Harvard University alone has several museums: the Fogg Art Museum, the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, Museum of Botany, Geology, Mineralogy, Zoology, Anatomy, Theology, Social Ethics, together with collections of Architecture, Numismatics, etc. Asiatic art and culture is specially indebted to Havard for its beneficial activities in making known the ancient Indian literature and religion through the Harvard Oriental Series and for elaborate arrangements for Chinese studies through its "Yen-Ching Foundation" which maintained Chinese scholars at Harvard, supported a first-rate Yen-Ching University in Peiping and financed archæological exploration in China. The Harvard University holds summer *Seminars on Far Eastern Studies* when distinguished Orientalists come to lecture and Oriental art was specially studied under Professor Langdon Warner, Fellow of the Fogg Art Museum for research on Asia.

So Professor Kenneth S. Latourette of the Yale University (New Haven) and his colleagues foster Oriental art and culture by collaborating with the Society for the Promotion of the Chinese and Japanese Studies of the *American Council of Learned Societies*. This Council helped Professor Norman Brown of the University of Pennsylvania to explore India with a view

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to developing his studies on "Jaina Miniature Paintings", and, partially, financed the excavations at Chanhu-Daro for more Indus Valley finds. In bringing India, neglected so far, before the attention of America, Professor Brown was helped by Professor Franklin Edgerton of the Department of Sanskrit, Yale University. He is an ardent admirer of Indian classics and succeeded Professor W. Hopkins in the Chair and followed up his tradition by helping Dr. V. S. Sukthankar with his constructive suggestions while the latter was editing the Mahabharata in the Bhandarkar Institute. Professor Edgerton very kindly arranged for me a lecture on "Greater India" which was honoured by the presence of the retiring Emeritus Professor Hopkins whom I met in 1920 and whom I saw for the last time in 1931 in his old University.

The Yale Gallery of Fine Arts and several divisions and wings enrich the knowledge of the rising generation in Archæology, Anthropology and other cultural subjects. The Yale with the Bishop Museum of Honolulu, offered a fellowship to Dr. Panchanan Mitra and the Yale University opened a most important line of anthropological and palæontological exploration under Professor Hellmuth de Terra. He was conducting excavations (1935-36) in the foothills of the Himalayas (Siwaliks) in search of evidences of Prehistoric man. This *Yale University North Indian Exploration* was conducted jointly by the Yale University, the Carnegie Institution (Washington), the American Philosophical Society, the Geological Survey of India and the Cenozoic Research Laboratory of Peiping. Professor T. T. Petterson, archæologist, Cambridge University, U. K. also joined the expedition. It operated on the Punjab Salt Range plateau, uncovered stone tools of the early Ice Age, a manufacturing site of stone implements, burial site with human skeletal materials and pottery of the Stone Age. Vertebrate fossils of the late Tertiary period and some fossil material of primates and manlike apes were also unearthed.

About 10 miles from Srinagar the party discovered a Neolithic village site with bone needles, polished green stone axes, scrapers and other kitchen utensils. The pottery designs resemble those of the later Stone Age of Europe.

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While excavating in Sind and Central India, the Yale North India Expedition uncovered many Stone Age tools (ranging from the Acheulean to the Younger Stone Age) near Sakkar and Mohen-jo-Daro. They discovered also early Palæolithic hand-axes in the Narbada Valley, with skulls and fragment fossils of extinct animals and evidences, as in the Punjab, "that the Middle Palæolithic Soan culture replaces in sequence the Acheulean hand-axe culture," and "that early man lived through three mountain-making movements in the Himalayan foothills." Thus the definite results include "reconnaissance and age determination of a variety of prehistoric cultures and their geological connection with the Ice Age in the Himalayas." The expedition made a collection of thousands of stone tools and many fossils of animals including a group of fossil primates.

America however has neglected so far the vast unexplored field of Indian archæology and art. Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, China, Japan and even Persia have drawn huge funds from U. S. A. Few big exhibitions of Indian art was ever organized in U. S. A., but thanks to the sensational discoveries of Dr. Herzfeld and Dr. E. F. Schmidt in Persia, and to the enthusiasm of Mr. Charles Upham Pope (of the Art Institute of Chicago and of the American Institute of Persian Art and Archæology), big collection and exhibition of Persian art were arranged for. The first international Exhibition of Persian Art was organized by Mr. Pope in New York, followed by similar events in London, Leningrad and Paris.

Outside big cities and Universities mentioned above, we notice occasional interest in Indian and Oriental Art as in the case of the Cleveland Museum* with its Indian collection and of the Newark Museum with its collection of Tibetan art and ethnology. But for American art lovers and general public, Orientalism is still synonymous with Chinese and Japanese art and culture. Little do they suspect as yet that the major problems

* A veritable treasure of the Cleveland Museum of Art is the Indo-Persian carpet, a masterpiece of Indian weaving art of the 17th century. It was presented by a Maharaja to the Sultan of Turkey and was in the possession of Sultan Abdul Aziz till his death.

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of Sino-Japanese art could not be explained without reference to India and her artistic legacies. American "Orientalists" have sunk enormous fortunes exploring and excavating Egypt and Syria, Iraq and Persia but did little so far for India. So the big cultural and humanitarian Foundations like those of Carnegie and Rockefeller have done but little compared with their allocations for the art and culture, health and hygiene of the Near East and the Far East. The Universities of the Pacific Coast are race-conscious with regard to the Orient, but are not yet fully alive to Oriental culture and art. The Capital city of the New World is just showing interest in the current politics and economics of the Orient and the Pacifie basin, as we find from the syllabus of the George Town University and the Catholic University of Washington. The services of Prof. Boyd Carpenter of the former and of Dr. Taraknath Das of the latter should be recognized in this connection. The Smithsonian Institution, the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Council of Education, the American Geographical Society, the American Association of Museums among other important associations of Washington, may take keener interest in India if our Universities start cultivating relations with them.

The Library of Congress is a gigantic institution of world-fame, but it has no special section on India; whereas I found that it had a division of Chinese and Japanese Literature under Dr. Arthur W. Hummel. But the *Freer Gallery of Art*, under the century old Smithsonian Institution, Washington, offers a special division of East Indian Art in its Near Eastern Section. Some important illustrated manuscripts, paintings and sculptures are worth noticing in the Freer Gallery. The most valuable are the four leaves from the original manuscript of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* or "The Chronicle of a Thousand Years." It was written in Persian at the command of Emperor Akbar to commemorate the conclusion of 1,000 years of Islam, corresponding to 1591 A.D. Composed by the most eminent scholars, the book was illustrated by the best artists of Akbar's Court, like Tiriyya, Brispat, Basawan. There are several miniatures of the 17th century of the Court of Jehangir, of the Rajput school and of the Pahari Kangra-Gharwal-Basohli Schools. There is also a

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brilliant Ragamala Series of the Rajasthani school (16-17th centuries).

Some of the Akbar school of artists illustrated in early 17th century a manuscript of the *Rasikapriya*, a poetical treatise on rhetoric and love poetry, written in Hindi by Kesava Das of Orcha (Bundelkhand) in 1591. A few pages with illustrations are preserved in the Freer Gallery. It also collected illustrated leaves of the *Kalpasutra* of the Svetambara Jains showing the style of the Gujarati Rajput paintings of the 15th century which form the special subject of the study of Prof. Norman Brown, "Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasutra." Of the same school the Freer Gallery contains an illustration, on a roll of cotton cloth, of the *Vasanta-Vilasa* (Poems of Spring) of the mid-fifteenth century. It was written in 1451 at Ahmedabad by Acharya Ratnagar and illustrated with 79 pictures unique in value as affording the only known example of mediaeval Hindu *secular painting*. These are related however to the illustrations in the Jaina Canonical MSS. of the 12th-13th centuries from Gujarat, which are known to-day to mark the line of continuity from the Ajanta and Ellora frescoes to the Rajput and Mughal paintings. Another precious link in the broken tradition of Indian painting is supplied by two rare folios from an illustrated palm leaf manuscript of the *Bengal School*, the *Ashtasahasrika*, Prajna Paramita of the Pala period. The Sanskrit manuscript is written in black *ranja* script and three miniatures are painted tempera: in red, yellow, blue, black, white and green depicting *(a)* Brahma and Sakra, *(b)* The Parinirvana of Buddha, *(c)* The Buddha and two mendicants, possibly his son, Rahula, and his cousin, Ananda.

Another valuable specimen of the Pala period is the perforated slab of blackstone with Vishnu Trivikrama in high and low relief. This image is attributed to the 11th-12th century of the Brahmanical art of the Pala period. An early 12th century Bronze Parvati of the Chola period also enrich the Freer Gallery of Washington.

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AMERINDIAN COLLECTIONS OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

The end of the Middle Ages was significantly marked by the pioneer explorations of Portugal and Spain leading to the discovery or rediscovery of the so-called New World already peopled by the Oriental races. The Atlantic Ocean then served as the great highway of Atlantic commerce and culture. The pre-Columbian art and culture of the two Americas were ruthlessly destroyed in the name of Christian civilisation and the highly gifted non-Christian races were drowned in the deluge of blood. A struggling and demoralised people, the American Indians, still drag on a miserable existence, occasionally rousing anthropological curiosity or ecclesiastical charity. But the prevalence of the American Indians all along the Eastern shores of the Pacific, from Alaska to Mexico and from Peru to Patagonia, has only been indifferently studied so far with reference to the other cross-currents of races and cultures in Asia and in the vast Pacific Basin. Columbus, the first of the modern European navigators to touch the shores of South America, reached the Orinoco river in 1498 after his discovery (1492) of the New World. He was followed by two eminent Portuguese explorers : Balboa discovered the Pacific at the Gulf of Panama (1513) and Magelhaes plunged into the Pacific (1520) passing through the Magellan Strait reaching the Philippines in 1521. The adventurers, chiefly Spanish and Portuguese, were attracted by the silver of the Andes and the rich mineral wealth of Potosi in Bolivia. In 1693 gold was found in Minas Geraes of Brazil. In 1729, diamonds also were discovered in the gold-bearing districts of Brazil, which was the largest producer of diamonds until the opening of the Kimberly fields of South Africa. Individual greed and imperialistic scramble of the Buccaneers and Conquistadores, always from across the Atlantic, super-imposed a new Atlantic Civilisation on the dead bones of the Pacific races. With the growth of anthropological and pre-historic studies in the 19th century, Humanistic Science appeared in her new role as the mother of Charity, ever so much more understanding and disinterested than the Church-ridden charity of older days. The vast wreckage of pre-Columbian art

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and culture is now being collected and studied mainly by the American Universities and Museums and especially by the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, the Haye Foundation for the American Indians and by the Museum of Natural History, New York.

RACE ORIGINS IN THE NEW WORLD

The American scholars, generally speaking, suffer from the incubus of a sort of cultural Monroe Doctrine. That is why, till very recently, there prevailed among American anthropologists and antiquarians the idea that "the American cultures were of essentially or even wholly American development." Thanks, however, to the painstaking researches of eminent scientists like the late Prof. Dixon and specially Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, fresh light has been thrown on the problem, proving almost conclusively the importation of races and cultures from Asia. Since 1926, the Smithsonian Institution of Washington has carried on explorations and studies in Alaska under the direction of Dr. Hrdlicka and his colleagues and they have definitely come to the conclusion that the American Indian "is connected with the early neolithic men of Asia and through him with the Magdalenian and Aurignacian men of Asia and Europe." The cultural evidence of the explorations shows, according to Dr. Hardlicka, that the men from Asia were coming over not as a people without a culture but already as carriers of well-advanced cultures of, in substance, the American type and from which further American developments, according to needs and opportunities, could readily have taken place in different locations.*

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* Hrdlicka : *The coming of man from Asia in the light of recent discoveries.* (1936). "Up to very recently there prevailed among American scholars the notion that the American cultures were of essentially or even wholly American development. This would imply that the comers from Asia brought with them but a sort of undifferentiated simple culture on the basis of which the American development took place ; or that if they brought any specializations, these are forgotten under the new environment. The answers to this, from our excavations, are that the farthest Northwest, in as far as we can reach, is culturally rich and varied , that the oldest of the cultures there discovered, namely,

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AMERICA AND THE INDO-POLYNESIAN WORLD

While admitting generally the migration of races and cultures from the extreme North-East Asia into America by the *land route*, occasionally supplemented by coastal navigation in skin boats, maritime cultural relations between Polynesia and pre-Columbian America are still being vigorously disputed. The solitary evidence of the sweet-potato exchanged between the two peoples from Peru to Polynesia, appears to be unconvincing. Yet a veteran anthropologist like Dixon boldly broke through the barriers of such a cultural determinism and reopened the possibility of *oceanic* contacts so long disputed by the "isolationist" group of scholars. Dixon pointed out that "among such traits as blow guns, plank canoes, hammocks, lime-chewing, head-hunting cults, the man's house and certain masked dances common to the New World and the Pacific Islands, there appears the tendency to mass upon the Pacific side of the New World."

The Mid-Pacific and the South Pacific cultures also, when thoroughly studied on a comparative basis, would throw a new light on the development extension and migration of Polynesian culture. The most important work in this field has been done by the devoted workers of the famous Bishop Museum of Honolulu. This major institute of Polynesian research has largely explored, as far as the Easter Island on the one hand and Fiji in the heart of Melanesia on the other, in order to explain as well as to co-ordinate the problems and facts of Pacific life and culture. So the progressive American University of Hawaii deputed Prof. Dr. J. Coulter to study the basic principles of land-

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the fossil-ivory culture of northern Bering Sea and of the north-eastern Asiatic coasts, and the old culture of Kodiak Island, are not only the richest in forms that are the most beautiful as well as conventionalized, but that they come in full-fledged and that their outstanding features may be followed deep into the American Continent; while other cultural evidences are appearing that connect directly on one hand with the neolithic attainments of Asia and on the other hand with numerous elements in the cultures of the north-west coast and farther southward, in the Southwest, Mexico and even Central South America."

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utilization in Hawaii, Somoa, New Zealand, Australia, Fiji, the Dutch East Indies as far as India. This promising new development in the scientific outlook tends to place the conclusions of cultural anthropology on the solid basis of Anthropo-geography opening up new and unsuspected avenues of research which some day would link up the so-called New and the Old worlds through Polynesia, Melanesia, Micronesia and Indonesia, right up to the Indian Ocean. However late my appear the penetration of the Pacific by the Indo-Polynesians, they are generally accepted to have come across the Indian Ocean and over the island bridges of Indonesia, Micronesia and Melanesia.

CULTURAL CENTRES OF THE PACIFIC

Privileged to work for a while in the University of Hawaii, a major American cultural organisation in the very heart of the Pacific, I could gather from my learned colleagues information rarely available elsewhere. The youngest of the American Universities is the one established in Alaska, which, thanks to the explorations of American scientists, now appears to be the main bridge enabling the Asiatic races to enter the New World. Prof. Bruce White of the Teacher's College, University of Hawaii, worked for some time as an exchange professor at the University of Alaska ; and from him I came to learn that the University co-operates with the archæologists and anthropologists from outside. There are departments of agriculture, commerce, pedagogy, humanities, etc., and there are special arrangements for mining engineering with two months of intensive field-work in the rich mining zones of Alaska. U. S. A. got Alaska by purchase in 1869 from Russia and the Russians did not know then that some of the richest minerals like gold, copper, etc., would fall to the lot of their American successors.

But possibly the most precious treasures of historical value would be the relics and survivals of primitive man crossing from the Old to the New World. Already the Smithsonian Institution of Washington has discovered many invaluable cultural links and Dr. Otto Geist of the University of Alaska

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has made extensive explorations in the St. Lawrence Islands of the Bering Sea. Several submerged pre-historic villages have been excavated, leading to the discovery of fossil bones, artifacts and other collections of paleontological and anthropological value which have been deposited in the Eilson Memorial Museum of the University of Alaska. Dr. Franz Boas, the *doyen* of American Anthropologists, published as early as 1888, his monograph on the Central Eskimo, published by the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington. In 1897 he published *The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast* (Bulletin, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. IX). In 1900, the Alaska Historical Library and Museum was established at the capital Janeau, and the collections include ores and natural products of Alaska, agricultural and fishing implements, utensils, weapons, boats, clothing, tools, basketry, carvings and historical materials of the Alaska Indians.

The Museum of the Sheldon Jackson School at Sitka was started in 1887 and goes on adding to its ethnological collection. So the Alaska Agricultural College of Mines offers 45,000 items of Eskimo materials for scientific investigation.

Turning diametrically to the opposite direction, from the North Pacific to the South Pacific, we find numerous important centres of research in New Zealand and elsewhere, as I came to know from my esteemed friends Dr. A. D. Mead, Vice-President of the Brown University and Prof. Dr. Felix Keesing, who came originally from New Zealand and then settled in Hawaii as the University Professor of Sociology. Two important research journals of the South Pacific are *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, published from Wellington and *Oceania* published from Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, Australia. The Maori culture of the natives of New Zealand, who are cousins of the Hawaiians, belonging to the same Polynesian family, although separated by thousands of miles of the watery waste, is being specially attended to by the New Zealand Government, which has established the Board of Maori Ethnological Research. It has rendered, so far, signal services to the cause of Maori arts and crafts and to the general advancement of the cause of the Maori people. Rare exhibits

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of Maori wood carving, architecture, textiles and green stone implements are stored in the Auckland Museum, which has also been presented with the portraits of "tatooed' Maori chiefs. This "Lindaner collection" is of great ethnographic value. The Dominion Museum of Wellington also owns precious collection of Maori art, publishing bulletins and studies. The Christchurch Museum has a huge collection of Maori materials which for lack of space and funds could not be adequately displayed or studied. The Universities of New Zealand suffer from lack of co-ordination owing to the situation of its component units widely separated as at Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. The Dominion Museum of Wellington, the Canterbury Museum of Christchurch, the Auckland Museum, Auckland and the Otago Museum of Dunedin are doing valuable work. Their experts of the departments of anthropology and natural history will gladly exchange publications, information, etc., with the scholars of India and other countries of the Middle East. While attending the World Writer's Congress (P. E. N.) at Buenos Aires (1936), and the British Commonwealth Relations Conference of 1938 at Sydney, I met Mr. Johannes C. Andersen of the Turnbull Library, Wellington, who has published a valuable book on Maori legends and is deeply interested in Indian folklore.

I had also the privilege of meeting in Honolulu Prof. Norman B. Tindale of the University of Adelaide who demonstrated keen interest in Anthropological studies in India ; for he came into personal touch with the Afghans who entered Australia a few decades ago. Prof. Tindale has the rare experience of tramping with the migratory primitive races of Central Australia almost on the verge of extinction. I came to know also from Mr. H. Duncan Hall of the League of Nations that the University of Sydney may offer many facilities of intellectual co-operation with India. Dr. A. P. Elkin, Professor of Anthropology and Editor of the *Oceania*, would gladly exchange notes with Indian scholars. The Mitchell Library and Museum of Sydney has an important collection of materials on the Australian aborigines. The Institute of Anatomy in Canberra, Federal Central Territory, offers a first class collection of skeletal remains. The National Museum of Melbourne, Victoria, owns

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State Museu
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huge specimens of anthropology and natural history. The Tasmanian aboriginal culture is well represented in the Hobart Museum. The Museum of Adelaide is the finest in Australia from the point of view of scientific display. Dr. Donald Thompson, Anthropologist of Melbourne, is interested in tracing the Australian aboriginals to their forebears the Dravidians (not Africans), who, he thinks, migrated to Australia through New Guinea and Papua. There is a hopeful tendency to develop departments of Oriental (mainly Japanese and Chinese) studies in the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne. Prof. G. S. Brown of the University of Melbourne and Dr. A. L. Sadler, Professor of Oriental Histoty, University of Sydney, Prof. W. Sewell of the University of Auckland, and Dr. C. Beeby of the University of Wellington, are deeply sympathetic to the cause of cultural co-operation between India and Australasia.

In the island of Fiji, we find important collections at the Museum of Suva in the very midst of Melanesia, through which zone, according to some anthropologists, the Polynesians came from the Malayan World to Hawaii. In the island of Formosa, under Japan, valuable scientific surveys of the aboriginal tribes have been made by Japanese scholars and there is an important collection in the Taihoku Museum, Formosa.

Lastly, we should notice the valuable anthropological collections of the University of the Philippines under Prof. H. Otley Beyer, (as I found during my lecture-tour of 1938), who is a varitable encyclopædia of the primitive lore of the Philippine races. It is now beyond doubt that, for ages, the Philippine archipelago had received ethnic and cultural elements from India, and yet, very unfortunately, no systematic study has been undertaken, from one side or the other, to reconstruct those forgotten chapters of Asiatic history.

AMERICAN CENTRES OF ORIENTAL AND PACIFIC CULTURE

While the majority of American anthropologists and archæologists are still, generally speaking, isolationists in their explanation of American cultural origins, a few outstanding scholars, however, like Dixon, Hrdlicka, Handy and others have

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produced valuable evidences demonstrating intrusions from or exchanges with the Asiatic mainland and the Pacific Islands. Dr. Clark Wissler, Curator of Anthropology in the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and sometime Chairman of the Committee on Pan-American Co-operation of the American Association of Museums, is equally respected by both the wings holding different hypotheses with regard to the origin and development of American civilisation. In his authoritative summary of the problems given in the *American Indian*, he leans more on the side of conservatism than on that of radicalism; and so much the more significant, therefore, is his admission of the claims of the Oriental and the Pacific races, as direct or indirect progenitors of American Culture. We recommend specially, in this connection, his chapters on "New World Origins," "Chronology of Cultures," "Special Inventions," "Somatic Classification," "Archæological Classification," etc., as of special value. While keeping intact his scientific detachment, Dr. Wissler could not help expressing spontaneously his regrets, towards the end of the book, at the sudden and ruthless destruction of the splendid culture of the *American Indians*: "As to what a few more thousand years of freedom would have done for the New World we can but speculate; for in the 16th century a calamity befell the New World, the like of which has no exact parallel in history. A militant civilisation from without, fired by a zeal not only to plunder the material resources of mankind but to seize the very souls of men in the name of God, fell upon the two great centres of aboriginal culture like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. The blow was mortal. But the man of the New World went down fighting and though his feeble survivors still keep up the struggle in a few distant outposts, the first great onslaught that annihilated the Aztec and the Inca marks the end of our story."

To convey adequately the significance of the glory and tragedy of that civilisation of Mexico and Peru, one has got to write independent volumes. Here, in passing, we can give but a rough and ready inventory of its cultural relics in the leading museums and learned societies of the two Americas, hoping that it would help our students and scholars to establish cultural exchange with those institutions.

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LATIN AMERICA

While it is easier and more common to divide the cultural institutions into North American and South American groups, we think it better to follow the trend of history linguistically, taking Mexico and other Central American cultural zones into the main body of the South American States, all organically connected and using two *Latin* tongues (Spanish and Portuguese) as against *English* used in the United States and Canada. Unfortunately for us, while the archæological and museum movements in Mexico are fairly strong, those in South America are as yet far from being satisfactory. It was with some difficulty therefore that I managed, during my trip through South America in 1936, to collect some information on the subject ; and we are thankful to the learned director and scholars of the American Association of Museums for the valuable information which they furnished us with systematically through their *Museum News* bulletin and through their hand-book of *Museums in South America.* We find therein 100 museums, 11 Botanical gardens, 11 Zoological gardens, and 2 Aquariums.

Two-thirds of all the South American Museums, including 26 principal ones, are to be found in the *ten* capital cities of the Continent ; and only one-third, including 9 of the principal museums, are to be found elsewhere. Out of a total of 100 museums, 22 are devoted to natural history, 7 to archæology or ethnology, 18 to history, 14 to art, 6 to commerce or agriculture, 4 to school service, 17 to natural history and anthropology and about 12 to general subjects.

The oldest museum that I visited in South America is the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro, established in 1818. In 1823, the National Museum of Natural History was founded at Buenos Aires. Sao Paulo, the richest state of Brazil, give $40,000 to its museum. The grants from the Government and the public range from 5,000 to 25,000 dollars and some of the provincial museums attract from 100,000 to 150.000 visitors a year, the highest record, 250,000, being reached by the Colonial and Historical Museum at Lujan (Argentina). The Museums of the Argentine Republic demonstrate keen interest in archæology and ethnology, the

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richest collection being that of La Plata. The Museum of Tucuman, located in the interior, continues to publish valuable monographs, as I came to gather from Dr. Alfred Metraux (now at the U. N. E. S. C. O. and who served in Hawaii for a while). The Museum of La Plata, growing out of the expeditions (1872-1880) of Dr. F. P. Moreno, was made over to the Government and draws about $42,000 a year, working in close co-peration with the University of La Plata. Specially important are its materials on South American anthropology and palæontology. The National Museum of Fine Arts, Buenos Aires, shows the respectable budget of $48,000. The University of Buenos Aires owns a special ethnographic museum where the classes meet and I had the satisfaction of observing there not only the collection relating to the ethnography of South America but that of North America, Africa and some other Oriental countries.

The National Museums of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro is one of the most important museums of South America, notably for its research, explorations, publications and educational works. It was found by Emperor Don Joan VI in 1818 and its library now contains about 50,000 books and pamphlets. Specially rich as its collections of the geology, paleontology and ethnography of Brazil, the museum tries to supply the comparative view-point through its modest collection from Greece and Egypt as well as its specimens of general anthropology. The museum is supported entirely by the Federal Government, which grants about $142,000 annually. The Museum of Sao Paulo (Museu Ypiranga) is another important museum specialising in Botany, Zoology, History and Ethnology. Unknown races are being detected in Brazil.

The most progressive of the Latin American Republics is Mexico, which is divided into 28 States with a population of a little over 16 millions, linked with the rest of Hispanic American by the cultural tie of the Spanish language. I had the privilege of meeting at the P. E. N. Congress of Buenos Aires as a fellow delegate Poet A. Reyes, the then Mexican Ambassador. I gathered from him that the archæological and artistic studies of Mexico are under its department of Education. Mexico holds a proud record of maintaining about 75 museums, with the neighbouring West Indies. Revival of the study of Indian arts and antiquities

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has led happily to a averitable renaissance in the arts and crafts of Mexico specially in painting. We may expect similar results in other States of Central and South America remarkably tolerant and free from race prejudice. the native Indians, Nigroes and Whites mixing freely.

Peru, that stronghold of the great Inca civilisation, has several museums, the most important being the Museum of Peruvian archæology at Lima. The building is designed in the spirit of pre-Incan architecture ; and although its most precious collection is in the domain of ceramics (the potteries are carefully arranged like books in library stacks for easy reference), there are also valuable collections of precious stones, metal, wood and shell objects as well as rare textiles. The museum gets about $35,000 from the Government. The University of Cuzco purchased in 1919, a private collection of ceramics and stone objects paying about $12,000. This forms the nucleus of the archæological museum of the University. So the University of San Marcos is proud to own its special museum of art and archæology with the cultural relics of the Incan and pre-Incan *Indian* peoples, their potteries, textiles *mummies*, etc., that are used for instruction and research.

The small State of Uruguay, population 2,093,331, grants about $5,000 to its Historical Museum, $10,000 to its Museum of Fine Arts, and $1,600 to its Pedagogical museum, all located in its capital city, Montevideo with splendid architecture. Its museum of natural history shows a modest yet valuable *Indian* collection.

Of the smaller States, we may notice the National Museum of Colombia (named after Columbus, the discoverer of America) and the Museo Boliviano (with its section on archæology and natural history) founded in Caracas (Venezuela) in memory of Simon Bolivar, the liberator of Latin America. The National Museum of Chile was founded in 1830. It specialises in Natural History and Ethnography and researches are undertaken in the field of Anthropology and Antarctic geography.

Thus we see that Latin America from Mexico to Chile is trying to develop its museums of natural history art and anthropology, which on closer inspection, might yield valuable links in a systematic study of the civilization of the vast Pacific

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Basin. Compared with the U. S. A., the politics of Latin America is unstable and her finances slender. Moreover, the greater part of the United States of Brazil remains so far unexplored. Yet I felt after my personal contact with the scholars and learned societies of that part of the world, that Latin America is a land of enormous possibilities and friendly to the Afro-Asian group of the United Nations.

COLLECTION OF NORTH AMERICA—CANADA

Vancouver with a population of 117,217 only, maintains its City Museum (established in 1890) receiving 7,500 dollars a year from the City and membership, as operating income. Its special fields are natural history, anthropology and history of the Dominion of Canada friendly to our Indian republic.

Victoria with its population of 38,727, established in 1886 Museum of Natural History with an operating income of $4,860 a year. It specialises in the natural history and ethnology of British Columbia which offered citizenship to our Sikh settlers.

The New Brunswick Museum of Natural History, St John, which originated in 1862, was presented with a new building in 1934 costing over $400,000 . The provincial Museum of Nova Scotia derives an income of about 5,000 dollars a year. It specialises in natural history. The National Gallery of Canada at Ottawa has a purchase income of $100,00 a year from the Dominion. The Art Gallery of Toronto was opened in 1916 and it spent in buildings alone $465,000. It has an operating income of $56,000 a year. The Royal Ontario Museum was opened in 1914. It spent $400,000 on the first unit of the buildings. Additions and alterations to the buildings since 1942 cost $20,00,000. It spent $50,000 annually for purchases and the operating income in supplied equally by the province and by the University of Toronto. The Museum takes special interest in Natural Science and Archæology. It acquired the valuable collection of Chinese art and archæology from Bishop White who selected things with the rare judgment of an expert and so the collection is important both from archæological and artistic point of view. The Art Association of Montreal,

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Quebec (founded in 1860) was opened in 1919 with $5,33,000 as building expenses and its operating income is over $26,000. It has a decent collection of Chinese and Japanese materials. Lastly, we draw the attention of our readers to one of the most progressive institutions of Canada, the McGill University. It started the nucleus of a Museum in 1882, with a collection on paleontology, geology and natural sciences. In 1892, it added the Library museum with valuable decuments on the history of writing and printing. In 1907, it developed its Architectural Collection. In 1926, it established its Ethnological Museum embracing the Eskimos, the *Indians* of the Pacific Coast, Plains, Eastern Woodlands and Middle West, the aborigines of Mexico, of South America, of Africa and of the South Sea Islands. A specially rich collection of books of the Ming period and other Chinese works numbering about 80,000 is now deposited in the McGill University. The colletion was originally made by G. A. Gest, who founded the Gest Chinese Research Library now incorporated with the University. It is developing studies in Islamic civilisation and inviting scholars from Pakistan and India.

U. S. A. COLLECTIONS

The oldest museum in U. S. A. was established at Charleston South Carolina in 1773, which was thoroughly reorganised in 1915 as the Charleston Museum. Among its important collections of natural history, we find primitive handicrafts, textiles and other materials of the South Carolina Indians. There are also casts and originals of Egyptian, Assyrian and Greek sculptures.

In New York, there are several anthropological collections of outstanding importance. The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, established in 1823, developed its museum in 1889. We find here ethnological materials of the American Indian, Chinese, Japanese and Siamese; also Far Eastern as well as Near Eastern ceramics, jewellery, lacquers, textiles, etc. The operating income of the Museum is about 250,000 dollars and the city of Brooklyn was authorised to expend to the limit of 600,000 dollars for building.

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The special foundation for the collection and study of the American Indians originated with the collections, begun in 1903 by George G. Heye with the funds furnished by Arthur M. Huntington. Established in 1916, the Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation was opened to the public in 1922. The cost of buildings alone came to 550,000 dollars and the principal of the endowment amounted to 785,000 in 1931. Its ethnological specimens include clothing, textiles, weapons, basketry, pottery, domestic and agricultural implements, toys, art-objects, musical instruments, leather work and miniature groups showing home life and ceremonial observances of some of the *Indian* tribes. Its archæological specimens include stone, metal, wood and pottery materials from Mexico, Central America and West Indies together with burial artifacts and skeletal materials furnishing rich data for the study of the physical and cultural anthropology of the American Indians. The publications of the museum are valuable, as can be judged from the few titles given below : Pre-historic objects from a shell heap at Erin Bay, Trinidad ; Monolithic Axes and their distribution in Ancient America ; Turquois mosaic arts in Ancient Mexico ; Beads and beadworks of the American Indians ; The Wood-carver's Art in Ancient Mexico : The Goldsmith's Art in Ancient Mexico ; Cuba before Columbus ; Jade in British Columbia and Alaska ; The Antiquities of Manabi, Ecuador. Situated in the heart of the city of New York, the Museum of the American Indian, by virtue of its excellent arragements and scientific classification, affords the best facility for the study of the aboriginal culture of North America ; some of the terracotta heads and facial representations appeared to me strongly reminiscent of the Buddhistic sculptures of Indonesia.

The American Museum of Natural History, incorporated in 1869, has come to be one of the most important and progressive institutions of the New World. Its learned President, Henry F. Osborn, is renowned in the domain of pre-historic studies. It was due to Prof, Osborn's suggestions that Mr. Roy Chapman Andrews led the now famous expeditions into the desert wastes of Siberia and also that Dr. H. De Terra could come to explore the sub-Himalayan regions and North Burma in search of the

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fossil man, under the auspices of the Yale University. This line of Asiatic exploration and research will, let us hope, lead to some epoch-making discoveries. With its rare collection of Siberian and Chinese material, as well as those from the North and South American Indians, Mexican textiles, Mayan sculptures and ethnological materials from the Pacific Islands, this museum serves as the most important centre of study of the evolution of Man and of the various races. Its principal endowment (1930) amounted to 15,064,159 dollars with an annual operating income of 1,647,857. In 1932, its African wing was opened with 1,000,000 and the south Oceanic wing with 1,500,000 and the Th. Roosevelt Memorial (1933-34) addition was erected with 3,500,000 dollars. What a valuable work is being done by the Museum would be clear to anyone from the following list of its publications : The Extinct Rhinoceroses, Facial painting of the Indians of Northern British Columbia ; The decorative art and sociology of the Amur tribes ; The Eskimos of Siberia ; Craneology of the North Pacific Coast, etc., amongst the museum Memoirs. It published also volumes of Anthropological papers from renowned scholars ; Technique of some South American feather work ; Mythology of the Black-foot Indians ; Pre-historic bronze in South America ; Peruvian textiles ; The Sun-dance of the Crow Indians ; Kinship in the Philippines ; The history of Philippine civilization as reflected in religious nomenclature ; Racial types in the Philippine Islands ; The Aztec Ruins ; Time Relations of pre-historic pottery types in Southern Arizona ; Peoples of Asiatic Russia ; Anthropometry and Blood types in Fiji and the Solomon Islands ; The physical characteristics of the Ontong Javanese. Such subjects apart, the Museum applies itself to the study of astronomy, mineralogy, geology, paleontology, comparative and human anatomy, etc., together with provision for class room work (begun in 1880) in natural science, geography and history, for high school and college teachers.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art is another equally grand institution with rare collections and educational facilities not only for the teachers and students of public schools but also for the practical workers in the field of design and decorative art. The museum arranges radio-talks, concerts, study hours and even

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lectures for the deaf. It has a library of over 70,000 volumes and its Oriental Collections embrace China, Japan, Korea, India, Central Asia, Persia and Asia Minor, as I have already discussed in a previous section. Incorporated in 1870, the Museum constructed its original building costing $1,519,090, with additions of a million dollar in 1900, and another million between 1914-1925, reaching the formidable total of $7,577,327 in buildings and equipments. Its budget for 1936 was as follows : From the City of New York $501,495 ; from memberships $143,770 ; from endowment $89,956 ; from admission fees $15,000 ; from sale of publications $54,592 in all $804,818.

MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS

Heaps of American Indian materials are found in the various museums, small and big, stretching from Arizona, New Mexico to Mexico. The Heard Museum, Phœnix, Arizona shows pre-historic objects from mounds and cliff dwellings, ancient and modern pottery from Central America, Mexico and South America. The Arizona State Museum, with an operating income of $5,435 from the University, has pre-historic remains from Toltec and Aztec Mexico.

California is proud of several important collections ; the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California was established in 1901 with a special emphasis on Western America, Mexico, Peru, Egypt and on ancient Mediterranean Civilization. There, are also exhibits from Oceania, Australia, the Philippines and other parts of Asia. The Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art was established in 1910 and shows varied ethnological material, excellently exhibited, from India, Central Asia, the East Indies, Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia, Africa and the two Americas. Its operating income in 1930 amounted to nearly 6000,000 dollars. So the South West Museum shows the principal of endowment in 1930 as $607,351. Its special field is archæology, ethnology and history of the South Western States.

The Museum of the University of Colorado has ethnological material on American, Indian, Chinese, Japanese and Philippine peoples. Its operating income from the University is 8,600 dollars,

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Similar materials are found in the Colorado Museum of Natural History with an endowment of over $200,000. New Mexico, really an integral part of old Mexico, has many important collections on pre-Columbian antiquities: The Aztec Ruins National Monument Museum established in 1916 and the Museum started in 1928 by the University of New Mexico. But the biggest research centre is the Laboratory of Anthropology started in 1927. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., donated over $300,000, and the Rockefeller Foundation authorised grants totalling sixty thousand dollars for six years for graduate instructions in anthropological field method. Fifteen selected students are granted annually *all expense scholarships* and they work in co-operation with the University of New Mexico and the Government *Bureau of Indian Affairs*. The School of American Research is developing field museums at the sites of excavations in co-operation with the local authorities.

From the modern collections of Arizona and New Mexico to the extensive archæological remains of Mexico, Guatemala and other zones of Central America, we find a natural connection and extension. The oldest traces, so far found, of human culture, are supposed to be in New Mexico and Minnesota. Some ditch-diggers discovered the skeleton of a young girl who is supposed to have lived some 20,000 years ago. Is she an ancestress of the American Indian, whether he is Navajo or Peruvian? When Prof. Albert E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota finished his examination of the skeleton of the young girl, he declared her as belonging to the *Mongoloid* family. Hrdlicks and other anthropologists, establishing the *Asiatic origin* of the earliest races of America, have, however, expressed doubt about the antiquity of this "Paleolithic Girl" of Minnesota and the so-called Pleistocene finds at Folsom, New Mexico, where excellent arrow-heads were discovered buried in the bones of *extinct bisons* which perished some 15,000 years ago.

The gaps between this dim pre-historic past and the historic civilizations of the Mayas of Mexico and the Incas of Peru, have not yet been filled. But there is no doubt to-day that the Peublo and the Navajo Indians are connected culturally with the Mexicans and the Peruvians. The Maya civilization was highly

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developed before the birth of Christ. The first recorded Maya date, as ascertained from the deciphering of the Maya hieroglyphs, goes to the third century B. C. While astronomers helped in determining the Maya calendrical cycles (the Mayans were intelligent enough to invent the zero *independently*), now their results were happily corroborated by Carbon test and the researches of a meteorologist Dr. A. Z. Douglass: "He discovered that the firs and pines of New Mexico and Arizona record droughts and rains with minute accuracy in the size and quality of their *annual rings*." Thus he managed to bridge gaps in chronology back to 700 A. D. The intensive study of the pottery and ceramic designs also helped to cover the five centuries of culture from 700 1200 A. D. Thanks to the progressive leaders of the Government of Mexico, Alfanso Caso, the Mexican Archæologist, excavated the great tombs in Monte Alban. He was fortunate in discovering rich ornaments for nose, lips and ear, jade, alabaster and polished crystals, human bones with hieroglyphs, gold filigree, handful of pearls and one as big as a pigeon's egg and *sacred paintings* "more precious than rubies." These are the first archæological offerings of the sacred city of Monte Alban in the Mexican State of Oaxaca. Equally amazing discoveries come to the credit of Earl Morris who excavated the Temple of the Warriors in Chichen Itza.

Amidst the extraordinary diversity of styles and patterns, the Central American Archæological finds nevertheless show a genetic relation with those of South America. Mummies have been found in New Mexico and elaborately wrapped *mummies* are also found in the Peruvian museum at Lima showing how the two peoples were connected. Vera Cruz, Guatemala and Honduras are also gradually yielding their treasures as described by Gann, Joyce and other archæologists. Their researches are slowly unfolding the history of America's "Valley of Kings." The work was started nearly a century ago by the American diplomat-explorer, John L. Stephens who re-discovered some 44 ruined cities and published his report in 1841. Catherwood, the English artist who accompanied Stephens, made excellent drawings of several important ruins, and the English explorer Alfred P. Maudslay was the first to apply scientific methods to the study of the ruins. But nothing was done to

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prevent the disintegration of the valuable remains until 1925, when the Mexican Government organised its department of monuments. The Mexican Bureau of pre-Hispanic Monuments is headed by Senor Marquina who fortunately discovered in 1936 El Castillo, the most impressive of all pyramid-temples at Chichen Itza, which like many other ancient temples, "embraced within itself some older temples; "embraced within itself an older temple that has been completely concealed for centuries." A study of the outer structure of the temple demonstrates its calendrical significations the Maya Toltec cycle consisting of 52 years of 365 days each, Superb examples of Mayan pottery have been found by the archæolgists of the Carnegie Institution, Washington. A splendid mural painting of Mayan village-life at the sea shore was discovered at the temple of warriors, Chichen Itza.

Thus the materials for the study of pre-Columbian art and culture, in North, Central and South America, are increasing so enormously that several volumes would be necessary to give a fairly adequate survey. Some of the leading American Museums and Universities and Research Institutions like the Universities of Harvard, Yale, and California, the Field Museum of Chicago, Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology. Archæological Institute of America, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, American Anthropological Association, American Antiquarian Society, the Carnegie Institution, the Smithsonian Institution and the United States National Museum, Washington, among others, are making notable contributions. But one has got to establish correspondence also directly with the museums of Central and South America which publish most of their reports and monographs in Spanish and Portuguese. In many cases these pre-Columbian relics are reminiscent of Chinese culture, and possibly, on closer analysis, other elements of Oriental culture may gradually be discovered. The history of human civilization in America cannot, therefore, be written without reference to some of the races of Asia, especially of the Mongoloid family, who are now known definitely to have negotiated with the New World through the land-bridge of the North Pacific. The Harvard Yen-ching Foundation may gradually turn its resources to this fascinating line of investigation.

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So the racial and cultural cross-currents of the Middle and the South Pacific are being studied by the Bishop Museum of Honolulu, closely co-operating with the Yale University and the Hawaii University. Asia and America thus stand to-day on the threshold of new historical revelations, independent in cultural evolution, yet inter-related and inter-dependent in the field of cultural co-operation. The vast expanse of the Pacific seems appropriately to embrace thus the Old and the New World.

NOTE :—That Columbus of Genoa was not the first to discover America was stated in many publications. Three of the American States : Wisconsin, Minnesota and Dakota have ordered that in their school manuals it should be definitely written that America was discovered 500 years before Columbus by the Scandinavian navigator Lief Ericsson of the 9th century. Recently two Canadian scholars have given the credit of this discovery to a Chinese Buddhist priest called Hui Sien who, according to Mr. John Murray Gibbon, crossed the Pacific in a junk, "Tia Shan" and reached Vancouver about 499. Prof. Gibbon of Canada quotes a geographer of the time of George III who studied the problem of Chinese contribution to the trans-Pacific voyage. Mr. Tom MacInnes, another Canadian writer on Oriental Affairs, has also alluded to Prof. Gibbon's hypothesis, according to which the Chinese Buddhist priest passed the winter in the Isle of Nootka, Vancouver, where he left three monks to propagate Buddhism. No other trace of Chinese Buddhism has been found there except the Chinese coins of the Tsi dynasty discovered in that locality in 1876. Remains of Buddhist temples were reported (*Vide* : *Maha Bodhi* Journal, Vol. X, No. 2, June, 1901) to have been discovered also in Mexico, in the State of Sonora on the Pacific Coast and near the town of Ures in the same State, with a statue of Buddha and with Chinese Buddhist inscriptions. A substantial and interesting inventory of such theories and opinions has been recorded by Mr. Chaman Lal in his book *Hindu America*, (Second edition), published by New Book Co., Bombay.

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VI

LATIN AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

When the book was going through the press, I had the honour of being invited by the PEN Club of the Argentine Republic to attend, as the delegate of the Bengal PEN, the XIV International Congress at Buenos Aires. I am grateful to my University for having granted me leave and other facilities in that connection and I availed myself of the opportunity to visit and gather information about several important institutions which I briefly describe in this concluding section. I beg to thank the Registrar of our University for thus permitting me to incorporate these fresh items of information, with-holding the final printing of the book. I thank also Mr. Devaprasad Ghosh, M. A., Curator of the Asutosh Museum of Arts, for correcting the proofs in my absence and helping me by selecting carefully some *Illustrations* to the text without which the books would have lost considerably in general interest. For an adequate documentation however, I must have to seek public aid to bring out a special "Commented Album" : on the Monuments and Museums of Greater Asia as a companion volume to the present work.

A brief indication as to some new centres of study in Art Archæology, recently visited by me, has been given in my "To and from Latin America : academic notes" (*vide Calcutta Review* December, 1936). In these concluding pages, I shall confine myself to the description of Latin American institutions as a fitting pendant to my chapter on the United States of America. As I have noted before, out of about one hundred museums of South America over 50 museums are located in the capital cities of the various South American republics. But compared with Europe and U. S. A. the South American museums are restricted in range, being chiefly confined to the domain of Natural History, Geology, Ethnology and Anthropology. The most progressive of Latin American republics is Mexico which is divided into 28 states and which has a population of a little over 16 millions linked with the rest of Hispanic America by the cultural tie of the Spanish language. I had the privilege of meeting at the PEN Congress as a fellow delegate Dr. A. Reyes the Mexican

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Ambassador and a renowned Mexican author. I gathered that the department of education which attends carefully to the art and archaeology of Maxico is most progressive and that, with the West Indies, Mexico holds the proud record of maintaining about 75 museums.* The interest in the Aztec and the Toltec cultures is daily increasing and original fragments and casts are to be found now in many important museums of Europe and U. S. A. Still, a leading authority on the subject, Mr. T. A. Joyce, in his *Maya and Mexican Art* says, "At present this rich field has hardly been touched and there awaits us an opportunity of making as great a contribution to the elucidation of the origins of America's prehistoric civilisation as we have made to those of Greece, Mesopotamia and Egypt." Revival of the study of antiquities has led happily to a veritable renaissance in the arts and crafts of Mexico and we may expect similar result in other states of Latin American. The states of Guatemala and Honduras almost rival Mexico in their archæological treasures and even a small state like Costa Rica maintains a National Museum with a rich collection of rare potteries. As the first self-assertion of Latin American in *art* came from the artists of Mexico, so that in *literature* came from Nicaragua and her great poet Ruben Dario who came to influence the modern literature of the mother country of Spain.

Passing from Central to South American we notice that the republics although backward in comparison with U.S.A. or Mexico, are gradually awakening to the need of organizing adequately the study of art and archæology ; Ecuador has good universities and museums at Quito and Guayaquil. Colombia and Venezuela have their national universities and museums. Peru and Bolivia have more than one University and museum and are the richest fields for the study of art and archæology of the Incas (1054-1533) and their predecessors of remote antiquity (*circa* 3000 B.C.—1054 A.D.). Two great educationists, Mr. Sanin Cano of Colombia and Dr. Bedregal, Rector of the University of La Paz (Bolivia), who came as delegates to the congress were

Vide Foyles ; Museums in Mexico, Central America and the West Indies, *Museum News*, May, 1932.

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very kind to me and gave me valuable information. The resources of Paraguay are limited, still it maintaining a National Museum ; and Uruguay, the smallest states of South America surprised us by its University, its Museum, its national Library and a splendid School of Fine Arts. The Director of the School of Arts in Montevideo received me and introduced me to about a hundred students, male and female, working at different subjects. I was shown round many such studios and art circles partly financed by the States but largely self-supporting. Our fellow delegates from Chile also told us of similar developments round the University of Valparaiso and the two Universities of Santiago. From the capital of the Argentine Republic I gathered that museums and archæological departments are developing round the five Universities of Buenos Aires, Cordoba, El Littoral, Tucuman and La Plata. In the capital city of Buenos Aires there are the Historical Museum, the National Gallery, the Natural History Museum, the Agricultural Museum, the Naval Museum, the National Library and Municipal Museum. Thanks to the kindness of Dr. C. Alberini, the learned Dean of the University of Buenos Aires, I could examine in detail their splendidly organised "Historical Records Commission" and the special collection of the Ethnographic museum under its learned Director, Dr. Felix F. Outes, who presented several books to our University. So I had the privilege of being shown round the wonderful collection of the museum of La Plata, thanks to the countries of Dr. Alfredo D. Calcagno, Dean of the University who sent quite a library of their valuable publications to form the nucleus of the Latin-American collection of the Calcutta University.

Brazil alone embraces almost half of the whole of South America and is 1¾ times the size of the whole of Europe. While the rest of Latin America is Spanish-speaking, Brazil with her population of about 47 millions in the biggest Portuguese-speaking zone in the world. In course of our travels, we could visit only three of its leading centres : Santos, Sao Paulo and the capital city of Rio de Janeiro. There are Historical, Scientific and Geographical Societies in several places with characteristic collections but unfortunately museums of art and archæology are not yet fully developed. Still one could find interesting things in the National

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museum and Library, the Historical museum, the Agricultural and Commercial museum, the Military and Naval museum, the National School of Art, the Museum of Retrospective Art, etc., of Rio de Janeiro. Dr. Raul Leitao Da Cunha, the learned Rector of the University, offered his full co-operation if the scholars of Indian Universities wished to exchange their views and publications with Brazilian savants. So my esteemed friends Mr. and Mrs. Raul Pedroza, both artists of great talent gladly agreed to supply all information about the artistic life of Brazil through their Associacao Dos Artistas Brasileiros, which is striving nobly to develop a new creative urge in their national theatre, painting and plastic arts. Music, arts and crafts occupy a very important place in the curriculum of the Municipal University of Rio, the best of its kind and most original, as I was glad to discover in the capital of Brazil.

Latin American art and archæology still wait for a thorough exploration and we hope that the various states would soon combine to develop a co-ordinating body. Meanwhile we get occasionally reports and news through the Pan-American Union of Washington D. C. (U. S. A.). We are also grateful to the American Association of Museums for giving to the public a useful volume on "The Museums of South America." Many of the Latin American museums and societies for art and archæology publish periodically valuable monographs, bulletins, etc., and we hope these will soon be catalogued as the Washington Association of Museums did with regard to the U. S. A. publications (*vide* Cox : List of Museum Periodicals for the United States, *Museum News*, April, 1935) Museum of Natural History and the Museum of American Indians (Heye Foundation), New York, among others, paved the way, with enormous expenditure, for a systematic collection and study of the vast wreckage of pre-Columbian art of America. The loss due to the destructive operation of religious fanaticism is irreparable and what has been ruined cannot be replaced. When we find to-day the indigenous races dragging a miserable existence in the wilds of Paraguay, and Peru, Brazil and Bolivia. and yet the handiworks of their ancestors illumining the galleries of a museum like that of La Plata, we are filled with amazement. Founded in 1877 by Dr. Francisco P. Moreno, the

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museum of La Plata has come to be the most important representative institution in South America. It has developed several scientific departments for Biology, Botany, Zoology, Geology and Physical Geography, Mineralogy and Petrography, Paleontology, Anthropology, Archæology and Ethnography. The disposition of the exhibits, the reference library and casts and replicas from the museums of Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Honduras, Guatemala, Mexico and even those of Europe, help considerably the visitors to make a comparative study. Now the prehistoric and proto-historic finds from Patagonia and other areas are being studied and classified. But what the authorities of the La Plata Museum have collected in course of the last fifty years, reflect great credit on them. They are very eager to exchange anthropological and archæological exhibits with our Indian collections and even a few specimens of the extraordinary repertory of Amerindian vases, if acquired in exchange, would convince us of the artistic quality of American ceramics. The analysis of the designs,—realistic and South abstract,—material and colouring of the vases are matters of painstaking research ; and even now, when the race of native decorators are dying out, their decorative art creations may serve, for generations to come, as invaluable records of the forgotten history of an extinct civilization, which may be proved to have some remote connections with the culture of the Pacific world.

Mr. Thor Heyerdahl, a member of the Free Norwegian Air Force in the second world war, crossed the Pacific from Peru to Polynesia, in a primitive Inca raft *Kon-Tiki*. He combined Dare-devil courage with scientific observation and wrote a book in 1948 which was translated from Norwegian and passed through many editions in English (1950-51) by George Allen and Unwin.

His theory, which he attempted to prove by practice—was that, from the opposite direction, Polynesia might have been peopled sometime by the Pre-historic Americans whom he detected in the isolate Fatuhive Island. He crossed 4300 miles of the Pacific in 101 day in a primitive Inca *balsa* raft so much like our Indian country boats which arrived Prince Vajaya (500 B. C.) from Bengal to Ceylon. So, the South American Indians under Inca civilization could have crossed the West Pacific to some Polynesian isles and even beyond to the

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Malayo-Polynesian world. For we see to-day that many scattered and isolated tribes speak dialects of a common language spreading in the islands floating in thousands of sea miles, from the Hawaii in the north to New Zealand, in the South, from Samoa in the West to Easter Island in the extreme East—almost facing Peru! So while handling in Latin America the Peruvian potteries textiles, masks and other objects, I felt tempted to recross the Western Pacific and enter the Sino-Japanese zone where we get the richest art collections of the Pacific world. Its bibliography has been carefully compiled by American experts and I give a *resume* thereof, in the final section by Art and Archæology.

From Berlin and Paris, London and Dublin, Lisbon and Madrid, New York, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, I found that the Occidental universities and museums are co-operating intensively to conserve and develop the study of what Mon. Jules Romain, the President of the International PEN, characterized as the Atlantic civilization. Centuries of painstaking research, of collection and conservation, of regular official subsidies and enormous non-official donations and gifts have helped in this great work of developing the western Faculties of Art and Archæology. Herein the Universities and museums of India and the new Orient would find endless suggestions and inspiration in the colossal work lying before them of reconstructing the history of the no less important Asian Arts and Pacific civilization and of revitalizing Oriental art and culture which supply, in so many fields, the archetypes and primary urges of the later Occidental norms and evolutions.

In unravelling the mysteries of this so far unsuspected yet none the less evident interaction of the Atlantic and the Pacific civilizations, the muses of art and archæology will play the dominant roles. That is why, while the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations are collaborating in the field of current politics and economics, the United States have given a fresh lead in cultural collaboration. America was working through the foundation of first class research centres like the University of the Philippines, the Bishop Bernice Museum of Honolulu and the University of Hawaii which has already developed the Divisions of Chinese, Indian

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and Japanese culture Professor Moore of the Hawaii University opened a special division of East-West Philosophy and I lectured on Indian Art and Civilization in its Oriental Institute founded by Prof. Gregg M. Sinclair, the learned Director, later President, who visited India and made the following remarkable statement:—

"Some of us feel that Western civilization is in dire need of cross-fertilization with the East and that the effect of such cross-fertilization will be as important for the future of our world as was the discovery of Greek and Latin manuscripts in leading to the Renaissance and the great improvement in western culture and civilization up to recent times. That influence, however, seems to have spent itself and now we believe that the only other source is the East."

The reaction of the East to this new *orientation* in the outlook of the West is no less significant. History and literature art and archæology are being studied with increasing enthusiasm, by many of the rising nations of the New Orient like Egypt and Iraq, Turkey and Iran, as I have shown in the previous sections of this book. Similarly there are to be found in China, Japan and India, in the Middle and the Far East, a very hopeful awakening of interest in the collection, conservation and study of the *patrimonies* of art and culture. Japan has given a noble lead in the Museum movement within the country and exploration work abroad. So new China is equally enthusiastic as is evidenced by the re-organisation of the various Museum, and by the International Exhibitions of Chinese Art in London New Delhi and elsewhere. French Indo-China and Indonesia (which I visited on my return from the Far East in 1924 and in 1954) also are showing splendid records in the domain of exploration and research. The materials already accumulated are so copious and interesting that we should now prepare an independent volume, with adequate *illustrations*.

India as the *traite d' union* between the Near and the Far East, between the Old and the New World, would always occupy a leading role in the domain of art and archæology and with the rediscovery of her Indus Valley civilization, India is drawing the attention of the big Universities and research

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institutions of the world. Unfortunately, for India, outside the official organization of the Archæological Survey of India, the museums and research societies under non-official management, are still in a state of suspended animation if not of positive stagnation as was mercilessly exposed to us by Dr. Markham. A few of the progressive Native States like Hyderabad, Mysore and Baroda were doing admirable work but it seemed to be insignificant when placed against the immense field of art and archæology as yet unexplored in this vast sub-continent of 400 millions. There may be found in India of to-day chance collections and treasure troves to excite the rapacity or curiousity of foreigners; but we are lagging far behind Japan and China, so far as our museum movements are concerned. In India, a living museum of History and Anthropology, of Arts and Crafts, we must have a systematic and progressive policy to ensure the conservation of our national patrimonies and the intensive study of our pre-historic and historic remains, our Classical and Popular arts. Every cultural organisation of India from the remote rural schools to the colleges and universities should co-operate in this national work of a countrywide exploration, collection and study of the artistic and cultural documents of India. Every province and every large linguistic and cultural unit should maintain a research library and a regional museum. Above all the big Indian Universities should develop, without any more delay, their special museums according to the peculiar nature of their regional collections and specializations of study. Thus Pre-history and Ethnolgy, Archæology and Art, Natural History and Anthropology, folk-arts or village crafts would find naturally their special museums to focuss the attention of the public and help in the final synthesis of our veriagated cultures. With the vision of a real pioneer Sir Asutosh Mookerjee inaugurated such a plan of study and research in the University of Calcutta and that it has opened the first University Museum in Calcutta is a happy augury and a move in the right direction.

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FAR EASTERN ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

In course of previous discussions we have occasionally referred to the publishing activities in China and Japan. But most of the Asian publications, being in the national languages, the outside world, except a few specialists, generally ignore them. Books in European languages register them imperfectly and often distort the rich contents of the native publications of Japan, China, India, Indonesia and other Oriental countries. A most necessary corrective in this field has been fortunately supplied by the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai which published classified lists of works written in Japanese as well as in Western languages on Japan and the Far East. In their Bibliographical Register we find not only the publications on Japan but also on *Asia in general*: China, Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Siberia, Centrl Asia, Tibet, India and Burma, South Eastern Asia and Western Asia. Such a comprehensive programme of survey should be undertaken collectively by other universities or research societies of Asia. We hope steps would soon be taken for the creation of a permanent Bureau of Asiatic culture with regional committees of Asiatic Bibliography.

The history of civilization, ethnography, religions, history, and archæology are studied in Japan systematically, and Japanese arts and crafts are surveyed from the point of view of painting and colour prints, sculpture and industrial arts, architecture and gardening, music, dance and the theatre. Thanks to the inborn love of art in the Japanese, they succeeded also in rousing the interest of many distinguished Occidental art lovers. That is how we got valuable documented studies like those of Arthur Morrison (The Painters of Japan, 2 vols. 1911), of Fenollosa (Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art, 2 vols. 1913), of Otto Kummel (Die Kunst Ostasiens, 1922), of Serge Eliseev (La Peinture contemporaine au Japan, 1923-1925), and of Langdon Warner (The Craft of the Japanese Sculptors, 1936), among others.

Japanese scholars and publishers are no less active in exploring the field of art and archæology in China, Korea and

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Manchuria. We give below a brief inventory of valuable articles and studies by Japanese scholars: Problems relating to the Neolithic Age in North China (S. Mizuno), on the Copper cutleries in Ancient China and on the Funeral wares in Ancient China (S. Umehara), on the Propagation of Cowries in the Far East (N. Egami); Bodhi-Dharma; Historic remains of Sung Shan, Honan (J. Washio); Ancient Han tombs with Mural Paintings (S. Hamada), Ancient Chinese Mirrors in Europe and America (S. Umehara), a Collection of photographs of Chinese Clay-figures (Otsuka Kogei-sha, ed.), Illustrated Catalogues of Ancient Chinese Prints (Bijutsu Kenkyu Shiryo, ed.).

A subject catalogue of Chinese and Japanese books on Manchuria in the 24 libraries of pre-war Manchukuo have been published from Dairen, 1931). So the Tokyo Imperial University published between 1915-1931 in 12 vols., the Report of the Geographical and Historical Studies of Manchuria and Korea. The extremely rich collection of Chinese tapestries and embroideries treasured by the National Museum of Manchukuo has been studied and edited (Mukden, 1935, 2 vols., with 139 plates including 68 in colour, with texts and notes in Chinese, Japanese and English) by Prof. S. Okada and the late Mr. K'an To. So the Tokyo Institute of Oriental Culture have published illustrated volumes on the Architecture and the Buddhist Images of the Liao and Kin Dynasties. Similar catalogues (in Japanese) have been published of the Chinese paintings from the T'ang to the Ching dynasties, with over 300 illustrations. The Han and Pre-Han sites of Manchuria were excavated by eminent Japanese archæologists like Hamada, Komai, Harada, Mori and Shimada, who are publishing valuable reports and monographs in *Archæologia Orientalis*.

Books and publications on Korea are very systematic and copious: The Governor-General of pre-war Chosen patronised the Art Exhibition Association of Keijo publishing (1922-1931) 10 vols. of Illustrated Catalogues of Korean Art; the Archæological Survey of Korea, 12 vols., 1915-1931; Illustrated Catalogue of Exhibits in the Museum of Keijo, 4 vols.: Archæological Report on the Excavation of the Ancient Korean Tombs (S. Umehara, Keijo Museum, 1934). The Keijo Imperial University also

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published many important things on Korean art and archæology, revealing the history of Man in Korea from the Neolithic Age down to the historical period, publishing, among other things, the Collection of Rubbings of Korean Inscriptions. The works of Japanese archæologists in Korea, Manchuria and the Far East must now be followed by all students of Asiatic History, and that is why Mr. G. B. Sanson, in the Transactions of Asiatic Society of Japan (December, 1929) gave "An Outline of Recent Japanese Archæological Research in Korea." The Japanese scholars went beyond China into Mongolia and Central Asia : Count Otani and Tachibana, led expeditions into Serindia, and Mr. Haneda collaborated with Prof. Pelliot in editing the Tun-Huang manuscripts deposited at the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris.

FAR EASTERN ART IN AMERICAN MUSEUMS

The economic and political isolation of the Far East was put an end to by Commodore Perry's Expedition in Japan in 1853. Perry returned to U. S. A. with collections illustrating Japanese ethnology, because interest was roused in America "in the manners and customs of the people of the strange lands on the other side of the world." Mr. Benjamin March, Curator of Asiatic Art at the Detriot Institute of Arts, traced this history in his useful book *China and Japan in our Museums*, 1929. He compiled this report for the third general session of the Institute of Pacific Relations (Kyoto, 1929) with the support of the Carnegie Corporation. He took us back to the very end of the 18th century, when in 1799 the Peabody Museum of Salem was founded. There were deposited miscellaneous objects of Far Eastern art and ethnology brought by the American merchant vessels. Chinese objects were brought to this Museum as early as 1801, and when, after Commodore Perry's expedition, American educationists were invited by Japan, two great collections were built up by Prof. E. S. Morse. He was invited to teach Zoology (1870) in the Tokyo Imperial University. He contributed some of the earliest papers on pre-historic Japan, and, before retiring, he gave a most valuable collection of Japanese ethnology to the

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Peabody Museum of Salem and of Japanese pottery to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts which has published voluminous catalogues of great scientific value.

Another American scholar, Ernest Fenollosa, came in 1878 to teach in the Tokyo Imperial University. He was a man of rare intuition and enthusiasm, and he boldly argued to prove that the Japanese deserved to stand in the first rank amongst the nations of the world in the field of Fine Arts. He began to acquire Japanese paintings and prints, and with the expert help of Okakura developed the wonderful collections of Far Eastern paintings in the Boston Museum. *The Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* posthumously published, form a worth monument to Fenollosa's devotion to Oriental Art. Japanese and Chinese art were represented in the Centennial Exhibition of Philadelphia (1876), the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago (1893), St. Louis Exposition (1904) where for the first time, the Chinese section received independent attention; and in the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of San Francisco (1915) also in the International Exposition of Philadelphia in 1926. With wider publicity the American Museums awoke to the need of acquiring genuine treasures of Oriental Art, and although many mediocre or even faked objects crept into the museums through the trickery of rapacious dealers, yet the result was on the whole satisfactory. We agree with Mr. March when he says. "The ready availability of works of Far Eastern Art in the Western Museums has had a large share in raising the West's appreciation of Eastern cultural attainments." Chinese and Japanese art directly influenced the decorative art of Europe, and America was indirectly influenced through Europe.

That Chinese art is the mother of the Japanese came to be realised by Charles L. Freer who was a pioneer in the collection of Chinese Art in America. He was followed by two other eminent scholars Dr. B. Laufer and Dr. J. C. Ferguson who have written copiously on Chinese art and archæology The Universities of Harvard, Columbia, California and Chicago, among others, have got special Chinese libraries; and in 1927-28 Mr. Arthur W. Hummel gave a new impetus as the chief of the division of the Chinese literature of the Library of Congress, Washington.

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State Museum,
LUCKNOW.

It has over 135,000 Chinese volumes, 130,000 Japanese, 1,000 Korean and considerable materials in Manchurian, Mongolian and Tibetan. Thus China and Japan were the first two representatives of Oriental art and culture, securing their places in the museums and universities of U. S. A. (Vide *China and Japan in American Universities*, Chicago University Press).

The University of Michigan is taking keener interest in Asian art and has a special Chinese collection in its Museum of Anthropology. About 6,000 ceramic objects from the Sung dynasty downwards were recovered from Chinese burial grounds in the Philippine islands, explored by the Curator of the Museum. The Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters publishes studies on Middle Eastern and Far Eastern subjects.

The Boston Museum of Fine Arts holds probably the richest and the most comprehensive collection of Far Eastern Arts. Its library of Chinese and Japanese books number over 28,000. Its Japanese collection goes beyond 88,000 and with its Chinese and Korean specimens nearly total 100,000. Prof. E. S. Morse served as the keeper of Japanese pottery, and he published, in 1901, an authoritative catalogue of his collection in the Museum Prof. Fenollosa sold his collection of Japanese paintings to Mr. Weld, and it came to be the property of the Museum as the Weld-Fenollosa Collection. While serving as the Curator of the Department of Chinese and Japanese Art, Fenollosa brought in 1906 Okakura to the Boston Museum as an advisor. Latter on he became a Curator and continued to enrich the Museum till his death in 1913. His place was taken by Kojiro Tomita who was the Far Eastern colleague of Dr. Coomaraswamy, of the Indian section.

The Fogg Art Museum of the Harvard University was fortunate in having as its curator Langdon Warner, a real enthusiast in Oriental arts who has made a substantial contribution to the study of Japanese Buddhist sculpture. The Museum has a modest but choice collection of Chinese and Japanese paintings, sculptures, bronzes and ceramics. Mr. Warner led two archæological expeditions for Harvard to Western China.

The Art Institute of Chicago has a rich collection of ancient bronzes and Japanese prints. Pottery of the Han and the T'ang

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period and a collection of Korean pottery are noteworthy. It is specially rich in Japanese prints numbering over 4000. Out of the 118 galleries of the Institute, 7 are devoted to Chinese and 2 to Japanese art. Its Buddhist Stele (551 A. D.) of the Wei Dynasty has been described in a special monograph by C. F. Kelly (1927).

The most remarkable and systematic Chinese collection (totalling over 12,000 items) is found in the Field Museum of National History, Chicago. Dr. Laufer built up this collection through his expeditions in 1908-10 and in 1923. While serving the Museum Dr. Laufer published a number of valuable studies : Jade (1912), Turquoise in the East (1913), Chinese Clay-figures (1914), The Diamond (1915), The Beginning of Porcelain (1917), Sino-Iranica (1919), The Pre-history of Aviation (1921), The Chinese Gateway (1922), Oriental Theatricals (1923), Chinese Baskets (1925), Ivory in China (1225), The Giraffe in History and Art (1928). The Japanese collection of the Museum has been described in a series of leaflets by Helen C. Gunsaulus.

The Cleveland Museum of Art has a small but interesting collection of Chinese and Korean art : a T'ang dynasty mural painting of Buddha preaching, Wei dynasty stone sculptures, a Korean painting, and the head of a wooden Bodhi-sattva of the Sung period.

The Detroit Institute of arts, Michigan, is under the care of Mr. Benjamin March, curator of Asiatic Art. He made special study of Chinese and Japanese paintings, and mentioned, as special items in the Museum, a famous 13th century Chinese water colour by Ch'ien Hsuan, a large Chinese Buddha-head in wood (12th century), a screen-painting attributed to Korea, and about 1,000 Korean specimens, and samples of Japanese textiles from the 14th to the 19th century. Between 1919-1929, the Museum spent over $94.000 in purchase of Chinese and Japanese materials. In California the Mills College for girls has built a decent art gallery with Chinese and Japanese objects valued at $14,000. Moreover, the college sponsored lectures, on Oriental art history, of myself and T. Kawasaki, Dr. and Mrs. J. H. Cousins and others.

The Museum of History, Science and Art, Los Angeles, has

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a respectable collection and has published bulletins from time to time. The South West Museum of Los Angeles developed under the direction of Mr. James A. B. Scherer who spent about seven years in the Orient and published several books on Japan.

The Yale University School of Fine Arts has a very good collection of Chinese porcelain collected by Mr. and Mrs. Williams in Peking, about 1876, when they were attached to the U. S. A. legation. We find also a group of Chinese, Japanese, Cambodian and Siamese sculptures, bronzes and paintings. The American Museum of Natural History has a rich collection of Chinese and Japanese objects, specially Chinese pottery of the Han dynasty described by Dr. Laufer (1909). The Museum financed the important expeditions under Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews to Mongolia.

The Metropolitan Museum of New York has a representative collection of ceramics, jades, sculptures, bronzes and paintings from China, Japan and Korea. The Museum invited lectures on Far Eastern Art—by Baron A. von Stael-Holstein, on the Temples of Compassion and Peace; by Prof. Paul Pelliot, on Iranian Influence on Chinese Buddhist Art; by Carl Whiting Bishop, on Ancient Bronzes; by Benjamin March, on the Third Dimension of Chinese Painting; and by the present writer, on Indian Influences on Far Eastern Art.

There are a few special collections in New York, like the distinguished collection of Chinese paintings, bronzes and potteries made by Mrs. William H. Moore who attended my lectures. Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. also have a valuable collection of Chinese porcelain, bronzes, paintings and sculptures. The New York public library has the famous Brinkley Collection of 1,517 pieces of Japanese prints.

The Pennsylvania Museum of Art is rich in Chinese collections of the Han, T'ang and Sung periods. A remarkable group of Eastern Wei marbles was purchased from the Oswald Siren collection. In 1929, the Museum purchased some 300 Chinese paintings from the splendid collection of Dr. V. G. Simkhovitch. The Museum spent (1928-29) about $42,000 in developing its Chinese collection, and $60,000 for Japanese art purchases.

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The University of Pennsylvania has developed a select and valuable collection in the Far Eastern section of its museum. It spent a large sum in developing the Chinese collection: Chou dynasty bronzes, Han wine-jars, a pair of life-sized *Bhikshus* of the Sui dynasty, T'ang sculptures, Turfan fragments from the Von Le Coq expedition, and also art objects of the Sung and Ming periods.

The Princeton University is developing a Far Eastern collection in its museum of Historic Art. The Rhode Island School of Design has over 2,000 items of Chinese and Japanese art which are used extensively by the students of the school. The school invites lecturers from outside and arranges gallery talks on the art of the Far East.

The City Art museum of St. Louis, Missouri spent about $300,000 on its Chinese and Japanese collections. The Toledo museum of Art has a valuable collection of Chinese and Japanese ceramics, paintings and swords. It arranges a course of lectures on the Art of the Orient recognized by the University of Toledo.

Worcester Art museum is located in Massachusetts and has collected a few select Chinese, Korean and Japanese materials, chiefly from the point a view of decorative arts, the textile collections being fairly extensive. Moreover, the Bancroft collection of about 2000 Japanese prints, catalogued by Mr. F. W, Gookin, includes some unique Japanese primitives. There is also a miscellaneous collection of jades, lacquers, enamels, bronzes and rare jewellery.

Lastly, in the capital city of Washington we find some valuable collections in the United States National Museum, and in the Smithsonian Institution. Commodore Perry brought in 1853 some specimens to illustrate the social and economic life of Japan, specially ceramics and lacquers which we find here. The Japanese Government later on presented to the museum an industrial series and groups in costume. The technology of Japanese wood-block cutting is illustrated in the Division of Graphic Arts. The exhibits of Japanese musical instruments and of pre-historic archæology are also noteworthy. The Chinese collection is mediocre, but some ancient grave-ceramics were collected for this Museum by Rev. D. C. Graham in Szechuan. *The Annual Report*

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of U. S. National Museum is publishing occasional bulletins on Chinese and Japanese art and culture.

The Library of Congress, Washington, has in its Print Division over 2000 items illustrating the Graphic Arts of Japan and China. The collection originated with the Division of Prints organised in 1897 and was enriched in 1905 by the gift of the Noyes Collection of Japanese prints, drawings etc., which have been catalogued. The works of Utamaro, Kuniyoshi, Hokusai and others are represented. Of the Japanese silk paintings there are the superb "Eight Views of Fuji" by Hiroshige.

The Freer Gallery of Art collections is the most valuable and is carefully catalogued by its able Curator J. E. Lodge. According to him, up to 1929, there were 3,429 Chinese, 1,862 Japanese and 455 Korean objects, chiefly painting, sculpture, ceramics, metal work, textiles, jade, glass, etc. The collection originated with Mr. Charles L. Freer of Detroit, who began to collect about the year 1880 coming under the influence of Fenollosa. Retiring from business in the year 1900 Mr. Freer devoted his energies in exploring China which was the original source of the Far Eastern art creation. It is mainly due to him that the American attention was diverted from Japan to China ; and when the Government agreed to care for and maintain the collection at public expenses, Mr. Freer made a gift (May, 1906) of his precious collection to the nation and created an endowment not only for the expansion of the Oriental sections of his collection but also for furthering scholarly researches on the subject. The year he completed the building for the collection, he died, and the Gallery was opened to the public in 1923. The motive behind his collection is best illustrated by the following extract from the Official Report : he believed "that the more nearly a cultural object of any civilisation expresses the underlying principles of artistic creation in soundness of thought and workmanship, the more nearly it takes its place with other objects of quality produced by any other civilisation" ; and with that in view, he was intent upon bringing together such expressions of Western and Easteru cultures as seemed to him to embody at their best those characteristics which he believed to be inherent in all works of art.

Mountreal (Quebec) and Toronto are the two cities of the

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Dominion of Canada which possess some valuable collections. About 80,000 volumes of Chinese text, specially rich in Ming works, formed the Best Chinese Research Library in the McGill University of Montreal. The Art Association of Montreal founded in 1860 developed in 1916 the Far Eastern Wing of its Museum. Chinese paintings, sculptures, tomb figures, textiles and ceramic specimens together with Japanese art objects of real value form the main collection inlarged by the gift of the Japanese ceramics and bronzes from Lord Strathcona in 1927.

The Royal Ontario Museum of Archæology, Toronto, contains the very valuable specimens of the mortuary art of China ; Neolithic hand-made potteries, early painted wares, metal objects, weapons and implements, early bronzes, ritual vessels excavated near Honan-fu and other objects of the Chou period, Han dynasty metal work, Sung and later copies of early bronzes glazed T'ang figures, tomb figures of the Ming dynasty, iron-figures of the Ming and the Ching dynasties, Sung paintings and textile objects, and collection from Ming to the Modern times. These rare specimens go to make the Toronto collection the most important one in Canada. The museum is associated with the University of Toronto, and funds were supplied to enable two expert collectors to acquire valuable objects: Dr. George Crofts and the Right Rev. W. C. White, Bishop of Honan, were responsible for this unique collection which affords ample opportunity for research and which are reported in the bulletin of the Museum.

Thus we find that the New World is taking greater and greater interest in the art and culture of Asia.

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DISCOVERY OF ASIA

V

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

DEDICATED
TO
MAHATMA GANDHI
APOSTLE OF *AHIMSA*
WHO WISHED THE WELFARE OF ALL *SARVODAYA*
AND ADORED
LORD BUDDHA

K. N.

2500 Buddha Jayanti
1956-1957

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INTRODUCTION

The term, South-East Asia, like the Middle East, gained currency during the second World War, replacing the older expression Far East, balancing the Near East, known to the Western World. In 1453, the mighty oriental army of the Turkish Empire conquered Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire and a renowned Italian artists was proud to draw a portrait of the Conqueror Mehomet II, now in the National Gallery of England. Not only the Turks but also the bold Arab sailors before them—guided by their geographers had covered the coastal belts of Africa, India, Ceylon, Malaya, Indo-China, Indonesia etc, with Arab Muslim colonies ; and Muslim Kingdoms all over converted into Islam the major part of the population of the earlier Hinduised States. While the Hindus were pioneers (as shown in *India and the Pacific World)* in building up "cultural" colonies for over a thousand years, the Muslims effected mass conversion creating a new phase in the history of Medieval Asia (1200-1600 A. D.). The Chinese under the Yuan (Mongol), Sung and Ming dynasties also began expanding their commercial influence in South-East Asia, which culturally came to be equally dominated by Chinese Confucianism and Arab Islamism and through them peered the centuries old Hindu-Buddhistic culture of India, the pioneer of cultural synthesis and syncretism.

European Christian powers, which first showed interest in Asia as early as the 13th. century by sending Marco Polo to the court of the Mongol Emperor of China—Kublai Khan—thence-forward gradually became more and more aggressive. A new spirit of Crusade roused the European powers to defy the "infidel" Turks and to discover the *sea-route* to India and the East after by-passing the age-old *land-route* via Syria and the Middle East.

From Prince Henry of Portugal to Henry VIII and his daughter, Queen Elizabeth I of England, the Christian rulers were keen on patronising sailors and explorers, who made new maps after risky voyages all round the vast Continent of Africa. The Genoese Columbus, under Spanish King's patronage, discovered in 1492

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America but believed it to be India. In 1498 the Portuguese Vasco da Gama turned the Cape of Good Hope, crossed the Arabian Sea and landed in Calicut planting the first European colony there and later on in Goa. Another great Portuguese sailor, Maghellan circumnavigated the globe by crossing the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans till he met his premature death (1521) in an island of the Archipelago, named the Philippines after Philip II, who forcibly joined Portugal with Spain. So the two great Catholic powers, Portugal and Spain, took the lead in the formation of maritime empires for over a century (1500-1650) and began the Christianisation of South-East Asia from Ceylon to Indonesia and China.

Then the initiative passed into the hands of two Protestant powers, the Dutch and the British, united by matrimonial alliance of Queen Mary and the Dutch Prince William The British East India Company (since 1600) and the Dutch East India Company (1606) mutually agreed to delimit their spheres of influence. The British Company planned to dominate gradually over India, Burma, Ceylon and Malaya while the Dutch Company occupied and ruled over vast Indonesia for over three and a half centuries (1600-1950). The British and the Dutch, by ousting the Portuguese and the Spanish, got the lion's share of the Asiatic Empire. Of the vast Portuguese Empire in Asia are left a few unimportant sites like Goa in India, Macao in China and a part of Timor in Indonesia. Spain retained the Philippines for centuries till, 1898 when U. S. A. occupied the Archipelago and granted self-government after the Second World War. Thus as a power of the New World, U. S. A., since the Spanish-American War of 1897-98 joined the European groups to bear the White Man's burden and create American "spheres of influence" in Asia. France and the French East India Company competed for years with England which, after defeating Napoleon, forced France to shift elsewhere ; and Republican France began its career of imperialism in Africa and in Indo-China : Laos, Cambodia, Cochin China and Annam (now Viet Nam) were kept in different degrees of tutelage under France which frankly called them 'colonies of exploitation'. The exploited races took advantage of the second World War and freed themselves

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from foreign domination. A few Pacific islands still belong to France and renamed French Polynesia.

After defeating France in the War of 1871, Germany attempted to build her colonies in Africa and Asia. But with the defeat in the first World War Germany lost all her Asian territories from the Chinese coasts to the Bismark Archipelago near New Guinea.

Japan, as an ally of the Western powers got the control over some of the German possessions ; but Japan, in her turn, lost all of them and all her overseas conquests when she was defeated, with Germany and Italy, in the Second World War.

But, before her defeat Japan opened in 1941-45 a new chapter in the history of Resurgent Asia by inflicting defeats on the British in Malaya and Burma, on the French in Indo-China, on the Dutch in Indonesia and on the Americans in the Philippines. Thus the theory of Western "invincibility', planted in the mind of the common man in the Orient, was uprooted. A new self-confidence and self-assertion was the keynote of the mass-movements for freedom in most of the Oriental nations from the Mediterranean to the Pacific Ocean. The Dutch empire of over three centuries collapsed in the Dutch East Indies and yielded place to the Indonesian Republic under national leaders like Soekarno and Hatta. The "colonialist" Dutch party, even after transfer of power, got entrenched in Western New Guinea which, under its name—Irian is being claimed by the Indonesians, who are perturbed by the infiltration of Dutch agents into their territories—specially in East Indonesia.

The Dutch, after being forced to quit Indonesia, is clinging to (West) New Guinea because the island has oil-wells and is of great strategic importance as the link between Indonesia and Australasia. The League of Nations Mandate of north New Guinea was converted into U. N. Trusteeship ; and Australia, which keeps the whole of South New Guinea or Papua as its own, has been nominated to be the guardian-protector to advise the Trusteeship Council when or how self-government may be granted to the Trust territory of New Guinea. Thus Australia now occupies the key position in South Asia ; and she, with her sister-state of New Zealand has, after the second World War,

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entered into an alliance ANZAM with U. S. A. to maintain white domination in the Pacific. The White Australia policy with all its implications is well known to all, especially to the overcrowed non-white nations. Whether such "exclusiveness" is conducive to peace and well-being of mankind, future History will decide. Meanwhile we see that Australia is developing good relations and commercial contacts with India, and New Zealand will follow suit, for we still belong to the British Commonwealth.

COLOMBO PLAN

Twelve years after the Commonwealth Relations Conference in Sydney (1938) and to stabilize the political and external relations, meetings began to be held in 1950 in Sydney, Colombo and London, forming the Consultative Committee on South and South-East Asia. Its "Colombo Plan" for co-operative Economic developments was published in November, 1950 and it came into force on July, 1, 1951. It is interesting to note the name and affiliation of the member countries: Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan, U. K. with Malaya and British Borneo, Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Burma and Nepal (1952), Indonesia (1953), Japan, Thailand and the Philippines (1954).

Probably as the dominant power in the East Pacific (including all the Latin American States), the U. S. A. attends the meetings as a full member and the U. S. A. met food shortage in India and Pakistan with about £ 107 million in the forms of Grants and Loans.

U. K. undertook to release sterling balances to India, Pakistan and Ceylon at the rate of £ 42 million annually plus £ 94 million exclusively for Malaya which attained self-government (1957). British Borneo is enjoying extra territoriality in Indonesia as in Hongkong in China.

These funds although not sufficient for the vast area, furnish the "under developed" and backward nations with Technical co-operation and some helping to develop agriculture and food industries, medical and health services, engineering, transport and communications, trade industry, power and fuel.

This Colombo Plan is, therefore, a major scheme of social progress in South-East Asia, the homeland of half of the human

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race. Close liaison with the member nations is maintained through the International Bank for reconstruction and the Economic Commission for Asia and Far East or E. C. A. F. E.

THE SEATO

The more intriguing "defence problems" of the Pacific Basin (as I surveyed in *India and the Pacific World* in 1940-41) are exercising the mind of another group of nations forming the SEATO on the Pacific counterpart of the NATO for the Atlantic nations.

In Manilla a pact was signed (8th September, 1954) by Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan (barring India), the Philippines, Thailand, the U. K. and the U. S. A. They aspire to establish a *collective defence* system in S-E Asia by "a continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid" as clarified in the so-called Pacific Charter which will justify its title if it succeeds in maintaining peace not in the regional but in the total sense.

Many of the participants of the SEATO are also members of its Middle East counterpart the Baghdad Pact from which India again dissociated herself ; for these Pacts rarely touch the problems of Perpetual Peace but they rather divide nations into two conflicting power blocs or the Democratic and the Communist camps. Their headlong clash could be avoided if the majority of the United Nations accepted the principle of Co-existence or *Pancha-Sila* as India and Indonesia promulgated in the Bandung Conference (April, 1955) attended by 29 Afro-Asian nations. The Peoples' Republic of China and the U. S. S. R. among others accepted the *Pancha-Sila* principle of co-existence, philosophically justified by India's Vice President Prof. Radhakrishnan.

EAST ASIA

Turning from South-East Asia further north to East Asia, we find two big contiguous States—China and U. S. S. R.—looking ominously as much to the *Baghdad Pact* as to the *Manila Pact* or SEATO. It is a human tragedy of the first magnitude that the two great allies of the Second world war, U. S. A. and

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U. S. S. R.—who saved the world from intolerant Nazism, could not continue to be allies in world reconstruction after that terrific devastation and carnage. Cold War followed 'hot wars' and in 1949 China defeating Chiang-kai-sek, joined the U. S. S. R. issuing her new constitution of the Peoples' Republic of China. That union, working well for almost a decade, of about 800 million souls on the Pacific, created a consternation among the Atlantic Powere—U. S. A., U. K. and their allies. So they are preparing counter-defences both in South-East Asia and in the Middle East. Their "vacuum" theory with the inevitable consequence of intervention will lead from war to war but seldom assure peace. Japan, after the defeat of 1945 was forced to accept total disarmament as the condition of peace ; and yet the same Japan is now urged to modify her Peace Constitution to be rearmed in the fullest sense of the term. Japan, the first victim of the Atomic War, is vainly trying to stop the experiment in the neighbouring seas, the deadly experiment with nuclear weapons by U. S. A. and England. So the diplomatic atmosphere and the moral climate of S-E Asia are far from satisfactory a decade after the World War.

KOREA

The capital victims of this Power bloc politics are Korea and Indo-China which deserve special attention. Korea, geographically placed between China and Japan, was influenced in early days by China and in the later epochs by Japan. Indian Buddhism was introduced into Korea (374 A. D.) and she transmitted to animistic Japan the higher codes of Buddhist religion and philosophy. Confucianism, however, continued to be the official religion of Korea from 789 to 1910 (when Japan annexed Korea).

From 1910 to 1945 Korea was a part of the Japanese Empire ; and after the collapse of Japan and to effectuate surrender of the Japanese troops, the Russians entered North Korea in August, 1945 and they formed a communistic Provisional Government which, in Sep. 1948, proclaimed the Korean Peoples' Republic. The U. S. S. R. recognised it and withdraw its forces (Dec. 1948).

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The Americans landed in Korea on 8 Sep. 1945 and for mutual convenience divided Korea into two parts, separated by the 38th parallel ; but negotiations between U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. broke down (May, 1946) and the future of Korea was gloomy. In June, 1950, the North Korean forces crossed the 38' parallel invading South Korea and the Security Council at once intervened, placing under Genl. Mac Arthur the U. N. forces to defend the South Korean Republic. After a year of fighting both sides accepted the offer of "cease fire" (July, 1951) and exchange of prisoners was completed by September, 1953.

This compromise resulted in the partition of Korea into two parts : North (Communist, Population about 10 million) and South (Democratic, pop. 19 million.). South Korea is mainly agricultural with some important minerals.

North Korea commands good iron ores and almost all metallurgical works (already developed by the Japanese) which developed hydro-electric power fertilizers, cotton, silk, rayon industries etc.

But the Koreans are a distinct nation with a common language and culture like the Germans and yet, through the vagaries of international politics this transitional solutions of *partition* was imposed we do not know for how long. South Koreans protest that the North Koreans are being supplied by the Soviet with Atomic weapons, which may annihilate South Korea.

INDO-CHINA

In Indo-China also, we notice the same process of partition or segregation from the point of view of not economic but ideological considerations imposed from outside.

Let us examine first Vietnam originally known as Annam. It has yielded the richest collection of inscriptions in Sanskrit and remain of Hindu Buddhistic temples and sculptures—coming from the Hindu colonies of Champa and Cambodge but both collapsed by the end of 14th century. By 1500 A. D. the semi-Chinese Annamites conquered the whole of Champa, installing Chinese systems of Govt.

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By 1600 A. D. we find the French entering Annam first as curious visitors, then as missionaries and finally as conquerors. Vietnamese texts were romanised by a 17th century French missionary, Alexander of Rhodes and in 1787 Louis XVI signed a treaty acknowledging Gia-Long as Emperor of Annam. In 1862 Cochin-China (now South Vietnam) was made to cede itself to France. Between 1874 and 1884 France extended her protectorate over the vast country extending from Tonking to Cochin-China. France also made Cambodia in 1863 and Laos in 1893 French Protectorate. The progress of General, technical and higher education was very slow and the condition of the common man deplorable, when, half a century later, Japan drove out the French and occupied Vietnam in 1940. They proclaimed independence of Indo-China in March, 1945. The so-called Emperor Bao Dai was deposed and the State was declared a Republic with Ho-chi-Minh as the first Communist President.

The French, like the Jap-defeated Dutch in Indonesia, tried to keep their colonies under control with different designations giving some powers to Cochin China, Cambodia, Laos etc. But in December, 1946 Ho-chi-Minh's forces made a surprise attack on the leading city, Hanoi (HQ of the French Government and of the famous Research Institute : Ecsle Francaise d' Extreme Orient). Bao Dai signed a treaty recognising the independence of Vietnam withing the French Union. But the Communist inspired Vietman forces continued to fight against France (1946-'54) for eight years and, by the Paris agreements of December 1954, the transfer of sovereignty to Vietnam was completed. The General Conference of July, 1954 lessened tensions but the country remained divided into the Northern and Southern zones with a total population of over 21 million. How these Indo-Chinese states will react to the new forces of resurgent Asia is a theme for speculation.

Cambodia is situated between Siam on the west and Vietnam (Annam) on the east and both often threatened the existence of Cambodia which in 1863 accepted French Protectorate. In the Second World War, Japan suppressed the French Government and declared Cambodia independent. Aftet Japanese surrender the French returned and tried to conclude a Franco-

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Cambodian Pact (1946). In November, 1949, Cambodia was declared self-governing within the French Union and in December, 1954, France agreed to complete the transfer of sovereignty to Cambodia. The country still holds some of the finest specimens of Hindu-Buddhistic art architecture and majority of its four million population are Buddhists of the Southern school as in Siam.

Another Buddhist neighbour is the monarchial State of Laos with a population of two million souls. By a treaty (July, 1949) France, once the dominating power, acknowledged Laos to be an independent State within the French Union. But a member of the royal family, Prince Sonphanon led a semi-communistic Pathet Lao movement. In December, 1954, a treaty was signed by Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam (Cochin-China) and France by which certain common services were transferred to the governments of the three Associated States. A temporary cessation of hostilities between Laos and the communist sponsored Pathet Laos group has been effected.

THAILAND OR SIAM

To the west of the former French colony of Indo-China stands the oldest Buddhist kingdom of Siam or Thailand with a population of over 17 million people. The Siamese Buddhists shared with the Burmese the glory of maintaining the purity of the Hinayana Buddhism which links up modern Ceylon with Burma and Siam, Laos and Cambodia.

In 1941, Thailand was forced to become an ally of Japan ; but after the Jap defeat Marshall, Pipul Songram led successfully a *coup d' Etat* (Nov. 1947), revised the constitution and after maintaining a stable government for a decade the Marshall was driven out (1957). But he attracted world attention—especially that of the U. S. A. so that Thailand was elected to be the head quarters of the E. C. A. F. E. Bangkok keeps in close contact with Manila and both operate as a very effective liaison-office of the SEATO supported by the Anglo-American group.

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PHILIPPINES

The Philippine Archipelago is composed of over 7,000 islands and only 462 of them have areas of one square mile or over. Its total area is 115,707 sq. miles with a population of over 19 million people. Subjected to Spain for over three centuries the Filipinos still use Spanish as their major language although, since American protectorate (1898), English came to be the medium of instruction in all schools, as I found in 1938 while lecturing to the staff and students of many schools and colleges. The Filipinos lead in Asian literacy with over 70% literates. I found the National University of the Philippines and other colleges of Manila quite progressive, with the male and female students equal in number. The University of Santo Tomas (founded in 1611) carries on the atmosphere of medieval learning as a Pontificial university.

The official language (since 4th July, 1946) of the Republic is Tagalog, a Malayan dialect or Filipino Hindi. About 87 native languages are spoken in the Philippines which must now have, therefore, a national language and let us hope, an Asian name, not derived from a foreign sovereign.

After a ten year transitional period (1935-45) the U. S. Government brought into existence the Republic of the Philippines by implimenting the Constitution (approved by President Roosevelt in 1934) adopted in 1935 and amended in 1940 and 1946. Extending from Formosa to Borneo, the Republic occupies a position of very great strategic importance as witnessed by the 2nd World War. In 1947 the Philippines and U. S A. entered into a ninety-nine year military (army, navy and air) base arrangement. Majority of the Filipinos are Christians but there are 42,751 Buddhists and 791,817 Muslims mostly in the island Minadanao and Sulu (touching Borneo).

FORMOSA AND CHINA

The island of Formosa or Taiwan is the last stronghold of General Chiang-kai-sek after his defeat by Mao-tse-tung in 1949. Its area is about 14,000 sq. miles with a population of over seven and a half million who characterise themselves as the 'National

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Republic of China' occupying a permanent seat in the U. N. while six hundred million Chinese on the main land have no representative there. This splinter of China is well supported and financed by the western powers specially by a mutual security pact with U. S. A. pledging American protection of Taiwan and the Pescadores. They will be of great help as *bases* in case of outbreak of war in South-East Asia.

As against this miniature China we see the emergence, since 1949, of the vast Peoples' Republic of China (born : 21st September, 1949) composed of twentyfive Provinces, three Municipalities, inner Mongolia and Tibet. Its enormous area goes beyond nine and a half million square miles with a population of nearly 600 million (1953 census). Adopting a communist constitution and backed by its big neighbour the U. S. S. R., China is destined to play a great role in the history of S-E Asia. It is a land of inexhaustible resources and vast man-power, waiting only to be equipped technically. Though rigidly boycotted by the U. S. A., China is carrying on good business with U. K., India, Japan and other countries. The leaders of new China are cultivating friendly relations with India, Burma and other neighbours.

INDONESIA

Another great Malayan Republic is Indonesia which, as a result of transfer of power (Nov. 1949) from Holland, got complete and unconditional sovereignty after over three centuries of Dutch domination. But the Dutch has refused so far to treat West New Guinea or Irian as a territory to be transferred to Indonesia and so it continues to act as a centre of friction and future troubles. There is also a chronic instability in the Government of East Indonesian islands where foreign money and influences are working so that they often defy the Central Government in Djakarta. Other disruptive forces and fanatical communalists threaten the new Republic of about 80 million souls, mainly occupying 15 minor islands and four bigger ones—Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Celebes. The majority are Muslims ; but there are nearly three million Christians and one million Buddhists mostly Chinese. These people luckily use 'Indonesian as their common

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language (although Dutch still continues) and a common ideal and tradition of democratic government must gradually be developed. Freedom came to Indonesia partly through India's strong advocacy in the U. N. and so Indonesia is pro-Indian ; and it invited, under the joint leadership of President Soekarno and Prime Minister Nehru the famous Bandung Conference (April 1955) affirming the principle of *Pancha Sila* or Co-existence and strengthening the bond of fellowship between the 29 nations of Asia and Africa assembled in Java. Indonesia has large mineral resources with *tin mines* in Banka and is the principal producer of *petroleum* in the Far East.

JAPAN

Another Malayo-Polynesian people with Mongoloid strain are the Japanese, who played a great role in the history of modern Asia. Outgrowing ancient monarchy and medieval feudalism, Japan, under its first progressive ruler, Emperor Meiji, emerged (1867) as a constitutional monarchy with Parliamentary Government. Modernizing her army, navy and business administration, Japan defeated China in 1893-94 and Russia in 1903-04 in the Russo-Japanese war which indirectly roused many nations of Asia to aspire for self-government. Pursuing a cautious foreign policy Japan, after the first World War, rose to be one of the Big Five Powers. But through misdirected diplomacy Japan in the second World War lost all her overseas territories and is struggling now to stand on her own legs again. Before her collapse of 1945 Japan was, however, indirectly responsible for freedom movements in many lands from Burma and Indo-China to Malaya and Indonesia.

In spite of heavy casualties (over 3 million) in the war, Japan today has a population of about 90 million creating a grave problem of housing, food and clothing in Asia. But the Japanese are a very industrious people and, granted respite from war, they will recover their economic and social self-sufficiency. In business efficiency and in literacy Japan equals any major State of the West and sooner Japan regains her stability the better for the prospect of East-West collaboration.

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PAKISTAN

Lastly we notice an important new State of Pakistan. This 'dominion' of the British Commonwealth was constituted (Aug. 14, 1947) under the provisions of the Indian Independence Act of 18th. July, 1947. Pakistan has a total area of 364,337 sqr. miles with a population about 80 million and forty million muslims remained in India. So mutual good relations are indispensable to the growth of the two neighbouring States. But, while India strives to follow an independent policy refusing to be drawn into either of the two Power blocks, Pakistan decided to side with the Anglo-American group signing to be a member of the Pact Baghdad and joining the SEATO ; and like Australia and New Zealand—a mutual defence agreement with the U. S. A. ANZAM (May, 1954) has been concluded. Thus the Pakistan army, navy and air forces are daily improving. Karachi is the capital and also a very big airport of the East. All these combine to create anxieties in the mind of the leaders of India and her neighbuors not within the Anglo-American camp. Cold war continues as an inevitable effect and we can only hope that 'hot war' could be avoided by consultation and such other humane methods. The differences (like that of Kashmir) between the two important republics of the Middle East could be settled as with other friendly allies all over South East Asia. Not only politicians and diplomats but also economists and social workers should get the opportunity to utilize the grand chances of freedom to give relief to the long exploited Common Man who is praying daily for freedom from Fear and from Want. Not only South East Asia but also the whole of Orient, including Africa, needs above all Peace and Justice. Pakistan joined India (both threatened in Africa) to form the Afro-Asian group in the U. N. and also the friendly nations of Asia and Africa assembled (April 1955) in the Bandung Conference.

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I

CEYLON

From the point of view of anthropology and pre-historic archæology, Ceylon, although a separate island, was, in the remote Stone age, connected with the mainland of India. The earliest Indian Epic, The *Ramayana* and the early Buddhist texts remember well the island of the Golden *Lanka*. There landed in c. 6th. century B. C. according to the old Ceylon chronicle "Mahavamsa", Prince Vijaya, son of King Singha Bahu from Bengal of the lower Ganges Valley. He married a native princess and Vijaya Sinha renamed the island as Sinhala, where even today the dominant language is *Sinhalese*, a North-India dialect which was enriched by the *Pali* language of Buddhism. The Sinhalese King Devanampiya Tissa (247-207 B. C.) was a junior contemporary of Asoke the Great (270-250 B. C.) who is reported to have sent his own son Mahendra and daughter Sanghamitra to propagate Buddhism and it came to be the citadel of early Theravada or Hinayana Buddhism in Ceylon.

But Ceylon is so close to the Dravidian South, that the Tamils of South India made repeated incursions and even made partial conquest under their king Elala who, however, was defeated by the Sinhalese hero, Duttha Gamani (101-77 B. C.). His *Loha Pasada* or Brazen Palace is still to be seen in ruins. But the Dravidian invasions threatened the capital Anuradhapura which had to be abandoned in 7th. century A. D. But in the same century, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang gave much information on Ceylon. Many Sinhalese monks came regularly to India to study Buddhism in Nagarjunikonada (2nd. century, A. D.), Nalanda and Bodh Gaya.

The early remains of Sinhalese architecture and sculpture, as found in the Thuparama, the Ruwanweli and other pagodas—clearly bear the trace of influences from the Eastern Andhra stupas of Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda which also influenced the early art of Indo-China and Indonesia. A perfect Bronze Buddha of the Anuradhapura type has been found among the ruins of Dong Duong of Champa (modern Vietnam) and we know that Ceylon maintained cultural relations with China from the

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first to the 5th. century A. D. when the Prince monk Gunavarman of Kashmir stopped in Ceylon and Java on his way to the Chinese Buddhist monasteries.

King Kassapa reigned from 511 to 529 in the Sigiray rock citadel which he covered with superb rock paintings resembling strongly the Indian Buddhist frescoes of Ajanta. Not only in painting but also in minor arts and crafts Ceylon has conserved many striking parallels to Indian art as shown by Dr. A. Coomaraswami in his splendid and richly illustrated volume on the *Medieval Sinhalese Art.*

Medieval Ceylon produced two outstanding rulers who inspired their subjects and produced a renaissance of Ceylonese literature, art and culture. Parakrama Bahu I (1164-'97) and Nissanka Malla (1198-1207) left behind splendid specimens of Ceylonese art like the fifty feet long rock-cut *Parinirvana* reclining image of Buddha and the 25 feet standing figures of Ananda of solemn grandeur. The round temple of the Tooth-relic or *Wata-dage* was also built by Parakrama, while Nissanka Malla erected among others, the seven storeyed pyramidal temple *Sat Mahal Pasada,* copied more or less, by many architects of Buddhist Burma and Indo-China. From 781 to 1290 the Sinhalese shifted their capital from Anuradhapura, (which turned into a *jungle* city !) to Polonnaruwa, the glory of Medieval Ceylon.

The South Indian rulers of the Pallava line exerted their influence through their art of the Mamallapuran period (7-8 centuries) ; and finally the Cholas occupied North Ceylon from the 11th. century, when we get, in the place of Hinayana, many *Mahayana* images, Siva temples and superb bronze figures like those of Kapila and the Pattini Devi and of the Nataraja Siva of the Hindu renaissance.

North Ceylon came henceforth to be the stronghold of the *Hindu Tamils*, and Kandy, with its temple of the Tooth-relic, continued to be the most sacred centre of Sinhalese Buddhism. The last Sinhalese king of Kandy was forced to accept British suzereignty in early 19th. century.

In the old Kandyan Provinces the Sinhalese Buddhist laws prevail. But, as in Indonesia, so in Ceylon, we find a curious blend of Eastern and Western Codes of law resulting from the

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domination of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British. The Tamils of Jaffna are governed by their special Hindu code and the Muslim settlers are governed by Koranic laws. But in Maritime Provinces and elsewhere the Roman-Dutch law, modified by local customs, is administered. Family names still bear the stamp of Portuguese or Dutch domination. But the process of "denationalization" was checked by the revival of Buddhism under the leadership of Reverend Dharmapala of Colombo, who founded in 1891 the Maha Bodhi Society of India and Ceylon. The schools of Ceylon are well managed and in 1942 the University of Ceylon was established developing, by 1952, the Faculties of Arts, Sciences, Agriculture, Veterinary Science, Engineering, Medicines and Oriental Studies. Teachers from India were welcome but owing to recent immigration laws, the movement of foreign teachers and visitors are restricted. We notice also a clash between the Sinhalese and the Tamils speaking different languages.

It is to the credit of Ceylon, however, to have introduced free education from the Kindergarten to the University stage—an example to other Oriental countries. The percentage of literacy is higher than that of India and there is less rush of people to the towns from villages which are clean and attractive ; 85 p.c. live in rural areas and the urban population is only 15 p.c. The Government of Ceylon is planning to develop inland and deep sea fisheries to meet food shortage for the production of paddy is not sufficient. Ceylon gets the main revenues not from big industries, but from goods, tea, rubber, cocoanuts and copra. There are mines of rare gems, ruby, sapphire, topaz etc., and the expert Ceylonese jewellers make money in the markets of different parts of Asia.

Ceylon was a "crown colony" and even after the passing of the Ceylon Independence Act (Operating from 4th February, 1948) U. K. by a special treaty is permitted to "base such naval and air forces and to maintain such land forces in Ceylon," as U. K. and Ceylon "may agree to be desirable for the purpose of co-operation in regard to defence matters." Some bases have recently been given up by U. K. which controls however the defence policy.

Ceylon occupies a most important place in the strategy of the Indian Ocean, as we noticed in the Second World War.

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India's interest is to see Ceylon strong and well-defended and citizenship rights and allied problems should be solved amicably with a view to the lasting friendship and prosperity of Ceylon and India. The biggest challenge to the statemanship of free India and Ceylon is the equitable and friendly settlement of the case of 983,304 souls of Indian origin (12%) in Ceylon, who are threatened to be "Stateless" as the result of new citizenship rules of Ceylon. Their case reminds us of similarly placed Indians in South Africa, the land of cruel *apartheid* or race discriminations.

In area, Ceylon resembles Tasmania (26,000 sq. miles); but the Ceylonese population 8,103,648, is almost equal to that of the whole of the vast island of Australia. So free Ceylon may yet occupy a very important place in the future strategy and politics of South Asia when she develops her untapped human and material resources. Those, like us, who lived in the lovely island and enjoyed the people's genial hospitality, are ever hopeful that Ceylon, actuated by the humanitarian ideals of Buddhism would welcome man as man, above caste and creed. This traditional friendship was felt anew by us Indians when we jointly welcomed back—from the British Museum—after a century, the relics of Sariputta and Moggolayana, the two leading disciples of the Buddha. So the relics of the Buddhist teacher of Emperor Asoke—Venerable Tissa were also brought back to us on the eve of 2500th anniversary of the demies *(Nirvana)* of the great Buddha. On such occasions India and Ceylon have co-operated like two sisters and they have shared their spiritual bliss with other Buddhist neighbours like Burma, Siam, Laos and Cambodia.

II

BURMA

Closest to India are the two new States Ceylon and Burma, playing important roles in the new South-East Asia. Burma, was a part of India up to 1935 and at the end of the World War (1945) chaotic conditions prevailed which were luckily terminated by able national leaders like General Aung San ,and his loyal comrade U Nu who negotiated a treaty (December, 1947) with U. K.

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renouncing, however, British citizenship. Thus the Union of Burma came into existence on January 4, 1948 with (1) the former British Burma (2) the Karennu States (3) the Shan States (4) the Kachin State. The first President of the Republic was a Shan Chief, the second a Burmese and the third a Karen leader. The total area is 261,610 sqr. miles with a population of over 19 million. Its productions are mainly agricultural—rice being the cash crop earning foreign exchange. But Burma yields 100,000 metric tons of petroleum per year and the income therefrom may be increased with bigger draw. A large number of Hindus and Muslims have settled there but the overwhelming majority are Buddhists (85%).

Burma is very friendly with India (the land of Lord Buddha) and is contiguous to East Pakistan (former East Bengal) with the tribal zone of the Chittagong Hill tracts mainly Buddhists. As Burma develops her great port town Rangoon, so Pakistan aspires to excel Rangoon by building, with American aid, a modern port and naval base in Chittagong. Such potential rivalries may create complications and endanger peace in the whole of Bay of Bengal basin from Calcutta to Colombo and Singapore.

Burma was in prehistoric days, as well as in the later historic ages, the field of cultural fusion and diffusion of culture between India and South East Asia. Burma is contiguous to Siam (Thailand), Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam in Indo-China and Burma also enters the Western Pacific by jutting into the Malay Peninsula which, in the Stone Age, was connected with the Malay Archipelago. The Brahmaputtra Valley or Assam is the meeting ground of Indo-Tibetan races and the Irawadi Valley of Burma invited the Shans and the Sino-Thai folks who played such important roles in the vast Indo-Chinese peninsula.

As in Ceylon, so in Burma, Southern *Pali Buddhism* is now the national religion ; and to both the countries Emperor Asoka is credited with sending the early missions (3rd. century B. C.) followed, through the ages, by successive missions Buddhist as well as Brahmanical. Before 500 A. D. the *Piyu* and the *Telaing* chiefs ruled Burma which came to be overwhelmed by the present Burmese people whose early history is enveloped in obscurity. Tantrik Buddhism, Brahmanism and other cults exerted their influence till about 1000 A. D. when Burma definitely took her

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stand as a great Buddhist power under their king Anuruddha or Anawarta. His capital Pagan continued to be the centre of culture for centuries and decayed with the shifting of the political centre to Mandalay and Rangoon. Pagan was deserted but still continues to be the great monument of Burmese art, painting architecture and culture—all showing perceptible relations with Bengal under the Pala and Sena rulers. The great Ananda Temple of Pagan and allied structures attest no doubt to the native genius of the Burmese people who excel in lacquer work and wooden architecture. But, apart from their secular buildings, the Burmese religious edifies show a composite style reminiscent of Bihar (Bodh Gaya) Bengal and Orissa. From East Bengal (Comilla) through Assam (Khamti regions), Bengal's influence extended down to Arrakan and Akyab where newly discovered literary and archæological documents attest to close relations of Burma with Bengal and Eastern India. These represent the civilizing elements which should be distinguished from the ethnology of the tribal hordes of the Shans, Kachins, Karens etc., who, even now, are not wholly integrated into the Burmese nation which is multi-racial and multilingual. Some Karen rebels have surrendered but disruptive forces are ever active after almost ten years of self-government and formation of the ill-defined Union of Burma

There is one common citizenship, one official language Burmese and one majority creed of Buddhism, the sole unifying factor. Every village of Burma has a Buddhist monastery which is the centre of religious and social training at the same time and a free Primary school explaining how Burma excels in literacy among the nations of Asia. The Burmese were the first to donate and attend to the repair of the historic temple of Bodh Gaya. So the last free King of Burma Thibaw spent his last days of exile in India. Against the annexation of North Burma, the infant Indian National Congress entered its moral protest (1885-86) and since then, the freedom movement of India and Burma progressed side by side. Thousand of Indian leaders, doctors, lawyers and administrators have served modern Burma and mutual goodwill is a great asset to both the countries. Burma is handicapped by the creation by the British of East Pakistan, which complicates equally the diplomatic history of India and Burma, which are overcharged

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with millions of Muslim subjects with extra-territorial religious aspirations. The population is increasing beyond 19 millions occupying 261,610 sq. miles but still short of adequate communication and proper surveys, especially in the ill-defined North-Eastern regions bordering on China.

After independence Burma decided to remain outside the British Commonwealth although the biggest revenue carrying industry is the British Burma Oil Co., producing 100,000 metric tons of petroleum per year. Burma has gold, silver, tin, ruby and other minerals. Like its extension to the South, the Malaya, Burma may grow rubber although, oil apart, her cash crops is rice, which is imported by India, Ceylon and other countries.

Burma adopted its Constitution (24 Sept. 1947) with the President, the Prime Minister, the chamber of Deputies and the chamber of Nationalities. They wisely give top priority to Education so that the children from 6 to 11 get free primary education. The University of Rangoon is developing rapidly its faculties of Arts, Sciences, Law, Education, Engineering, Medicine, Forestry and Agriculture. Mandalay is destined to have an university for the North and with the developement of industries, many technological institutes will grow up. The Burmese are famous for wood carving, lacquer work, silk weaving and other crafts so that a well-planned Academy of Arts and Crafts deserves to claim the special attention of the Government of the progressive leader U. Nu.

INTERNATIONAL BUDDHIST UNIVERSITY IN BURMA

Burma is the geographical link between India and the Far East and the Far Eastern peoples fraternize with us in Burma through Buddhism originating in India. Rangoon represents very truly the mixing of races, languages and cultures of India and of the Far Eastern nations. The Mons of Thaton were the cousins of the Khmers of Cambodia and both these talented races enriched the religion and culture of Burma through ages. The Chinese are there too, linking Burma with the teeming millions of the Mongolian world. So, South Burma touches the fringe of the Malaya Peninsula which is the linguistic and cultural bridge, as

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it were between India, Indonesia and Malaysia, including the Philippines.

So I understood the noble gesture, of the enlightened Premier U Nu and his colleagues, in planning the foundation of an international Buddhist University in Rangoon to be of tremendous potentiality. Here I found the spiritual, economic and social climate inviting to most of the nations of the Middle East and of the Far East. The Hindus, the Buddhists, the Confucians and the Moslems earning their livelihood in Burma have prepared the ground for a cultural exchange and synthesis—the basis of the Burmese University of Asian internationalism. Already steps in that direction have been taken by the Union Government of Burma and India should take note of them.

U NU'S PILGRIMAGE

In August 1947 India and then Burma and Ceylon became free and the same year, in December, Hon'ble Thakin Nu made a pilgrimage to Kushinagara, the village in Gorokhpur, where Lord Buddha attained Nirvana. Since then U Nu has made many pilgrimages to the Buddhist *tirthas* of India and helped inducing the Mahant of Buddha Gaya temple to make over the management of the temple to the India Government Committee which formally took charge in May, 1953. This is attested by the Burmese Ambassador U Kyin who attended the function and the Mahant told him, "Please tell Thakin Nu that I have handed over the Temple to the Government."

The sacred relics of Buddha's disciples Sariputta and Moggallana were gracefully returned by England to India and Premier Nehru received them in Calcutta (14th January, 1949) and handed them over to the Maha Bodhi Society which, in its turn, took the relics round Burma where public enthusiasm was tremendous. When in 1951 I had the privilege of meeting U Nu in Rangoon at the Indo-Burma Cultural Conference, he informed me that he would spend a crore of rupees in order to build up a great cultural centre in Burma on the occasion of the 2500th anniversary of the *nirvana* of Lord Buddha.

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Meanwhile, the first World Fellowship of the Buddhists was inaugurated in Ceylon in 1950 and its second session met in Tokyo (Sept.-Oct.) in 1952, for the year marked the 1400th anniversary of Buddhism in Japan ; and Japan after her tragic defeat, is working intensely for peace through the revival of Buddhism.

Dr. Makoto Nagai, a noted Japanese Buddhist scholar organized the Tokyo session presided over by the renowned Ceylonese scholar Dr. G. P. Malalasekera who presented to the Japanese Buddhists a sacred Bodhi tree and a bone-relic of Lord Buddha, discovered in 1851 by the British archæologist Cunningham at the Sanchi Stupa (where the relics were reinstalled). The delegates to the Tokyo Conference used Annamese for the Viet Nam members and Mandarin for the Chinese delegates from China, Formosa, Philippines, Singapore, Penang, etc. The Indian, Burmese and the Ceylonese delegates used English and the Japanese used their mother tongue translated by expert interpreters. A Chinese Buddhist delegate reported about alleged Communist persecution of Buddhism in China. Rev. Sin Kim of the Buddhist Sen Guan temple of Manila said wisely: "All Buddhists have a common wish to prevent the outbreak of another cruel war." The Tokyo Conference decided to hold their next session in Rangoon in November, 1954, when the generous Burma Union Government invited a World Congress with a view to implement world peace and to establish (1954-56) within a couple of years, the first International Buddhist University in Asia. That came to be the crowning glory of Burma's invitation to the 6th Buddhist Council or *Chattha Sangayana* where the entire Buddhist Canons (Tripitakas) were recited, re-edited and presented to the faithful and to the scholars of the world interested in Buddhism and its world mission.

BUDDHIST COUNCILS

The official Burmese Bulletin recounts that the first Great Council was held at Rajagriha (Bihar) with the support of King Ajatasatru, shortly after the demise of Lord Buddha. The Second Council met at Vaisali (birthplace of Mahavira) in

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443 B. C. The patron of the Third Council was Dharmasoka who invited the Council in 308 (or 250) B. C. to Pataliputra. Emperor Asoka sent missions to Ceylon under Mahendra and Sanghamitra and also to Burma under Sona and Uttara who propagated Buddhism in the Far East, just as Asoka's *Dharmadutas* or spiritual ambassadors visited Syria, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Macedon and Epirus in the Mediterranean world. The Fourth Council was held in Ceylon where the Sacred Texts were first committed to writing in 29-13 B. C.

Then, omitting the Council at Purushapura or Peshawar convened by Emperor Kanishka (78 A. D.), the Burmese placed the Fifth Council as held in Mandalaya where King Mindon-Min in 1871, got recorded important Buddhist texts on 729 marble-slabs which will help the scholars of the Sixth Council in Rangoon to revise and reprint correctly the Buddhist Canonical scriptures. Over 500 Burmese Bhikkus started collaborating with the devout scholars of India, Ceylon, Siam, Cambodia, Laos, Viet Nam etc. who would help bring out the most authentic texts in Pali, Burmese, Hindi, and in Devanagri, Roman and English scripts, so far as practicable. It is a great work worthy of a great World Religion founded by Sakyamuni Buddha who may yet save the conflicting nations by he deathless messages or *mantras* of Ahimsa (non-violence) and Maitri (Fraternity). India with her 360 millions should ardently co-operate with Burma in this world cause so ably championed by the devout Premier U. Nu.

III

INDO-CHINA PAST AND PRESENT

Nearly two thousand years ago the Greek Geographer Ptolemy significantly named the area now knowns as Indo-China to be "Trans-Gangetic territories". So the *Artha-Sastra* or Hindu polity of Kautilya, completed before Ptolemy, shows detailed knowledge of the Indians relating to Suvarnabhumi. The *Ramayana* also refers to *Suvarna dvipa* conclusively proved by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and other historians, to be the general name for Sumatra, Java etc. of the group of Insulindia or Island

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India. No wonder then that Ptolemy in 150 A. D., transcribed, from Sanskrit into Greek, the name of Java as 'Java-diu' showing that the maritime expansion of the Indians from Alexandria and Zanzibar in Africa to Indo-China and Indonesia, were known to the Greco-Roman traders and geographers whose observations are recorded in books like the *Periplus* and the Geography of Ptolemy.

Subarna-bhumi as a part of Burma was known, to the Asokan missionaries (3rd century B. C.), and thence Buddhism and Brahmanism gradually embraced by the land and sea routes the zones known as (1) Siam or Thailand, (2) Kamboj or land of the Khmers, (3) Laos, and (4) Champa or Cham country (Viet Nam) Thus "Hinduized" kingdoms flourished in these areas for over one thousand years (4th to 14th century A. D.), but they sapped one another's strength through mutual fights and so they fell victims to Western Colonial powers.

Like India, Burma was till 1945, a British territory. Siam theoretically free, was at first under French influence but now she is under American Protectorate extending partially over Cambodia, south Laos and south Viet Nam. This has provoked countergrouping with the Communist influenced Pathet Laos, north Viet Nam and the infiltrated zones of Cambodia, and Cochin China.

Thus the French who once dominated the whole of Indo-China, is forced to seek American aid and submit to American leadership. So the British, dominating once the major sea-routes and ports from Rangoon and Singapore to Hong Kong are accepting their restricted colonial jurisdiction over Malaya, Singapore and north Borneo under one High Commissioner posted in Singapore. Recognizing promptly the Chinese Peoples Republic, the British has saved so far, their only prosperous port in the Far East—Hong Kong : they however has recently declared Hong Kong to be closed down as the Royal Naval dockyard which probably is not suiting the temperament of the People's Republic of China. The run down will take about two years, closing the Naval dockyard by November 1959 which marks the Tenth anniversary of the starting of the Peoples Republic under the lead of Mao-tse Tung and his dynamic colleagues.

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The Malaya Communists are still giving headache to the British Tin miners and Rubber planters of Malaya, infiltrated by the Communistic Chinese, passing through Burma and Siam which jointly from the northern boundaries of Malaya. No wonder then that the Western Powers are desperately trying to maintain the *status quo* by reinvesting their economic and military resources in this troubled area, and buttressing them against the communist North-South pressure, by building SEATO (Asian counterpart of NATO) involving Pakistan, Siam, South Indo-China and the Philippines. Their *Manila Pact* with its Middle East counterpart of the Baghdad Pact, provoked strong movement for Pan Asian solidarity and freedom, demonstrated by the Bandung Conference which opened up the larger perspective of Afro-Asian security which, as I have showed in my *India and the Pacific World* necessitates the regrouping of nations all along the vast Indian Ocean Basin extending from South Africa to Australia and Antarctica.

The Japanese, by defeating, for a time, most of the Western Colonial powers, indirectly helped the freedom movement in South East Asia. That movement is working out naturally in the emergence of free and quasi free states like Indonesia (freed from the Dutch) and the Philippines (Pacific base of the U. S. A.). The colonial Malaya is recently given self-government by the British and the Indo-China to-day is a vast wreckage of the French colonial empire partly engulfed by the Bangkok Manila axis.

I visited Indo-China in 1924 and also in 1938 but little did I suspect then that the apparently solid structure of French imperialism there would collapse (as it is collapsing in North Africa) so rapidly. From British Hong Kong, I travelled through Hai-phong to Hanoi the seat of the French Government and of their major Research Institute (*Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient*), the French School of the Far East. The French were badly defeated by the Viet Minh soldiers under their great leader Ho Chih Minh who was given grand reception in Peking and Moscow. The French lost the whole of North Indo-China and are struggling desperately with American aid, to maintain some fragments of South Viet Nam, just as the defeated Dutch are frantically clinging to Western New Guinea claimed as *Irian* by

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the Government of Free Indonesia. Cambodia, Laos, Siam Burma etc. are in the "melting pot" in this critical age of transition from Western Colonialism to Asian self-sufficiency.

VIET NAM

This vast area is mostly inhabitated by the Annamites of Chinese lineage, who are sub-divided into three groups:—
(a) North Viet-Nam, formerly known as Tonking with an area of 115,700 sq. miles and a population of about 10 million souls.

(b) Central Viet Nam hitherto called Annam; area 6000 sq. miles with a population of 7 million.

(c) South Viet Nam or Cochin China: area 26,476 sq. miles, Population 9 million.

(d) Ethnic minorities are represented by non-Annamite races like the Thai, Meo and Lolo tribes in Tonking. In South Annam there are primitive races like the Moi, in the hill tracts, enjoying special status like our Tribals of the Naga hills in Assam.

French intervention in Indo-China started as early as 1787 under the corrupt French monarchy swept away by the Revolution of 1789. After a century we find a French Protectorate over Annam ratified by a treaty (forced as usual) signed at Hue (February 1886). Near this capital city the French built a fine Museum in Touran where they housed the lovely samples of Hindu-Buddhistic art and iconography coming from the ancient Hindu colony of *Champa*.

King Bao Dai succeeded to the Annamite throne in 1926, fled from the Japanese and was allowed by the French to resume authority (in 1949) which has been replaced by another political group led by the energetic Premier Ngo-dinh Diem who visited India as a guest of Premier Nehru.

The products of export are rice, sugar, cotton, silk tissues, tea, pepper and cinnamon; among minerals we find coal, iron ores, copper, zinc and gold. The gold mine at Bong Mien was worked by a French Company.

The Phan-rang river still conserves the deformed Hindu name Panduranga, the divinity worshipped in trans-Vindhyan India. From this river valley I entered Nhat-rang where the

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ruins of the Hindu and Buddhist temples fascinated me with their styles of Bengal architecture and with superb images of Siva-Parvati and other Brahmanical deities.

Coming from Centre to South Viet Nam or Cochin China, I visited the gay French city port of Saigon, with a population of nearly two million. In area the state is 26,47639 miles with a total population of about six million, with over 400,000 Chinese ; and many rich Indian merchants from South India who have built there Hindu temples, guest houses etc. The Annamite King was obliged to cede this area in 1862 to the French and it remained a French colony, with rich French hotels, dancing halls etc., till June 1946 when an autonomous republic (under France of course) was created as a part of Indo-Chinese Federation. In June 1949 it was attached to Viet Nam (south) as a member state of the French Union. Principal products are rice, rubber, tobacco, betel-nuts, sugarcane, beans, copra, dried and salted fish etc. In big towns like Saigon and Cholon we find several factories of rubber-tyres, tobacco, food preserves etc., mostly managed by the European and the Chinese. The native Annamites are prospering small traders.

From the Centre and the South one could reach North Viet Nam or Tonking (rich in coal and tin mines) by ship or by air, covering an area of 115,700 sq. miles with a population of about 10 million. They were brought under French Protectorate in 1884 when the French Government began spending big sums to give publicity to the wonderful art treasures surveyed by French *savants* like Loti, Lojanqier, Parmentier and others. The French built up a splendid library of Chinese, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Pali books etc., in their Research School at Hanoi, now, after French retreat, taken over by the government of Ho Chih Minh, who was welcomed by the Peoples Republic of China and also by President Voroshilov in Moscow.

President Ho Chih Minh constantly complained of covert American interference in Viet Nam which, like Korea, has been partitioned temporarily to stop blood-shed as effected successfully by our Premier Nehru of peace-loving India. So India was invited to serve here (as in Korea) as the Chairman of the International Armistice Commission and also of the board to supervise the

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general election of 1956 with a view to reunite, if possible, the North and the South. This pact was signed in Geneva by France but the present Saigon Government, led by Premier Ngo Dinh Diem (fighting a civil war) was not a party to the Armistice and Premier Nehru commented strongly that the fate of Asian nations should no longer be settled by the Western Powers alone. So. U. K., U. S. A., and France are apparently pressing Premier Diem to stabilize things by opening talks with North Viet Nam on the occasion of the nation-wide election.

LAOS AND CAMBODIA

Adjoining Viet Nam we find the two dominating Hindu-Buddhistic states of Laos and Cambodia. Between 1879 and 1895 a French explorer Auguste Pavie surveyed this land of the *million elephants* and made a gift (as if his personal property) of Laos to France which began her effective direct rule since 1893. Its area is 91,505 sq. miles and population two million mainly Buddhists by religion and culture. After the second world war North and South Laos were amalgamated under the Luang Prabang dynasty (August 1946); and in July Laos became a sovereign state within the French Union which is sending French advisers to the Governmentt of Laos. Their neighbours, the Siamese annexed in 1941 the territories of Bassac, Paklay and Saya-Buri but these were restored in 1946 although Siam may thus try to expand its power (backed by U. S. A.) eastward. North Laos is reacting against U. S. A. and French influences, by forming a semi-communist party Pathet Laos; and the party has been strengthened by the communist regime of Hanoi which can fly aid by air to Vientiane, the capital of Laos and headquarters of Ling Kisavang Vong and Premier Prince Souvanna Phonma.

Last, though not the least, stands Cambodia under King Narodam Sihanouk who began his rule in 1946 and gave a Constitution in 1947. France in 1949 recognised Cambodian Independence within the French Union.

Cambodia in area is 181,000 sq. miles with a population of about 4 million, largely Buddhists, ruled by Buddhist Abbots who were modern enough to eat and travel with me as far as Japan. There is a Buddhist-Pali University with Sanskrit Department

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in Phnom Penh which opens the gate to the world famous Hindu-Buddhistic temples of Angkor and Baphuon (Vaishnava), Bayon and Iswarapura (Saiva-Buddhist) which fascinated me with their colossal yet harmonious Khmer Architecture and also by their gem-like carvings and their superb statuaries of gods and goddesses who remind us of the historic and cultural relations between India and Camboj-Champa for 1500 years (2nd B. C. to 13th Century A. D.). Our Indian public welcomed enthusiastically the Cambodian Crown Prince who visited India and the Maha Bodhi Society. A Cambodian Abbot Rev. Veeravara, has built a Buddhist Centre in Meherauli near Delhi, with the help of so-called *Kamboj* folks of Punjab ! From Phnom Penh and Battembang one can enter Siam through *Aranya Pradesha.* I took the sea-route via Saigon direct to Bangkok. The Siam Navigation Company plies ships, from the Cambodian harbours, to Kep and Ream to the Siamese ports. Mid-Cambodia boasts of the great lake drawing the overflow of the Mekong river running parallel to the Menam in Thailand. The country exports rice, cotton, tobacco, palm sugar, resin, timber, hides, fish oil etc. Precious stones and phosphates are their chief minerals, and great possibilities lie in the 25 million acres of forest lands of undetected resources. The soil too is fertile but Cambodia suffers from acute shortage of manpower and labour which she may import from friendly India which attracts Buddhist Cambodian pilgrims.

Thus we see that the racial and economic patterns of the vast peninsula of Indo-China offer, as by its name, fields of natural collaboration of the talented natives of India on the one side and China on the other. Both, now friendly neighbours, inspite of different ideologies, are genuinely eager to help their friends of Indo-China exploited for nearly a century, by Western colonialists or interlopers. India and China newly united since the Bundung Conference, must soon develop a scientific planning for the benefit of these "under developed" regions of South-East Asia.

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IV

MALAYA

To the south of Burma and Thailand lay, in elongated from, the present Federation of Malaya and the two British settlements of Penang and Malacca. Singapore, the third of the old Straits Settlements will be integrated into the new Constitution with full self-government within the British Commonwealth. The new leaders proposed to have a Consultative Council to deal with external relations while the Executive (Security) Council will attend to major questions of Defence and Security. There will be simultaneously the British Singaporean and Malayan Federation citizenship. Plural citizenship prevailed among the Malaya Chinese.

Malacca was occupied by the Portuguese Albuquerque in 1511 and so it is one of the oldest European settlements in the East. Penang was ceded to the British by the Sultan of Kedah in 1786 and from 1826 to 1946 Malacca and Penang were incorporated with Singapore as a "Crown Colony" known as the old Straits Settlements.

The Federated Malaya States consisted of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang. The *unfederated* Malaya States are composed of Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu—all connected with U. K. by several treaties concluded since 1874 to the present day.

The population would be about *six million*, inhabiting an area of 50,000 square miles with about two and a half million Malayans, two million Chinese and half a million Indians. They live mainly on two special industries of Rubber and Tin drawing the attention of the world markets.

Singapore (pop. 1,200,000) is a big port and commercial centre where is now located the promising University of Malaya founded in 1949. About one thousand students get advanced training in Science, Arts and Medicine. The important shipping and air lines for South-East Asia generally touch Singapore (closer than Jakarta and Manila) which will grow more with the progress of self-government in Malaya. The University of Malaya should sponsor researches and publications embracing

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the diverse races and countries still using Malaysian languages from the Madagascar in Africa to the Philippines in the western Pacific.

Almost a decade after the inauguration of the Union of Free Burma, Malaya was granted a full self-governing status within the British Commonwealth. The Sultan of Kedah ceded Penang in 1786 to the East India Co. and the Province Wellesley was added to it in 1800.

Kedah with Johore, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu formed the Unfederated Malay States and in 1874-95 Britain entered into a treaty with the Federated Malaya States of Perak, Selangor, Pahang and Negri Sembilan (whose Sultan is elected *King of Malaya*). Perak has the largest population (953,938) and Pahang the widest area (13,873 square miles).

After the Second World War, communist troubles and internal disturbances, thwarted the progress of the Federation of Malaya, created in Feb., 1948. But Singapore, once the big British naval base, is thriving as ever, as a free port and attracting the big shipping and air lines of the world. Penang also was declared a free port in 1946 drawing tourists and customers from all corners of the world.

V

INDONESIA

I was fortunate to be in Indonesia for the second time, during the festive week (first week of June) when the grateful Indonesian nation celebrated the birth anniversary of their beloved President; and I remembered how Dr. Soekarno next Dr. Tagore in 1927 and made a prophetic statement in August 1945: "If we want to live as a nation, a free member of the world, to live with humanism on a democratic basis in a society with social justice, in peace and security, then we must not forget one condition to make this true. We must struggle and struggle again and again. Don't think that with the creation of Free Indonesia our struggle comes to an end, No, I tell you, our struggle must be carried on, only in another form. We shall fight

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on together, as one United People to achieve what we have laid down in the *Pantjasila* Constitution : Divine Omnipotence Humanity, Nationalism, Democracy and Social Justice.

Buddhist creed of *Panchasila* has been reinterpreted and incorporated into the Constitution of Indonesia like the Buddhist Dharma-chakra (wheel of Law) into our Indian Republican symbol. Both Indonesia and India are trying to uphold the progressive principles of a Secular State, attacked openly or secretly by many reactionary *communal* organizations. In the Indonesian Parliament itself there are elements working feverishly to sabotage and subvert the Secular State, just as the "Darul Islam" group in early days of the Republic tried to disrupt the national front and to set up a Rival State ! We hope however that such a calamity would be averted by the sagacity and solidarity of the Nationalist Party (like our Congress Party) led by Dr. Sukarno who nobly upholds the Universal principle of Unity in Diversity : *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.*

It is reported that there are $2\frac{1}{2}$ million Christians and several million Buddhist (mostly Chinese) and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ million Hindus in Bali and Lambok. I wrote about these Hindus after my first visit to Indonesia in 1924 and Gurudev Tagore wrote wonderful poems and our friend Dr. S. K. Chatterjee (who accompanied Gurudev in 1927) wrote a valuable book *Dvipamaya Bharat.* Our Greater India Society published several monographs and bulletins. But alas Hindu India gave poor response to our appeal for sending adequate support to the Hindus of Bali. I was glad however to discover this time that Sri Narendra Deo, a devoted *pandit* has started teaching *Sanskrit*, the basis of Hindu culture, to the boys and girls of the Balinese schools, who recited in their musical voice the *Sanskrit slokas* which they copied out in *Devanagari* in their exercise books : for they suffer from shortage of Sanskrit texts and books in that far-off cultural colony of India on the other end of the Indian Ocean.

Seth Jugal Kishore Birla with his usual generosity, helps this cultural work in Bali and a Gujarati merchant of Singapore also sent a valuable collection of books to the Library of the Centre *Bhuvana Saraswati* in Bali. In Den Pasar, Ubud, Gingar, Chintamoni and Singaraga. I was glad to find the

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Balinese priests or *pedandas* continuing the Hindu ceremonial traditions. So some Dutch scholars and Sanskritists, like Dr. Goris, are still working for the teaching of Sanskrit and conservation of rare manuscripts of Indian origin. Indonesian students are coming to Santiniketan for training and a Balinese youth whom I met in Den Pasar was getting ready to come back again to India for advanced research. But the cultural organizations of India should now come forward to help this work by collaborating with some of our Indian merchant friends of Indonesia who are supporting admirably the educational work in Bali. Sri Harbans Lall of the noted Punjabee firm Sachdev Brothers (Jakarta and Bangkok) very kindly took me personally to Bali and I gathered much fresh information which I shall gladly share with any Hindu leader interested in organizing a regular cultural mission from India to Bali and Lombok. Two other patriotic Punjabee merchants Heera Singh of Jakarta and his brother Balwant Singh of Singapore are ready to give their expert advice. Two senior Sindhi merchants Sri Tejoomul of Jakarta and Sri Kundandas of Surabaya who had the privilege of receiving Dr. Tagore in 1927, are still ready to help Indian cultural missionaries from *Bharat*. May a good-will mission be soon organized in India with special reference to Indonesia.

POLITICO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF INDONESIA

As in India so in Indonesia, party politics got the precedence over economic factors in nation-building. In both cases the most urgent problem was how to end foreign domination and gain political freedom. After independence we are facing no less formidable problems of economic production at the maximum level and social security measures for our teeming millions.

We have followed the multiform freedom movements of Indonesia through the careers of Sukarno, Hatta and their predecessors during the hectic years 1908-1942 and also during the abnormal days of Japanese occupation—1942-'45. Then there were parties including Extremists, Fascists, Communists etc.; but there were little traces of democratic government through parliamentary institutions, emerging only with the Proclamation of

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Independence (17 Aug. 1945); 18 Representatives from the whole of Indonesia formed the Preparatory Commission which laid down the Constitution of Aug. 18, 1945 and also elected the President and the Vice-President, laying thus the seed of the Indonesian Parliament (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakut*) to be run under a party system. It also founded the Peoples' Security Board and the Indonesian national Army. Like our Indian Constituent Assembly, the Preparatory Commission of Indonesia brought forth the Executive, the Party System and the Defence Organization of the new-born Republic which is functioning now over a decade (1945-1957). When I visited their Parliament House as a member of our Council of States, *Rajya Sabha*, I was welcomed by the Deputy Speaker (like Ambassdor Palar, a veteran Indonesian *Christian* leader) managing the majority of *Muslim* M. P's. He explained to me the relative party-strength and the policies etc. of the diverse groups often clashing but presenting a united front against the outgoing Dutch colonialists. West New Guinea (Irian) is the serious case in point which being still held by the Dutch, the Indonesian delegates to the Hague Round Table Conference, refused to keep any vestige of even formal relations with the Dutch Government, thus going totally out of the Dutch Union in December, 1954, by rejecting the Statute of Union. The matter came to a crisis in 1957 (December) when the pro-Dutch agents attempted to kill President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government and the people took over big Dutch Shipping and Air lines as well as the Banks and other Companies after a total boycott.

While the Dutch colonialists created mutually conflicting parties to ensure a docile or helpless Parliament, the new Indonesian Parliament voluntarily created parties with the clear purpose announced in November, 1945 that it favours *party-system* "because with the existence of political parties, all currents of thinking which are to be found in Society, could be canalized into a regulated course."

After the third and fourth Plenary Sessions (1946-'47) at Solo (Central Java) and Malang (East Java), where I met many veteran leaders, while revisiting the monuments of the *Sree Vijaya* Empire and the Majjhopahit Empire, I was informed that the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, in federal form, began

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functioning properly with a bi-cameral Legislature. In December, 1949, the Dutch formally recognized Indonesia's sovereignty. So from 1950-55 we are witnessing the evolution of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (the *third* Republic) after the dissolution of the Federal Republic on Dec. 27, 1949.

Amidst the bewildering varieties of parties and slogans I discovered three main currents reflecting : (a) Nationalism (b) Communalism (c) Marxist Socialism. Nationalism, no doubt, has the longest history—as in India ; in order to gain freedom nationalist leaders must contend against local communalist parties, like the Muslim League in India, and the Musjumi party gaining strength in Indonesian Parliament ; also the nationalist party led by Sukarno, must fight the foreign inspired Marxist groups found in many parts of South East Asia. Thus not only the political parties in Parliament but the entire people of Indonesia are being guided by three contending world forces : Nationalism, Religion and Socialism. These are reflected in the now famous *Pantjasila* or faith in (1) Providence, (2) in Humanity, (3) in Nationalism, (4) in Sovereignty of the people and (5) in Social Justice.

The best commentary to that came from President Sukarno himself who said : "we want to live as nation, a free nationality, a free member of the world, to live with humanism on a democratic basis in a society with Social Justice, in Peace and Security." Every word breathes the spirit of deep conviction ; and so Sukarno has won the full support of Premier Nehru, Chou-en Lai, U. Nu and others ; but an unexpected (or expected ?) opposition came from the Premier of Pakistan who tried to oppose *Pantjasila* at the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung as advertised in advance, Thus placed, between the contending Power blocks of U. S. A. and U. S. S. R., the new born Indonesian Republic, crushed the Communist revolt in Madium (Sep.-Nov. 1948) and clearly pronounced : "we must not become an object in the international clash. We must remain an entity with the right to decide our own attitude to achieve our own aim—a fully independent Indonesia."

Thus the first Afro-Asian Conference congregated in Bandung, Java where some of the fundamental principles of

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Peace and Co-existence were formulated to be tested in the open forum awakening submerged Humanity.

Coming now to test the relative strength or weakness of the major parties we notice that, while the Marxist—Leftist groups are divided into *six* parties and the religio-communal group into *five*, the natinonalist groups are divided into *fourteen* parties. Yet this party offered a strong united platform in January, 1946 at Kediri (E. Java). Now the unification of the Nationalists—called P. N. I.—is confused by diverse party slogans like the Peoples' party, the party for Greater Indonesia, Peoples' Union, Federation of East-Indonesian Freedom etc.

The religious groups are represented by the Sarekat Islam, the Islamic Association of the old colonial epoch and the purely theocratic (like Pakistan) the Darul Islam, partially controlled by President Sukarno and his P. N. I. party. They are still creating troubles in Sumatra, Celebes and in the remoter islands.

Sukarno's formidable rival is the Masjumi Party which orginated in November, 1945, as the Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims forming a huge majority in Indonesia, which, however, has millions of Buddhists and Christians, indifferently registered in the Census reports.

In December, 1945, also sprang up the Marxist groups led by Amir Sjarifuddin and entitled *Partai Socialis* with a communist outlook. It shows different left-wing tactics with diverse masks and named as Indonesian Socialist Youths, the Labour Party, Peasant Force, the Communist Party etc. The relative strength of the parties now are as follows in the Indonesian Parliament : 49 Masjumi or Muslim Party ; 37 Nationalist Party, 14 Democrats ; 13 Communists ; 16 Socialists, 7 Labour Party, 9 Catholic Parties etc., totalling 229 members. They work as representatives of the 10 Provinces : East, Central and West Java (1, 2, 3) ; North, Central and South Sumatra (4, 5, 6) : Borneo, Celebes, the Moluccas and the Lesser Sunda Islands (7, 8, 9, 10).

But with the Dutch still in occupation of Irian or Western New Guinea and the Separatist infiltration in East Indonesia, the Republic must be strongly unified controlling fissiparous tendencies. Then further disruption may result from the internal and external activities of the champions of the Islamic State who forget that, for

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centuries, Indonesians have lived in cultural synthesis of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. President Sukarno is a great champion of religious toleration in a democratic secular state. As the Moslem head of the Republic he encourages Christian, Hindu and other missions and spent lacs of *rupayahs* to reconstruct the grand Siva temple of Prambanan where I re-examined the wonderful sculptures and has reliefs of the Ramayana, so dear to the teeming millions of Indonesia who spend whole nights listening to and witnessing the shadow plays or actual dramas based on the Mahabharata and other famous moral tales, myths and legends of India.

Cultural and political problems apart, Indonesia has to face acute economic problems the solutions of which may not depend on her alone but on world-co-operation. The United Nations have built up a research centre E. C. A. F. E. in Bangkok which is equi-distant, from India and Pakistan on the one side and China and Japan on the other. Now the Bandung Conference may set up a permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Conference of great potentialties. Granted mutual understanding and goodwill the Eastern nations may raise the standard of living decently if not according to the American standard. More than half of mankind live in South-East Asia and man power here is inexhaustible. But we lag much behind the Western nations in the scientific food-prodction, land utilization, irrigation, transport and other facilities. Our shipping and airways depend on western planning and manufacture. Indonesia has some oil as well as tin and rubber as in British Malaya; but the British High Commissioner at Singapore still dictates the future of North Borneo. Half of the vast island of New Guinea still is occupied by Holland and another half by Australia. American bases in the east and U. S. A. basis in the Philippines and elsewhere may draw Soviet attention that way; and the American 7th fleet manœuvering round Formosa are rousing China as much as the Soviet. Under these disturbing trends of World diplomacy how Indonesia would maximize her production and capital formation, remains to be seen. But she has the fullest sympathy and co-opertion of India and the Colombo Powers who gathered in a friendly spirit at Bandung which was humming with life—as I discussed

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common problems with the leaders there during my last visit. The technological departments of Indonesian University are at Bandung where there are the faculties of Mathematics, Technology and Natural Sciences. Flying from Jakarta one can reach Bandung in a couple of hours and the climate is cool and stimulating. From Bandung I took to the Garuda Airways reaching Jogjakarta (Central Java) the centre of the Indonesian nationalist movement and the cradle of Indonesian Art and Culture-reaching their supreme climax in the Buddhist temple of Borobudur and the shrines of Prambanan (700-900 A. D.). Those 1000 years old monuments stand as perpetual symbols of fraternal relations between India and Indonesia re-united, after ages, under the glorious dawn of freedom in Asia. With Asia, Africa also is aspiring to breathe the air of freedom, the birth-right of all mankind. All success to the noble sponsors of the Afro-Asian Conference.

In 1956 Indonesia officially wrote off millions of pounds of debts claimed by the Netherlands and through a spokesman, said that the Netherlands in fact owed money to Indonesia.

A Government statement announcing the decision said Indonesia no longer recognized, and refused to pay, any debts to the Netherlands. It reckoned outstanding debts at 4,081 millions Dutch guilders.

Indonesian newspapers hailed Egypt's actions as an example to Indonesia's leaders in the light of their own problems with Netherlands. Egypt was one of the participants in the Afro-Asian conference held at Bandung in 1955. Indonesia's House of Representatives passed a bill abrogating the Dutch-Indonesian Union and kindred financial and economic agreements and thus severed the Archipelago's last link with the Hague. Indonesia considered that the so-called debt could be offset against Indonesia's account with the Netherlands "because the Netherlands waged war against us at a cost of 3,000 millions guilders" The result was that Indonesia owed the Netherlands nothing but acknowledged small debts to Australia, UK and others.

In December 1957 the Indonesian Government took over big Dutch Banks and firms as protest against the illegal Dutch occupation of Irian.

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BALI AND OUTER INDONESIA

In our survey of Indonesia we should not only recount the positive achievements of the Republic but also the *negative* or retrading factors in its growth. A very ominous news has recently been published that aweful damages to life and property have been inflicted by the fanatical Darul Islam party on the peaceful population of East Celebes or *Suluwasi* meaning "Island of Iron". Iron ores are found here now ; but "blood and iron" policy is apparently being pursued by the crafty and resourceful leaders of Darul Islam party who are hiding somewhere in West Java. They represent the anti-Republician, group challenging Sukarno just as the Burmese rebel groups are defying U. Nu in Burma.

The Buginese or the people of Celebes are seafaring folks plying their boats in land-locked bays and in many have or ports, selling rice, sago, palm oil. cinnamon, nutmeg etc. ; they naturally are neighbours of the 'Spice Islands or Moluccas. In the revolutionary epoch (1945-50) the people appeared as a member-state—Makassar—of East Indonesia which the Dutch military adventure Westerling tried to get detached from the larger Indonesia. Now the Dutch has got entrenched in Irian or West New Guinea, possibly with the intention of using it as a jumping ground of attack. The other half of East New Guinea is reserved by Australia ; and no one knows what attitude would be taken by the Australians in this crisislike that of Suez Canal.

The Dutch and the Australians apart, we find the British occupying north-west of Borneo, reputed to be the third largest island in the world. British Borneo has rich oil fields and is completely under British administration under the British Governor General with his headquarters in Singapore. Borneo is named now Kalimantan with Pontianak as its capital where shipbuilding is the most important industry. Borneo is geographically linked up, through the Palawan archipelago, with the Philippines which is dominated by America attempting to build up a defencive chain against the Soviet block stretching from Indonesia, and the Philiffines, through Formosa and Okinama to Japan. These racial and strategic factors are ever operation on the political and economic horizon

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of Indonesia. It was in Bandung that the Darul Islam group began fighting Dr. Sukarin's newly created secular state ; and it was again from Bandung that the cruel Dutch ex-captain Westerling fled to Singapore (where he was arrested by the British government) after getting massacred over 40000 patriotic Indonesians in South Celebes where another massacre has been perpetrated by the Darul Islam group.

When the Japanese surrendered (August 1945) Indonesian leaders like Sukarno and Hatta organized their republic, but the Dutch (like the French in Indo-China) tried their level best to get reinstalled even with recognizing the Indonesian sovereignty. The Dutch sponsored a joint Conference in Den Pasar, leading city of South Bali. I spent a few days here and got information how the conference failed how the Dutch tried to shift from Bali to Celebes where Macassar was boasted as a big Dutch administrative center. In December 1945 Captain Westerling ruined the Dutch cause by ordering a general massacre in South Celebes. The Indonesians then fought with desperate heroism and denounced (1949-1954) the last vestige of political relations with Holland.

Thus in the troublesome zone of East Indonesia, the Bali island shines as a veritable Paradise of Peace as Tagore wrote in his wonderful poem *Sagarika* ; I visited Bali in 1924 and inspired by its aroma of Indian culture, I opened a series of articles "Greater India Revisited" When I entered Bali in 1954, I noticed momentous changes after 30 years ; yet the spirit of the Balinese men and women filled me, as ever, with wonder. How the Hindu-Buddhistic culture survives down to this day, after centuries of separation of Bali from India. When I flew from the port of Surubaya (East Java) to Bali, I was fascinated by the lyrical landscapes and sea-scapes ; the groves and gardens the rural Ashrama-type schools with simple yet intelligent boys and girls, welcoming me as their kinsman and urging me to recite Sanskrit slokas and Tagore's poems. Pandit Narendra Deo is working here for the last few years, aided largely by the local Balinese community and also partly by the liberal Hindu merchants (Panjabes and Sindhis) like Sri Harbans Lal of Java.

I strongly appeal to all Indian leaders—specially those interested in propagating Indian culture abroad, to develop the

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Bhubana Saraswati movement of Pandit Narendra Deo in that remote arc of the Indian Ocean whence the Balinese Hindus wistfully look towards their motherland India. Beyond Bali we enter another area of fauna and flora allied with Australia—as I discussed in my *India and the Pacific World.*

Indonesia has an area of 735,000 sq. miles counting its total population over 80 million (1950) and most of its Hindu population of 15,00000 now inhabit two small Islands of Bali and Lombok, with an area of 4000 miles and a population of two million. The ministry of Religious Affairs in Jakarta is under a Muslim minister, and so there is little interest in compiling exact census of the non-Muslim minorities. But I was glad to contact a Balinese Brahmin officer Mr. Bhadra in his Religious Affairs Bureau in Singaraja where I visited some Hindu institutions and the Library of Hindu Balinese research where all Indian scholars and publishers should send free copies of books and periodicals on Indian culture. Dr. Goris the noted Dutch Sanskritist, published some catalogues of Indian manuscripts and Prof. Sylvain Levi (who visited Bali in 1929) published a book on Balinese Sanskrit texts (Gaekwad Series). On my return from Singaraja I revisited Chintamoni Bangli, Ginjar Keshiman etc. and spent sometime with the Prince of Ubud where Gurudev Tagore halted in 1927 and his *souvenirs* are cherished tenderly by the Raja of Ubud. His rural palace with the attached cottages, gracefully decorated with oil-lamps illuminating the reception-room with rich wood carvings and rare Balinese art-objects, created hallucination as if I were the first Indian vagabond sailor to be wafted from the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean, to Banka (Banga) to Bangli and Den Pasar where lovely merchandise were offered me by the Belles of Bali, anthropomorphic translations of Tagore's poem *Pasarini.* In the thatched *Nat mandir* of many Balinese temples, I witnessed again folkplays (yatras) and dance-dramas from our Ramayana and Mahabharata epics in Balinese and Kavi (old Javanese) languages. I was glad to find in Balinese schools,—after 30 years,—not only a Kavi teacher who teaches Hindu Itihasa-Puranas, but also one *Hindi* speaking Sanskrit teacher Pundit Narendra Deo who deserves our fullest support. I wrote to that affect to our renowned scholar statesman Dr. K. M. Munshi, who encouraged us in our

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attempt to propagate Sanskrit and Indian culture in Indonesia and Indo-China where we discovered thousands of Indian temples sculptures and inscriptions. Seth Jugal Kishore Birla also took keen interest in my cultural mission; but many other organisations, official and non-official—should come forward now to help this cause, as I pleaded through the pages of our daily papers as also through *Udbodhana*—the Bengali organ of the Ramkrishna Mission. Through our Embassies, Consulates and Trade delegations, India should help distributing, to our friendly countries, Indian books, art-objects, photos and other culture—materials. Pali certainly deserves top priority when India decides to develop an Indian *overseas* Cultural Institute. The Gurukul and the Santiniketan University together with Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Banaras, Aligarh and Delhi Universities should send research scholars who would teach Indian languages there and collect a rich harvest of unsuspected Indian materials from Indonesian sources. Our Indian merchants of Medan (Sumatra) Jakarta and Surabaya (Java) will, I am sure, co-operate with Indian cultural academies and agencies. I visited the house of a Balinese Brahmin student who was in Santiniketan and is eager to come again to complete his thesis. After 30 years I was glad to greet my friends of Bali, but I was sorry to notice that they are paying a heavy penalty of growing into a Tourist's Paradise where they are unconsciously staging a *Paradise Lost* not Paradise Regained! I discussed such problems with a noted Belgian painter Mon. A. J. Mayeur de Merpres who has married a talented Balinese *artiste* Madam Pollok whose reputation as a dancer goes beyond Indonesia. She and her painter husband have built up a Cottage Studio on the Indian Ocean shore of Bali; and they invited me and the Burmese Ambassador to join them in their Balinese dinner served in true Mahabharata style by *Sairindhri* girls who are experts in *Srempi* dances. The primitive grace of the Balinese is the fruit of the rare fusion of Indian with Indonesian culture; and before that grace is devoured by aggressive "modernism," India should make adequate provisions for the study of the rich patterns of Indonesian culture.

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State Museum
LUCKNOW.

AUSTRALASIA AND ANTARCTICA

The nations of South Asia, from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Basin must keep in touch with the recent developments in Australia and New Zealand. They jointly form the biggest stronghold of the British Commonwealth in South Asia. Although inhabited by about 10-12 million souls only, their natural resources are enormous and more developed than those of any nation of South East Asia. In commerce, industry and technical progress, these two members of the British Commonwealth, help not only U. K. but have drawn the U. S. A. also into intimate collaboration, economic and strategic. The area of New Zealand (North and South Islands) is 103,736 sq. miles. But the State manages some of the Pacific Islands, administers the "trusteeship" territory of Western Somoa and last, though not the least, 175,000 sq. miles of ice-covered Antarctica (Ross Dependency) now a whaling trade zone but of untold mineral resources including Uranium.

So Australia is not a mere island but a floating continent slightly bigger than U. S. A. and was given, by an Imperial Order in Council Feb., 1933, charge of the enormous Antarctic Territory other than Adelie Land, situated south of 50° S. Lat. and lying between 160° Long. and 45° E. Long. This was regularized by an Act of 1954 when Mawson in Mac Robertson Land was set up as a meteorological and research base. Exploratory research in Antarctica may unfold undreamt of potentialities. (*Vide* Sullivan : "*Quest of a Continent*". U. S. A., U. K., U. S. S. R. and Japan, are participating in the Scientific explorations of Antarctica specially in this International Geophysical year. The ship "Shackleton" with experts risked itself by facing dangerous ice-flows from the Falkland Island survey base. The U. S. S. R. sledge train drove 688 miles, from the Indian Ocean shores to the Central Antarctica, showing a route different from the routes of Fuchs from Australia and of Hillary from New Zealand.

Seismic and other scientific studies are being made throughout the Antarctic by the experts from U. S. A., U. S. S R., Japan, France and the British Commonwealth. Gravimeter recordings indicate either that the South Pole may be as much as 2,000 feet higher than the barometric computation suggested, or that some 10,000 feet of ice or water may lie below polar sea level.

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VI

JAPAN REVISITED

1948—marking the centenary of the European Revolution of 1848—was also a landmark in the history of Asia. I remember vividly the days I spent at the Quaker Colony of Rasulia (near Hoshangabad), invited to discuss the preliminaries of the Pacifists' Conference to be held at Santiniketan on the completion of Mahatma Gandhi's 80th birthday. But in the midst of our deliberations we heard about Mahatmaji's fasting, for the last time, over certain issues with Pakistan. The problem was settled by negotiations and Gandhiji gave up the fast. But alas! within a few days after our departure from Rasulia, we, along with the rest of the world were stunned by the tragic news of Gandhiji's assassination on the 30th of January, 1948.

Yet, following Mahatmaji's wishes, our friend Mr. Horace Alexander consulted his colleagues and decided to hold solemnly a Pacifists' Conference at Santiniketan, where it was held during the Christmas holidays of 1949. A full and inspiring report of the proceedings of the Conference has been published by the energetic Secretary, Sri Hiralal Bose.

Japan, for the first time, after World War II, sent two worthy delegates Dr. Mrs. Tomiko Wada Kora, M. P. and Rev. R. Nakayama, who attended the functions at Santiniketan and also addressed many meetings in India. They opened the eyes of the Indian public to the fact that though Japan, under military occupation, was obliged to accept partial re-militarisation, yet a very large section of the Japanese people were anxious to avoid war and to rebuild their national economy on peace basis, if possible. Such a peace economy could have been stabilised, if the vast market of China might be opened up for the technically advanced Japanese people. But, as we know, in 1949 Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's regime collapsed and the People's Republic of China was inaugurated by Mao tse-Tung. So Yoshida and his Cabinet—apparently under American direction—cut off all connections with Communist China; and we began facing most baffling problems in the Far East. After the return of Premier Nehru from America (1949) our Indian Council of World Affairs

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invited us to Delhi to participate in the important Asia-America Conference (1949-'50).

1950-'54 were marked not only by cold war in Europe, but also shooting wars in Asia. Jungle wars were ravaging Malaya ; fights flared up in different parts of Indonesia, leading to the liquidation of Dutch colonialism. So fierce fighting were going on in Indo-China against the French colonial forces and lastly the cruel bloodshed in North and South Korea—all giving signal, as it were, to a Third World War !

Following the lead of Mahatma Gandhi, our worthy Premier Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, with rare courage and faith in the cause, pulled the weight of 360 million people of India to achieve 'cease fire' and to stop bloodshed. That was a great achievement, strengthened by the decisions of the Geneva Conference (1954)—a landmark in the Pacific settlement of disputes between the East and West. We noticed in this period a further progressive strengthening in the voice of many nations demanding Peace and no more War.

So, I was thrilled to receive from my old friends of Japan a most cordial invitation to come to Japan and participate in the Fifth Anniversary of the First Pacifist's Conference at Santiniketan (1949-'54). Rev. Fuij, the devoted Nichiren Buddhist Abbot of the Nipponzan Myohji felt the divine urge, as it were, to invite the World Pacifists' Conference to Japan in the spring of 1954. No doubt it was a bold venture on the part of war-shattered Japan to invite over 150 Japanese and non-Japanese delegates to be treated as guests of the Conference. Of course, travel expenses to and from Japan had to be borne by each delegate as Japan had no reserve funds to export their inflated *yen*.

My friends and beloved pupils put me into the cabin of the "Kobe Maru" (O. S. K. Line), a newly built cargo boat under an able English-knowing Japanese captain. The captain offered us two cabins—one occupied by my fellow delegates Swami Dhirananda (of the Lake Budhist Temple, Calcutta) and his room-mate Rev. Imai, our guide. The other cabin was offered to me and my cargo of books, which helped me and kept me company during full one month's voyage, when I meditated on the Future of Asia

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in the new World context. I also re-visited mentally the various parts of Asia, hallowed by the foot-steps of Gurudev Rabindra Nath Tagore, who kindly took me with him in his *Visva Bharati* Mission to China and Japan in 1924. Thus, full thirty years in the ups and downs of the nations of Asia swept past my mental horizon, as I sailed away from the port of Calcutta across the Bay of Bengal and the China Sea to the harbour of Kobe in Japan.

The first man to greet us on arrival was Rev. Fuji, who embraced me and with his disciples, welcomed us to Japan, singing Japanese hymns to Lord Buddha, beating the hand-drum used by Nichiren Buddhists. He held solemnly on his head the sacred relic which was presented to Japan by the Indian Buddhists.

A special representative of the '*Osaka Mainichi*' (circulation over six million) met me on board the ship and flashed the news that a disciple of Tagore, who came with him to Japan in 1924, has come again to participate in the World Pacifists Conference. From that day of warm reception to the last day of our stay in Japan we were received with the most cordial hospitality by our Japanese friends—men and women—vying with one another in making our stay in Japan enjoyable and profitable. I was called to preside over the *Heroshima Session* of the *Conference* and I carried the resolution against the use of the Pacific isles for Hydrogen bomb experiments. The resolution was unanimously carried and I was requested to lead a delegation to the Speakers of the Upper House and of the Lower House of the Japanese Parliament, to formally present them with the copies of our resolutions. The two Speakers returned the courtesy by giving us a grand reception at the Prince's Hotel, where I had the opportunity of handing over to the Speakers the message of our renowned jurist Dr. Radha Benode Pal. His name was known all over Japan for his memorable judgment in the trial of the Japanese prisoners of war. Dr. Pal's personality, as I may attest, has brought India very close to the heart of the people of Japan.

After the Tokyo session, our Japanese hosts chartered a plane of the Japanese airways, flying us from Tokyo to Fukuoka. There a big meeting was held at the foot of the grand statue of Nichiren *Bodhisattva*, who is reported to have saved Japan from

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the invading Mongol armies of Kublai Khan of Peking in the 13th century, A. D.

Then our parties were divided and I decided to visit Nagasaki, where the second atom bomb fell in August, 1945, I knew Nagasaki for I landed there from Shanghai 30 years ago with Dr. Tagore. I got the shock of my life, when I was shown round the city, in the centre of which they have erected a tablet to mark the spot where the bomb fell, two days after the first bomb exploding in Hiroshima, which we visited later. The old city of Nagasaki was burnt out and the new city, which is painfully rearing its head, betrayed to our eyes many serious deficiencies in sanitation and housing conditions. The old population apparently vanished into vapour and a new generation is now struggling there to build up a new city on the ashes of the old.

The Mayor of Nagasaki showed splendid hospitality lending us his cars which drove us through the glorious landscapes of Japan in the Cherry season. Cherry or *Sukura* is a veritable symbol of the Japanese artists, who, with characteristic gravity, immortalised the mortal flower, which blossoms with sudden glory but vanishes also suddenly within a month. When the cherry drops dead, Japanese stoicism is strengthened by the Buddhist philosophy of Change ; and we felt intensely that the post-war Japan—amidst feverish activity—is silently studying the inscrutable philosophy of change.

From Nagasaki I revisited the hot sulphur spring on the Unzen hills a real volcano in the marking ! Then we crossed over to Kumamoto, where our noble host Rev. Fuji consecrated the grand Buddhist temple on a hill-top. Thousands of people from different parts of the island a attended that solemn ceremony, proving that the soul of war-devasted Japan was hankering after the divine message of *Maitri* (love) promulgated by Lord Buddha 2500 years ago. From this place we were taken to the top of Mount Aso. showing the biggest crater in the world. We felt giddy when we tried to peep into the bottom of the crater, and to remember how in some volcanic eruption at the bottom of the Pacific, Japan floated up into existence.

Our next stoppage was at the fateful city of Hiroshima on which the first atom bomb was hurled from the New World,

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opening a new chapter in the life and death struggle of mankind. About 8-20 in the morning, when the mothers were sending their children to schools, when the bread-winner husbands were rushing to their factories and offices and the wives were passing tiffin-boxes into their hands, there was the flash and flame and the diabolic concussion in the air, letting hell loose and words fail to describe the havoc. Even the steel structures were twisted beyond recognition and human flesh and bones were literally vaporised ! I felt haunted and could not sleep the whole of the night we spent in a modest Japanese hotel on the bank of a canal. The next day we were invited to attend the Hiroshima session of the Pacifists' conference and I was requested to preside over it. I do not remember what I spoke on that occasion, but India spoke through me. There was dead silence when an elderly Japanese lady got up and narrated how she had lost all her dear ones in that man-made conflagration. Here I read out certain passages of the message of Dr. Radha Benode Pal, which he charged me to deliver and every word of it went to the heart of the audience. I also translated Dr. Pal's Bengali writing carved, by a Japanese sculptor, on a stone pillar, erected in the compound of the Hiroshima Buddhist Temple : "ত্বয়া হৃষিকেশ হৃদিস্থিতেন যথা নিযুক্তোস্মি তথা করোমি—Oh Thou Indweller within our soul ! may we follow You towards the end which Thou pointest out to us.

In the evening, Dr. Morito, the President of the University of Hiroshima, invited Kaka Kalelkar and myself to deliver to the rising generations of Japan the messages of Mahatma Gandhi and of Dr. Tagore. Kaka Saheb made a fervent appeal for the cause of non-violence, which was the very soul of Gandhism. I followed him by pointing out the fundamental unity in the spiritual ideals of Tagore and Gandhi. On that occasion I also pointed out that Tagore brought to Japan a message of *Shanti* or Peace when he first visited the country in 1916. He warned them against following in the foot-steps of the militaristic powers of the West, that was sure to bring ruin to human society and civilisation. Tagore was not then honoured by Japan, but the present generation should read his book *Nationalism* and realise the meaning of his prophecy. Dr. Tagore's Santiniketan, where the first World Pacifist's Conference was held (1949), is trying

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to develop a special Faculty of International Relations and we welcomed our Japanese friends and all those interested in the cause of cultural collaboration and peaceful co-existence, to come to India of Tagore and Gandhi.

WAR AND PEACE IN THE JAPANESE CONSTITUTION

The Japanese collapse took place in August, 1945, and after a period of rigid military occupation the new Constitution of Japan was approved by U. S. A. and passed in 1947. The seventh anniversary of the proclamation of that Constitution was celebrated (May 3) in Tokyo amidst heated debates over the pro-American Yoshida Cabinet's projected *amending* of the Peace Constitution to subserve U. S. A. military requirements. I quote below the original article 9 (Chapter 2) relating to Renunciation of War.—

"Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people *for ever renounce war* as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes...In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potentials will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the State will not be recognised."

From the very phrasing we may feel the presence of the victor dictating to vanquished Japan, so long guided by their Imperial Constitution of 1889. Some are inclined to believe that the Peace Constitution was actually drafted by the Americans. And yet the Americans were attempting (for reasons known to them only) to get the Constitution revised and got approved by the Yoshida regime. A shift in the American policy towards disarmed Japan was noticed about four years ago when General MacArthur sanctioned the formation of a National police Reserve (1950). And though MacArthur was removed his policy was continued so that Japan could have a small army, naval and air forces apparently for the purpose of defence. The battered Japanese economy and industry was partly rebuilt with U. S.-Japan manufacture of war potentials, stemming out of Japan's lending 800 war bases to U. S. Finally, on May 1, Japan was invited formally by the

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U. S. A. to enter into the group of nations receiving Mutual Security Aid (M. S. A.) from the United States. Many Asian neighbours of Japan would not like to see Japan so tied to the American war-chariot. Indonesia's 80 million already expressed their anxiety and the *National Messenger* of Jogjakarata commented: "With American help Japan will be able to increase her defence potentials and may be expected to be made responsible for the defence of the Pacific area...Japan may then return to her expansionist policy again".

Reactions of foreigners apart, I found Japan's own leaders are sharply divided in their opinion about the so-called "amendments" to the 1947 Constitution which once served its purpose and is now about to be jettisoned as was the Weimar Constitution in Germany after the first world War. Some apprehended that under the cover of the "amendment", the Japanese will be called to adopt a new constitution altogether. For, they envisaged changes which would affect the vital parts of the current Japanese laws relating to Basic Human Rights and Rearmament etc. The Japanese mass as a whole—I felt—have a vague fear that the amendment jeopardizes whatever peace and contentment they enjoy now. Japanese women specially are afraid that the change would bring the old military order back and lead to further war devastations. So, under these circumstances, a free plebiscite would invite a debacle. Former Minister of Justice Inukai expressed his opinion that the plebiscite is a "big political gamble" as we in India feel about our Kashmir issue.

Former professional soldiers, the Rightists etc. form to-day a majority in the Japanese Diet and would support the changes in the Constitution. But the voice of the people is sounded through the National Constitution Preservation Council, led by former Premier Tetsu Katayama who kindly invited me to address their mass rally in the Tokyo *Yomiuri* auditorium. I strongly supported the maintaining of the Peace Constitution: and when I referred to Mahatma Gandhi and to Premier Nehru's peace objectives in Korea and Indo China where blood-shed was stopped I was loudly cheered by representatives of over 130 organizations: Religious (Buddhist) and Pacifist organizations apart, I noticed the presence of women and student

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leaders, artists and writers, professors and scientists, members of the Labour-Farmer Parties, General Council of Trade Unions, and of the Rightist and Leftist Socialists, among others, the aggregate number of members of these organisations and parties exceeded ten million. They invited all those who stand against rearmament which would increase the tension between the two ideological blocs of the world. They appealed to one and all to join in the move to "save the nation from potential war." Thus the Japanese people seemed not to bow to the Yoshida Government's persistent pressure expressed through 'self-defence' bills, anti-subversive laws, neutralization of education, anti-strike measures etc. The Japanese are the only sufferers from the Atom bombs of 1945 and the Hydrogen bomb experiments of 1954 so they are naturally averse to remilitarization which inevitably will get Japan involved in another war. That would further lower their living standard and dislocate their national economy now precariously supported by U. S. munition manufacture in Japan. Rearmed Japan moreover would constitute a threat to those Asian neigbours who are partially freed from Western colonialism and who are aspiring to be completely free.

Thus Japan may show an example by holding fast to her Peace Constitution which—as I said—showed the first application, in an Asian State, of Gandhian Freedom basted on Justice and Truth. The lurking fear, hatred and vindictiveness, vitiating the mind of the victor as well as the vanquished nations, must be replaced by faith in man. It is this faith alone which may save human civilisation from total ruin in Atomic wars. Everyone knows it and yet none had the courage to show the way ! Japan at least has a concrete Peace Constitution which she must be helped to uphold. Where are the idealists and Pacifists of the East and the West, who may come forward to support Japan in this moral and international crisis ? By unconditionally condemning "atomic warfare" and conveying our "resolution" of the World Pacifist's Conference to the Speakers of the two Houses of the Japanese Parliament, I did my humble duty as a disciple of Gurudev Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. But the military "cliques" apparently watched me with amused condescension. For they

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know how to overrule the mass opposition and to generate mob fear, the mother of all tragic wars. Yet I was deeply moved to watch the sincere anxiety of the common men and women of Japan to maintain their Peace Constitution against external pressure towards "remilitarization". If Japan is forced to yield, then her fateful strategic position may bring down upon the Japanese people devastations—created by the two opposing Power Blocs—which would make the "vaporized" corpses of Nagasaki and Hiroshima turn in their graves. May Japan be permitted to enjoy a peaceful existence with her peace-loving neighbours.

TERRITORIES LOST TO JAPAN :

When Chenghiz Khan rose to power (1260) he made the Mongols masters of Manchuria, as a part of his World Empire. His successors like Hulagu and Kublai Khan dominated over the whole of Central Asia and China under the Yuan dynasty lasting till 1368. The Chinese Ming Emperors (1368-1644) regained control over this strategic area. Another foreign dynasty the Manchus came to be masters in 1644 and ruled the empire till their fall in 1911 when the first Chinese Republic was founded.

MANCHURIA

The Manchu rulers concluded a treaty with Russia in 1680 renewed by their treaties of 1859-'60 and of 1896-'98. In between came the Shimonoseki Treaty between Japan and China modified by the Portsmouth Treaty (1905) between Japan and Russia. The final agreement concerning Manchuria between Japan and Russia, was concluded in 1910. By the treaty of 1895 China ceded to Japan that part of South Manchuria, south of the line drawn across the mouth of the Yalu river. But it retroceded to China as Japan was forced by Russia, France and Germany. By the 1898 treaty Russia got the concession to extend the Siberian Railway through Manchuria and got also the lease of Chinchow Peninsula (including Lushun and Dairen) which Russia was forced to surrender (1905) to Japan and which is also part of the Chinese Eastern Railway together with all the rights, concessions and properties thereof.

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Mukden the capital is a big and important city founded in 1642 by the early Manchu rulers. From here tourists go to Dairen, the most modern sea-port in the Far East. To the west of Dairen is Port Arthur, seat of the bloodiest battle in the Russo-Japanese War. The South Manchurian Railway run N. E. to Changshun where the Chinese Eastern Railway extends to Harbin connected with the Pacific Port of Vladivostock on the one hand and far off Moscow on the other, by the historic Trans-Siberian Railway which could take a passenger from Yokohama to London in a fortnight.

The Manchurian incident of 1931-'32 developed into the big war (1937) between Japan and China ; and Japan after meteoric rise fell to abject defeat in 1945. The Chiang regime also collapsed (1949) with the victorious entry of Mao-tse Tung as leader of the People's Republic which got all the territories back by the Sino-Soviet Treaty of February, 1950, recognising Manchuria as an integral part of the Peoples' Republic. Russia also offered to transfer to China the naval base of Port Arthur, Dairen etc., from Japan. Thus Japanese Manchukuo is Manchuria again, comprising the three North-Eastern provinces of Liaoning (12 m.). Kirin (5 m.) and Heilking-kiang 2½ m.) ; these provinces are now subdivided into nine provinces with the area 1,303,143 sq. km. and population of over 43 million. Japan's biggest iron and other heavy industries were built up in Manchuria which will now be the greatest assets of China which is developing big manufactures and multi-purpose plans inspired by Soviet Russia which is paying keen attention, as much to the land as to the sea routes to the Pacific and she is also developing the air routes across the Arctic circle completely surveyed and controlled by Russia.

At the Yalta Conference (February 1945) Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin agreed that Soviet army should enter into the Pacific war three months after the end of the European war (May, 1945). U. S. A. also agreed that U. S. S. R. should recover South Sakhalin and the Kuriles group of islands of great strategic value ; so Russia declared war (8th Aug. 1945) on Japan which surrendered on Aug. 14. On December 16, 1945 the Far Eastern Commission and the Allied Council for Japan was set up and the United Nations established the Atomic Control Commission.

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Now America must be regretting to have given such a latitude to the Communist forces in the Far East enormously strengthened by the accession of China with her 600 million of population.

KOREA

Geographically placed between China and Japan, the Koreans appear as predestined victims of power-politics. The Korean royal family entered into matrimonial relations with the Japanese Imperial Houses in early days. Japan got Buddhism, not directly from China but through the Korean Buddhists who adopted Buddhism in 374 A. D. When Kublai Khan sent his hoards to invade Japan, the Koreans were with the Mongol army. Japan was luckily saved from Mongol domination but began thinking how to stop invasion from East China, by annexing Korea, Manchuria etc. In 1849 the 26th Korean King Kenso died without any issue and then followed civil war and anarchy. China considered Korea as a vassal closed to all foreigners. But in 1876 Japan broke through the Chinese blockade and entered into a treaty with Korea which then was first recognised internationally as a free country. Free alas to be exploited by foreigners like U. K., U. S. A., Russia. France, Italy and Germany, who entered into so-called treaty relations with Korea (1882-'86). Intrigues soon led to the first Sino-Japanese war (1894-'95) in which China was defeated and Japan invaded Korea to declare the Koreans free from Chinese vassalage. After the Russo-Japanese war, Korea came to be a Japanese Protectorate with Prince Ito as the first President General. After his murder, Korea changed its name to Chosen and was annexed (22nd Aug. 1910).

Thus from 1910 to the collapse of Japan in 1945, Korea was for 35 years governed as a Japanese territory. The total area of North and South Korea is 220,840 sq. Km. (85,266 sq. miles) inhabited by about 25,120,174 population (1944). But after the second world war, unfortunate Korea came to be the victim of "Power Politics" again. Communist China backed by Russia occupied the North while the South turned out to be an American base. The Russians reached (8th Aug. 1945) one month ahead of the Americans who landed on September 8 and got war

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declared against the North through the United Nations. The Korean People's Republic was proclaimed (Sep. 1948). The U. S. S. R. recognised the People's Republic in October, 1948 and withdrew its armed forces by 25th October 1948. President of North Korea is 60 years old Kum De-bong, who rules over 49,114 sq. miles with a population of about 9 million souls plying some heavy industries created by the Japanese experts.

South Korea (36,152 sq. miles) with a population of 20 million is mainly agricultural. They held a general Election (May, 1948) under U. N. observers and elected Dr. Syngman Rhee President. The Republic of South Korea was proclaimed (15th Aug. 1948) ending U. S. Military Government, but Dr. Rhee requested U. S. A. troops to stayon.

In 1949 KMT regime of Chiang-Kai-sekh was driven out of China by the People's Republic under Mao Tse-tung and civil war broke out between the North and the South Korea—partitioned like India and Pakistan—but leading nowhere near peace. Harrowing tragedies and devastations, awful destruction of life and property marked the Korean wars of 1949-1954. So the Indian Premier Jawaharlal Nehru moved, through the U. N., to secure a Truce Commission to stop useless bloodshed and we hope that the noble principle of co-existence would mean stable peace and a fresh lease of life for the unfortunate Koreans who flocked to Japan where I met them and heard about their tragic sufferings. The latest move is for re-unification of Korea which like that of Germany, will be the supreme test of post-war diplomacy.

FORMOSA

The island of Formosa was annexed by Japan under the name of Taiwan ; but when Japan collapsed and the KMT regime also was driven out of China the latter took refuge in Formosa and continued functioning from this "Little China" representing paradoxically the huge Chinese nation in the United Nations. The U. S. A. which has built up the Philippines as its major base in the Pacific must control also Formosa to the North, and the two are very important to American strategy. The

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Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch and the Japanese fought over Formosa almost for four centuries. In 1894 defeated China gave it over to Japan who ruled it till 1945 for half a century. The Japanese developed here the agricultural industries of Tea, Jute, Sugar and Rice, Camphor refinery and other forest products.

The Republican China under Mao Tse-tung claims Taiwan or Formosa as one of the *overseas* territories with a population of over 6 million covering 13,000 sq. miles divided into five provinces and 3 districts. Two rival Chinese Governments, in the mainland and in Formosa, are inviting major complications—now that U. S. has placed its formidable fleet and armies to help the Formosa forces to invade the mainland if possible. That may lead to general conflagration ; as the Soviet and the People's Republic of China would never tolerate that. In a major war in the Pacific not only Formosa but the Philippines also would be involved—as in the Second World War. The Manila Pact and its concomitant the Bangkok Conference may or may not relieve the tense situation growing out of the formation of the Communist and non-Communist belts in South-East Asia. The Colombo Powers, as a third force, were trying to expand the Peace area by pacific settlement and also by inviting the Afro-Asian Conference to Bandung in Indonesia ; for Indonesia also is vitally linked up with the general strategic pattern of the rival Power blocs—Eastern and Western.

THE MANDATED ISLANDS

U. S. A. is also now, after the defeat of Japan, dominating over the three groups of some 98 islands which Japan got as "mandates" from the defeated Germany in 1918. Japan fortified them and established air and sea bases which have been taken over and enlarged by U. S. A. occupying them in Feb. 1944. President Truman in July 1951 appointed the High Commissioner to control the island chains composed of (1) the Marianne with Saipan as the administrative centre, (2) the Caroline group and (3) the Marshall Islands, first occupied by the Germans in 1885. All these mandated islands were taken over by U. S. A. under its

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"trusteeship" (July, 1947); but consternation followed in Japan and the neighbouring areas, when, with the consent of U. N. America began the Atomic and Hydrogen bomb experiments there. More than 50,000 natives (Malay, Chinese and Japanese) and about 50,000 Japanese make their livelihood here; but the fishing industry is now threatened with ruin and recently the U. S. A. has paid big *compensation* to Japan this year.

Japan is now eager to normalize her relations with Russia and China as announced by the new ministries hoping that the Hasomai and Shikotan isles, north of Hokkaido, suddenly occupied by Russia in 1945, will be returned to Japan, so vulnerable from the North where the Russians are strongly entrenched in the Kurile isles. The Russians also occupy the whole of Sakhalin or Karafuto once a big fishery-zone for Japan. The Russians held 594,000 Japanese prisoners out of which 489,000 had been returned by June, 1949. The Americans also repatriated all the Japanese nationals, about a million, living in territories under U. S. control, including 132,303 from the Philippines and 591,668 from South Korea. In 1950 census we find that over six million Japanese were expatriated from overseas, thus overcrowding the four Japanese islands already with about 90 million people.

MODERN TRENDS IN JAPANESE LITERATURE

Emperor Meiji inaugurated the new age in Japan and the modern trends took a definite shape in the literature of the Meiji Era (1868-1912). Yet two noted writers of the Traditional school belong to the pre-Meiji epoch—K. Robun (1829-1894) and T. Rausen (1838-1884), Robun the son of a fish-dealer wrote satirical poems and, after apprenticeship under the older master Bunkyo (1785-1860), wrote a humorous imaginary Travels of two Japanese youths to London and to the Paris World Fair. His "Tramp Abroad" satirized the hasty *westernization* of Japan. Rausen was the son of a modest Samurai family, sponsoring the first newspaper with illustrations to please the common folks. He also caricatured men and women who wildly imitated the Western mode of living.

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From 1878 onwards appear the "translated novels" which, as in Bengal, revolutionized the mind and literary style of writers. Scott, Lytton etc. were translated as also Montesquieu and Rousseau. Even conservative Court Nobles like Prince Saionji, Ito and Okuma helped the propagation of modern radical French ideas of Freedom and Equal Rights. The hero of a political novel then in Philadelphia, watched the Liberty Bell with deep reverence. The well known epoch (1885-1905) is marked in Japan by the rise of Realism—not only *French* but even *Russian*. Futabatei knew Russian, translated Turgeniev etc. and wanted to promote better relations between Russia and Japan. A short-lived (like our Toru Dutt) woman writer was Higuchi Jehiyo (1872-1896) who, dying at 24, emerged as a great realistic writer, who lived in poverty near the historic Gay quarters *Yoshiwara* of Tokyo ; out of her bitter experience she produced five great novels and tales.

There was a swing from realism to romanticism strengthened by an army surgeon Mori Ohghai (1862-1922) who studied in Germany and imported *German idealism* and style. So a short-lived poet Tokuku (1868-1894) always revolted against convention and aspired after the pure life of Art and Love. He inspired the greatest writer of the next epoch Shimazaki Toson (1872-1942) who died during the second world war, like the Poet Yone Noguchi who was fairly known in India. Noguchi spent years in U. S. A. as a disciple of J. Miller the American poet and introduced the spirit of Whitman and of later American writers. But Toson was a native artist of extraordinary genius. Prof. T. Kumitomo in his *Japanese Literature Since 1868* rightly observes ; "The study of Toson means the study of modern Japanese literature". Starting with a lyrical romanticism, Toson awakened Japan to the staring real facts of life and with his book *Nakai* (Breaking the Pledge, 1906), he emerged as the early protagonist of naturalism. Reacting against that, Toson published works radiating neo-idealism in the Taisho Era (1912-1926). Then in the present Showa epoch (1926 onwards) Toson published his masterpiece *Yoake-mai* (Before the Dawn) in 1935 when he was organising the PEN Club of Japan and thus Toson was invited with Arishima (the Painter-novelist) to the PEN Congress in Argentina (1936). As an Indian PEN member, I too was invited

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and I boarded the OSK ship "Rio de Janairo Maru" which brought me and the two Japanese writers to Buenos Aries after a full month's voyage via Colombo, Durban, Cape Town to Brazil, Uruguya and Argentina. That gave me the rare chance to discuss with a master like Toson the modern trends of Japanese literature as I reported on return, to Gurudev Tagore, President of our Indian PEN, who visited Japan thrice (1916, 1924, 1928). On my way to the Hawaii University, I and my wife Santa Devi (both members of the Indian PEN) were accorded warm reception by Toson President and Members of the Nippon PEN. We little suspected then that a dire calamity of world war was slowly darkening the horizon of Japan which fell prostrate with Atom war bombs in 1945. But Toson went on creating, till he was seventy, ever new forms and was honoured as the greatest Japanese writer of the mid 20th century.

European literature, like European painting, also began influencing the Japanese in this epoch and French naturalism found its great exponent in Katai (1871-1930). He turned however from Zolaism to Buddhist philosophy of Life which softened the desperate fatalism of the Realistic School.

While the Japanese writers, influenced by the West, were some time rank sensualists or starkly pessimistic, many however, touched by the spirit of neo-Buddhism, offered Hope and Faith to the nation. K. Momogo (born 1891) of Hiroshima gave a new faith through his play the "Priest and his Disciples."

War-time prosperity (1914-1918) was followed by depression and complications in Japan's social and economic life ; so Marxist Communism began to spread unrest reflected in a new Proleterian literature since 1921-'24. When after the great earthquake, I visited Japan with Dr. Tagore (1924), a new school of young communist or labourite writers appeared, led by H. Yoshiki and K. Takiji stimulating new ideas.

I found a deep under-current of extreme socialism and communism among the young writers and thinkers of postwar Japan and they extolled, as Pioneer, a remarkable woman writer Chujo Yuriko (B. 1899) who published in 1916 her first work *Poor Folk* (named after Dostoievsky). In 1919 she visited U. S. A., married there and returned home to suffer disillusionment

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(1920-'25) recorded in her autobiographical novel *Nobuko* (1924). She divorced her husband and visited U. S. S. R. in 1927 ; then returning to Japan in 1930 she joined the Proletarian Writers' Union and remarried a communist critic Mijamoto. When she led an active agitation for communism, she was arrested but released ; for, as a writer, she breathed the spirit of humanitarian ideals and social justice.

Anti-capitalistic literary movement was started by the group of the Union of Socialistic writers through their Organ *The Sower* (1920) 'Tanemaku Hito' to which Barbusse and Anatole France also contributed articles. Madam Yuriko propelled this movement towards communism. A romantic writer F. Seikichi gave up professorship and took to manual labour publishing Proletarian plays. Proletarian dramatists and actors staged their "ideological" plays on their Vanguard Theatre Zen-Ciza where were staged dramas like *The Bread, The Deck Passenger* etc., of Koichiro (B. 1888) who spent 14 years in U. S. A. working in farms and bakeries—while translating Upton Sinclair's books. Communism and other *leftist* thoughts came to be suppressed by the Japanese government, launching the Manchurian invasion in 1931, but the *leftists* worked underground.

Thus from 1931 to 1951 Japan passed through the Manchurian War, the China-war and the Second World War which brought the tragic defeat and dire consequences which I could see with my own eyes and I felt the rumblings of a fresh revolution. I missed my old friends, Yone Noguchi and Shimazaki Toson both dying during the War. I renewed my contact with some Members of the Nippon PEN Club which invited me to a "dinner-talk" led by the versatile writer Tomoji Abe who got my talk on 'tape record' and then published it in the leading literary Journal *Chuo Koran.* Japan has drifted from the "philosophy of leisure" to the "philosophy of uneasiness." In the pre-war period Tolstoy and Tagore, Rolland, Gide and Valery gave great impetus to the creative writers of Japan. But with the Soviet literature and ideology infiltrating, the young Japanese writers came—as elsewhere—to be divided into "camps" : extreme or moderate leftists producing works, stories, novels, plays, etc., on the Farm Labour or Industrial labour with strikes and classwar

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motifs. In this chaotic state of political and economic life dominated by the American Protectors there is little chance of social stabilization and solid artistic creations. Amidst despair and disintegration there may be a revival of the spirit of national Tradition developing a new national literature and art reacting against the deluge of foreign ideas and forced internationalism. Japan passed through a terrific "Fire baptism" which may produce a spiritual fusion of the Old and the New, in her soul. I felt it deeply as I came in touch with the greatest living author-artists Saneatsu Musakoji (born 12 May, 1885) who is the sturdy exponent of native Liberalism and ultra-individualism in the face of "mass consciousness" and its ideology. He firmly believes in the "will of humanity in harmonious development"; but as a true artist, like Tagore, he preferred the free Individual to the chaotic Mass which is threatening today to engulf and submerge the *personality* of the Artists under Marxist ideology. Trying to transcend dialectical contradictions, Musakoji edited (1912-25) the Magazine *Dai-Chowa* (Great Harmony). His early fiction *Yoshiko* is dated 1908 and his *Yojo* or friendship (1919) shows great maturity. Though coming from an aristocrat family with Zen Buddhist trends, he wrote on Jesus (Yaso) in 1914 which roused great interest during the first World War. "Who will reap the harvest of the seeds Jesus sowed with Suffering on the Cross," the author asked, while the Christian Powers were killing one another to grab kingdoms on the earth forgetting Christ's kingdom of God above. In another book "The Happy One" (1919) he affirmed "Man must love and help one another" in the spirit of Tolstoy and Gandhi. Like Mahatmaji he aspired to build a model community (not communist Utopia) through his "New Village" movement (alas smothered by modern industrialism). His comedy "Long Live the Human Being" was applauded in 1922 and so his masterpiece *Aivku* or Passion. In 1926, Musakoji lived through the rampant militarism in Japan involving her in fateful wars with China and finally in the tragic Second World War. To regain equilibrium, as it were, he took to painting, and when I told him about Dr. Tagore's Exhibition at 70 he informed me that on his forthcoming 70th birthday his people will probably quarrel more over his paintings than over his plays, poems or

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novels. He gave me a lovely Flower sketch for which I thanked him.

Before leaving Japan, I expressed a desire that those of our Japanese friends who either personally met Dr. Tagore or heard of him while he lectured or recited his poems—should from themselves into a permanent organization. The learned lady Dr. Tomico Wada Kora (now a Member of Parliament) offered to take the lead and the Tagore Society of Japan was duly inaugurated by our Ambassador Dr. Rauf electing Dr. Kora as the first President. She showed me many spots of Japan hallowed by the footsteps of Gurudev Tagore and we made detailed plans, while attending the Cultural Conference (led by Count Otani) in the lovely Hakone Park where Dr. Tagore composed many gem-like poems gazing on the snow-white face of Fujiyama, the symbol of the Eternal soul of Japan. In many homes of Japan and in Clubs visited by Dr. Tagore during his three visits, he wrote spontaneously many two and four-liners which should be collected and republished like the *Fireflies*. Then the cruder Japanese adaptations of the works of Tagore, Gandhi and other master spirits may be republished, after adequate translations based on the *original* texts. Works of Tagore and Gandhi, Nehru and Radhakrishnan are wanted by the postwar generation and the peace-minded Japanese who are cultivating English with a zest to keep peace with rapid Americanization of their educational system. So our Indian firms, publishing books of Indian thinkers in English—like the *Visva-Bharati*, the *Nabajiban Trust* etc.—should open relations with the famous Maruzen and other big Japanese publishers. Large circulation Dailies like *Asahi* and *Mainichi* and cultural periodicals like *Chuokoran*, *Yomuri* and others—bring round them a growing group of progressive writers—men and women—who may visit India and carry back to Japan some of the fresh creative urges and rhythms of Free India. The Nippon PEN Club and the Indian PEN may now find a most fruitful field of cultural collaboration as I suggested to many literary and artist-groups and to Tagore Circles, Gandhi Seminars etc. in the leading cities like Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka. The University of modern Languages in Osaka welcomed my idea of holding in Japan a Congress of Asian Languages and Cultures. Its President is an

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ardent champion of comparative literature ; and he will be helped by the veteran Professor of Hindi, Mr. Showa who visited India and published two Grammars and Readers on Hindi and Urdu. Over a thousand Indian merchants—Hindu and Moslem—and Sindhis, Punjabees etc. are doing good business there and they would gladly help the two-way traffic in cultural exchange between 400 million Indians and about 100 million Japanese-speaking folks of Asia.

CULTURAL LIFE IN POST-WAR JAPAN

Our Indian New Year (Baisakh) was closer this year (1954) to the Easter holidays which I was glad to spend in the cold but bracing climate of North Japan. President Takahasi of the famous Sendai University welcomed me and we had hearty and frank talks about the crisis of cultures in post-war Japan. He visited U. S. A. and Europe and speaks English fluently. So I broached to him my plan of a full-fledged *Asian University* in Japan, as I outlined in my *New Asia* (1947). He fully approved of my idea but was frank in admitting that the present resources of Japan were severely limited and that American policy seems to demand on the Japanese 'educators' more and more Americanization—not so much westernization, which we in India are trying to bring to its proper limits. He was glad to introduce to me a few Orientalists among his staff who may help developing gradually an all-Asian Faculty. Dr. Y. Kanakura, Dr. R. Yamada with Prof. Tada and Prof. Hadano have published an excellent catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist works of the University which runs also a Seminary on Indology. So the scholars not only read original documents in Chinese and Tibetan but also in Pali and Sanskrit. I was shown round the gallery of rare prints and maps of old Tokyo, most artistically displayed. Thus, in many out of the way educational centres of Japan and in the private collections, escaping the bomb ravages, very valuable manuscripts, books and pictures are treasured not to be found in the bigger Museums and Libraries.

President Takahasi also kindly introduced me to the renowned poet-painter S. Musakoji who, like our Rabindranath,

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took to painting very late in life. I was privileged to be invited to a special show of his paintings held under the auspices of the Sendai Rotary Club which I addressed. There I was charmed by some of Musakoji's "Flower-poems" in colour, and the author-painter kindly presented me with one of his sketches which I cherish dearly. I was invited to visit his studio in his Tokyo home where I was amazed to find all sorts of miniature paintings of the pure Persian and Indo-Persian (Mughal) schools. Along with them I found a Tourist's Sketch Book on which two of our master artists—Abanindra Nath and Gogonendra Nath Tagore have drawn their subtle brush—greetings to some of their Japanese friends.

Musakoji edited a journal in which he published thoughts on "Great Harmony" (so close to Tagore) and also on a sublime Utopia—the New Village (Gandhian inspiration) fast vanishing from the lovely face of Japan ravaged by decades of war and deadly armaments. How much of Japanese (in fact of human) culture will survive the bombardment of Atomic and Hydrogen bombs, who can say? So Musakoji looked pensive and gloomy when I took leave of him, after congratulating him on his 70th birthday. His grand-father was a noted poet and his uncle was a scholar in Zen Buddhism which saved him when he was broken hearted in his first love at 16! He met general Nogi as President of the Peer's school and dared to oppose war in the face of that great soldier of the Russo-Japanese war (1904-05). Musakoji joined the Tokyo Imperial University (1910) but soon left it to start a historic Monthly *Shirakaba* (The White Birch) which continued till 1923 publishing the young writer's early poems, essays, novels and plays. In 1921 when Gandhiji started his historic movement in India, Musakoji gathered round him a group of youths, starting the New Village movement with centres in different parts of Japan. Discarding neo-romantic ideas and styles, Musakoji initiated a healthy Naturalism tempered by spiritual Idealism and philanthrophy. I was proud to know personally such a noble and versatile creative artist.

In Tokyo I visited also the big non-official Universities like Waseda, Keio and others as well as State-aided ones like the Tokyo University then under a Christian President. He

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remembered with me the days when in 1924 Dr. Tagore lectured there; and I found that, in the place of our deceased friends, Dr. Takakusu and Prof. Anesaki, another batch of scholars are continuing the traditions of classical Buddhist culture. A big Catholic (Sophia) University is also functioning and, after war a new Protestant University is growing with considerable financial aid from U. S. A. Missions.

American influence is dominant (naturally in the Occupation era) in every zone of Japanese culture including the costumes of not only the gentlemen but also of the ladies; unlike the women folk of the rest of Asia, Japanese women of the urban zones are getting fast Americanised. Their highly artistic national costumes may henceforth be studied in museums and galleries; although the senior ladies appear in their rich national dresses at formal evening parties. The young boys and girls in the colleges are ever aspiring to secure some scholarship to visit America, the land of their endless curiosity—if not of 'dream'. Many of the English-knowing girl graduates helped us very creditably as volunteers; and majority of them (aged 18-25) were already converted to Christianity. My Japanese Buddhist friends looked silent but worried; for they knew that the Christian Marshall Chian-kai-shek is helping U. S. A. from Formosa, and their pro-American neighbours the Filipinos are overwhelmingly Christians (mostly Catholic). So, if Japan could be subjected to mass-conversion, then a new factor may be brought to operate against the anti-religious propaganda radiating from Russia and communist China. We felt however that under the apparent conformity, the Japanese youths are feeling the lure of the leftist and communist thoughts and that the deeper under-currents of their mind are rarely shown on the surface of courtesies and formal communications. I got the chance to discuss these complicated problems with my old friends like Katayama of the "Roman Rolland Circle" and also with the teacher-members of the "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom," functioning in the humanitarian Societies and in the Women's University of Tokyo where I addressed the younger generation.

The greatest and really the indigenous cultural centre of Japan is still Kyoto and not the cosmopolitan city of Tokyo.

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Kyoto luckily escaped bombing; so I could recognise its well-known artistic physiognomy which charmed me 30 years ago. The famous Togetsukyo Bridge with the back-ground of mount Arashiyama greeted my eyes. So many Japanese plays—tragedies and comedies—have this *bridge* as the centre. The grand studio-shrine—Heianjingu painted with red colours and gold—is dedicated to Emperor Kannen-tenno, founder of Kyoto which was the capital of Japan, for nearly 1000 years, before Tokyo. I met the leaders of Japanese Buddhism—the President of the Otani and other Universities—to discuss the chances of a new Buddhist revival and closer co-operation with India. They agreed that the younger generation of students—boys and girls—are more drawn to Americanization and the modern methods of religious preaching—specially of the Christian missions which are quickly building schools, colleges, clubs, hospitals etc. all over Japan. The numerous Buddhist sects—on the contrary—are lagging behind and rarely meet together to develop a concerted cultural planning with reference to the rising generation. If foreign proselytising gets a free play, then, as in the Philippines, the Japanese cultural outlook may change radically in near future.

The atom—hydrogen bombs and *nuclear* tests however have produced a nation-wide mental convulsion; and the Japanese are watching Western Power-politics with doubts and dismay. The Tokyo University Hospital may have arranged, with utmost secrecy, the treatment of the Hydrogen bomb victims; yet news were leaking out; and the Japanese Doctor allowed me and a few Pacifist ladies of the West to visit the ward of the victims. The 23 innocent fishermen are doomed (as they told us) like so many in the Hiroshima Research Centre where (the extremists reported) they are not treated (for they are past all surgery) but are kept under inspection as "human guinea-pigs"! In the Osaka Session of the Peace Congress we listened to the address of Dr. Y. Nishiwake of the local College of Medicine; he warned that, not only human beings lower below, but even the "upper air" is poisoned by the hydrogen explosion; for he detected atomic contamination even in the rain water.

From Osaka I went to Kyoto to meet Dr. Hideki Yukawa,

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After C. V. Raman (1930) Dr. Yukawa is the second Asian scientist to win the Nobel Prize. He was given a very high position in an American University ; but, like a true patriot, Dr. Yukawa, returned to a much less paid job in his University of Kyoto which has helped building up the grand Research Department of the Yukawa Institute. Indian scientists should visit it and I wished that the Indian Science Congress should invite the Japanese Nobel Laureate to preside over one of their Annual Sessions. Dr. Yukawa expresses himself very clearly in English and his talented wife Madame Yukawa is an expert interpreter of the classical Japanese Dancing. She very kindly showed me some of her *mudras* or gesture-idioms which reminded me of our *Kathakali* and mask-plays, linking Japan with our South Indian dance-dramas. Dr. and Mrs. Yukawa gave me many valuable aids enabling me to realise the post-war trends and the cultural crisis in Japan of to-day and of tomorrow—if there be tomorrow after a ruthless Atomic warfare !

In 1853 Commodore Perry of the U. S. A. Navy bombarded Japan out of its medieval backwardness, so that Japan was hustled into modernism within 50 years (1854-1904.) Japan borrowed the technology and militarism of the Western Power and, partly with their connivance, Japan defeated China in 1894 and Russia in 1904. Half a century after, when I revisited Japan, I found another Japan facing another world convulsion, in-fact her life and death problem of survival as a race amidst Atomic war in Mid-Pacific. The Japanese know that the Americans alone cannot protect them militarily or economically. The long-drawn Yoshida Cabinet failed to realise this and collapsed. Whether the new Cabinets with new leaders would succeed where Yoshida failed is a matter for future speculation. But I left Japan, more convinced than ever, with the thought that Japan should and proudly would try to leave the policy of "isolation" behind and go forward cultivating economic and cultural collaboration with two of her nearest neighbours—Republican China and Soviet Russia. This may mean another radical change in Japan's history and a veritable revolution in her cultural life.

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VII

RUSSIA IN ASIA

The name Russia is rather recent, but the vast territory stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific has yielded evidences of ancient culture from the Neolithic to the Bronze age synchronising with the archæological remains of North Iran (Kuban area of 4/3 mill. B. C.). Between the Volga and the Dniepper rivers, Red Ochres Graves have been found and in the Ukraine Chalcolithic sites have been excavated in Tripolje A and B (2500-1500 B. C.) and in Anau (Turkestan, 4000-3000 B. C.) which offer striking parallels to our Indus Civilization (early and late) and also to the Yang Shao Chalcolithic pottery culture of China.

Between 600-500 B. C. when the Assyrio-Babylonian empires were devastated by the Medes and the Persians, a new race came with a new art and culture—called Scytho-Sarmatian —from the proto-Russian zones ; over them the Indo-Iranian and other Indo-European races have moved and left linguistic traces in South Russia, (considered by Peter Giles, etc.) as the so-called cradle of the Aryans !

The Nordic Aryans or the Battle-Axe (*Parasurama* ?) culture-folks already settled in North Russia and the Baltic, also influenced the proto-Russians who—between 700-800 A. D.—came under the protectorate of the Turkish Khazar tribes ruling the lower Volga valley, over the Eastern Slavs who spoke *Sanskritic* Slavonic dialects. Then (800-900 A. D.) North Russia came to be penetrated by the Scandinavian kings named in old Russian. The chronicles as the Varangians or *Rus* giving name to greater Russia. The founder of the Russian princely dynasty was Riurik or Roerick who ruled in Novgorod (850 A. D.) whence they raided the Byzantine capital, Constantinople. In 957 the Russian Princess Olga visited Constantinople and was converted to *orthodox* Christianity which thus, in 1957, completes one thousand years of Christian regime in Russia. By 1000 A. D. mass conversion to Christianity took place, under Vladimer the Saint (978-1015).

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But up to 1000 A D. the old Slav languages (studied by Prof. Meillet) retained pre-Christian Asian culture and *Sanskrit forms.* By 1200 we find South Russia invaded by the Nomads (Turko-Mongols) of the East—under Sabutai from Trans-Caucasus—and ruled by them for two centuries (1250-1450). The Turco-Mongol *Khans* of the Golden Horde were masters of whole Russia and of China from Kiev to Peking (founded by Kublai Khan). These Asian strains in Russian ethnography and culture have been well established and in that light we should read the 15th century Russian traveller to India, A Nikitin. The disruption caused by Tartar domination was stopped by Ivan the Great (1462-1505) who in 1472 married Zoe (Sophia), niece of the last emperor of Constantinople (taken by the Turks in 1453). Ivan took up the *Byzantine concept* of the autocrat Caeser or Tsar ruling from the grand Ducal palace of Kremlin in Moscow. Ivan won over the *Khan* of Crimea and thus, creating disunion among the Tartars, baffled their last attack on Moscow (1480). In 1492 by invading Lithuania, Ivan resumed diplomatic relations with Western Europe unified by the national Christian Churches.

Ivan the terrible (1533-34) ruled for half a century and opened the way for Russian expansion in Asia by conquering Kazan and Astrakhan from the Tartars. The Russian traders (who began coming to India with Nikitin) and the Cossacks under Ermak began the conquest of Siberia (1580-83). In 1589 the national Russian Church declared independence of the Byzantine-Christian patriarch. *Michael Romanov* (1613-45) began the Romanov dynasty (1613-1917) and under him the Cossacks took the fort of Azov from the Crimean Tartars ; and the Russian Pioneers crossed the whole of Siberia reaching the Pacific Ocean (1637). Peter the Great (1689-1725) opened his carrier by resolving the Russo-Chinese conflict over the Amur region, by a treaty (1689). He also recognised the Turkish title over Azov (1711) stopping war, and also made a treaty with Sweden (1721) and opened the Russian window on the Baltic as a European Power. Catherine II (1762-96) began again the war with the Turks (1763-72) winning victories and annexed Crimea (1783) from the declining Turkish empire. During the French Revolutionary wars, Russia became the ally of England (1798) and Turkey. Henceforth Russia would

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try to extend her empire in Asia, now as an ally then as the rival of the other Imperialist powers of Europe.

Between 1804-13 Russia fought Persia which ceded Daghestan and Shemankha and recognised the Russian annexation of Georgia (birth place of Stalin). Persia was again defeated (1826-28) and obliged to cede part of Armenia with Erivan.

In 1844 Russia abandoned Russian settlements in California and sold to U. S. A. vast Alaska in 1867. In 1875 Russia ceded the 'Kurile Islands to Japan in exchange of South Sakhalin. The Populist movement and the Land and Liberty Secret Society began threatening Tsarism with the growth of the Pan-Slav movement in 1867-1879. Alexander II was murdered in 1881.

Under Alexander III (1881-94) Russia conquered the whole of Central Asia up to the Afghan frontiers thus threatening British India. England began helping Japan who defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) lowering the prestige under Nicholas II (1894-1917). The last Tsar was forced to abdicate and was killed in 1918 after the outbreak of Revolution in 1917.

ASIAN PLANS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

In the Middle East, Armenia, Azarbaijan and Georgia declared independence in 1918 and war broke out also in Siberia but temporarily stopped when the Japanese removed themselves from Vladivostok (1922) and Soviet Russia set up a buffer State—the Far Eastern Republic with its capital in Chita. After the great famine of 1921-1922, Russia began the New Economic Policy leading to a series of Five-Year Plans. Lenin died in January, 1924. England and Japan recognised the Soviet and New Asian Republics were added : Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakistan, etc. (1925). Stalin became the top leader and Trotsky was expelled (1929). In December. 1936 the new "Democratic" Constitution was adopted and the Soviet Federation was recast as follows : (1) Russia (Moscow), (2) Ukraine (Kiev), (3) Byelorussia (Minsk) in the West ; and in the East (4) Azarbaijan (Baku), (5) Georgia (Tiflis), (6) Armenia (Erivan), (7) Turkmenistan (Ashkhabad), (8) Uzbekistan (Tashkent). (9) Tazikistan (Stalinabad), (10) Kazakistan (Alma Ata), (11) Kirghizistan (Frunze).

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To these are added the following three *areas* in Asia:

The Far Eastern Region stretching from Vladivostok to the Behring Straits along the Pacific (Population; 1,593,400 in 1931); the country is rich in fur-bearing animals, fishery sea-food and forest products.

The Yakutsk Republic (Population: 400,544 in 1939) is rich in gold mines, also silver, lead and coal. Chukchis, Chuvans and the Eskimos live here. The semi-Buddhist Buriat Mongol Republic (Population: 542,000) maintain itself by cattle-breeding, poultry, etc. The Tuva autonomous Region (Population: 65,000) incorporated in 1944 is situated to the north-west of Mongolia. The people are Turki by race using good pastoral land with deposits of gold and asbestos.

The Sakhalin, taken totally from defeated Japan (1945), has an area of about 14,000 sq. miles with 340,000 population, mostly Japanese, who developed herring fishery, farming etc., Coal, petroleum and gold also abound. When Japan came to be rebuilt into the biggest American base in the Pacific, they discovered what valuable strategic centres were given over by the Allies to Russia. Now Japan is demanding a few of the Kurile Isles.

The Siberian regions are divided into Western (Population; 8,767.200) and Eastern (Population: 2,568,400), with largely unsettled forest to the north and fertile lands to the south. East Siberia yields gold and great mineral resources and thus has developed iron and engineering industries. West Siberia has coal, timber, orchards and other untapped wealth of the Arctic Ocean.

The Arctic Soviets, remote and largely unknown *regions* and *areas* (like autonomous republics), are regularly governed by Executive Committes elected by the local Congress of Soviets elected by the citizens for two years. Ships tonnages are moved freely, between the Baltic and the Far East *via* the North-East Passage opened after completing the grand canal (141 miles) between the Baltic and the White Seas. Soviet Naval Air Force is under 3 principal Commanders, the Black Sea, the Baltic and the North Pacific (facing Alaska, Canada and U. S. A.). In 1941 Air lines were opened between Moscow and Anadyr (East Siberia) and in 1946 air service was opened between Moscow, Vladivostok Chukotsk, Taskhent, Stalinabad and Alma Ata, capitals of the

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Central Asian Soviets, which we are knowing gradually. Another big canal has been opened between the Caspian Sea and the Arctic Ocean which the Russian experts have explored scientifically.

SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

This vast area known as Turkestan was conquered by Russia in 1860, Tashkent in 1866, Samarkand in 1868, Khiva and Bokhara in 1870. Their feudal groupings were transformed into regular Soviets in 1924-25.

(1) Kazakistan (Capital, Alma Ata, former Verny ; incorporated, 5th. December, 1936).

It is bounded on the west by Russia and the Caspian, on the East by China, on the north by Russia and on the south by Uzbeck and Kirghiz Soviets. It makes (after the Russian Soviets) the second largest Republic with over 6 million people (1939). Land of Nomad Kazakhs have now been developed by the Soviet Academy of Sciences (1944) into industrial areas with coal and copper. A very big hydro-electric station and Dam has been built in Kyzl Orda (1944) irrigating 100,000 areas of rice. So sugar, rubber, etc., are grown with orchards and vineyards ; also medicinal plants and grasses for the sheep giving the best quality wool. They are exploiting also the rich mineral resources like copper, lead, zinc, coal, tungsten and oil (along the river Emba), gold and pig iron ores have been found in 1946. High grade aviation oil comes from Emba and Aktyabisk.

(2) Turkmenistan : Joined in 1924 as the Turkmen Republic occupying the former Trans-Caspian Region taken by Russia (1881). The population 1,252,000 is mostly Sunni Moslems speaking the South-west group of Turkish languages. Captial Ashkhabad has 126,580 souls. It is famous for horses and sheep and long-fibred cotton. Subterranian water is being utilized to reclaim the Kara Kum desert (with coal and minerals) where our Rajputana Desert Scientists should go and work with Russian geologists. Amu-Darya waters are also utilized and fishery practised in the Caspian. Sulphur, salt and oil are also utilized, Nabit-Dag is an oil-town and Kara Bogaz has a sulphate industry. Cotton wool and Astrakhan furs bring money.

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(3) Uzbekistan : Formed in 1925 out of ancient Turkestan, Bokhara and Khorezm (known to Alberuni and Avicenna). The old States of Khiva and Bokhara, the provinces of Samarkand and Ferghana (known to the Turco-Mongols like Chengiz, Taimur, Babar *Vide* H. Lamb *Genghis Khan* 1957) belonged to the Uzbecks, the ruling race of Central Asia dominantly Buddhistic from the age of Kanishka to Kublai Khan. The Uzbecks met the Afghans (to the South) who also were Buddhistic till the Sunni Muslims conquered them. Population 6,282,450 maintain themselves by intensive farming based on artificial irrigation; devised by their Academy of Sciences with 46 Research Institutes, promoting yields of cotton, silk, fruit and rice. In 1949 the Kzyl Kum desert was afforested by means of sowing from aeroplanes. From that advancing desert the Bokhara and Karakul oases are protected by afforestation. Tashkent the Capital contains the richest collection of Turco-Mongol art—specially paintings which should be studied by all those who know something of the so-called Mughal school. Timur died in 1405 (after meeting the greatest Poet of the age, Hafiz) and his fourth son was Shah Rukh (1377-1447), a peace-loving son of a savage war-lord. Shah Rukh removed the capital from Samarkand to Herat and restored the ruined cities to prosperity and patronized scholars and artists, who flocked to his court. His son Ulugh Beg (1394-1449) was hailed by the western scholars as the illustrious personification of Tartar Astronomy, Philosophy and of Sciences like Medicine, Geometry and Mathematics. He as Crown Prince, ruled over Khorasan, Mazandaran and Trans-Oxiana and made Samarkand the centre of Muslim civilisation assimilating the scientific and cultural discoveries of the *savants* of Iran and India. Why not hold an All-Asian Cultural Conference at Tashkent with modern amenities ?

(4) Tajikistan joined U.S.S.R. in 1929 ; for centuries well-known for farming, cattle-trading and horticulture, the land also yields valuable minerals like oil (in the north), sulphur, zinc, lead, uranium, etc. Thus big industries are growing for food, textile, silk, chemicals and electrial items. In 1950 their Academy of Sciences was founded and its observatory at the capital city of Stalinabad has recently discovered a new Comet in the Pegasus Constellation. Population : 1,485,000 mostly Tajiks speak an

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Iranian dialect close to modern Persian ; and the Tajiks are considered to be the community of the original Aryans of Central Asia, where Indo-European speeches have been traced. The highest mountains are named now the Stalin Peak (about 7600 meters) and Lenin Peak (7,127 metres) ; they slope down to the lowest valleys of the Pamirs (3500 metres), the "roof of the world." It is the Asian Soviet closest to Pakistan, India and Kashmir.

(5) Kirghizistan was reconstructed into a republic in 1926 with a population of 1.1/2 million and capital city Frunze (former Pishpex). The state is situated on the Tien Shan range and borders on China to the East, Kazak-Uzbek lands to the West and Tazikistan to the South. The Kirghiz Academy of Sciences, opened in 1943, now operates 23 research institutes which develop agriculture, livestock and over 500 industries relating to sugar, cotton, textile, wool, silk, and coal, oil and rare minerals like gold, silver, lead, mercury, arsenic, etc.

A large new canal is being built in the east Tien Shan ranges, opening new possibilities. Where Asia merges into Europe, we find there also three republics of Asian languages and culture ;

(6) Armenia : Capital Erivan. Area : 11,640 sq. miles. Population : 1,281,100 of whom 85% are Armenians and the rest are Jews (mostly settled in the town of Birobidzhan in the Far Eastern Region), Kurds, Persians, Turks and Georgians. Their Academy of Sciences runs 43 institutes with schools and colleges. The mineral deposits feature copper, aluminium, zinc, and fostering chemical industries, fertilizers, synthetic rubber, etc. Mount Ararat is famous in Biblical history and the persecuted Armenians—like the unfortunate Jews—found asylum in the Soviet Republic rejecting credal and racial discrimination.

(7) Azerbaijan : Area 33,460 sq. miles, Population : 3,209,700 mostly of the Turkish group with Armenians, Georgians and Russians. It formed with Georgia and Armenia, the Trans-Caucasian Soviet, washed by the Caspian in the East and South—thus bringing complications to the South Caspian regions of Iran, which it resembles in productions like rice, vine, silk, tea, cotton, tobacco, horses, camels and buffaloes. Iron, copper, zinc, lead, etc., are found, but the richest industry is that of *oil* in the Baku region (known to Indian *Fakirs* for centuries) where Soviet Russia

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held its first All-Asian Congress (1920). Baku Oil-field is connected by a double pipeline with Batum on the Black Sea which washes the Rumanian oil-fields also. Baku oil output in 1940 was 25 million tons, much enlarged in the last 15 years.

(8) Lastly Georgia, the birth-place of Stalin, organized its National Council in 1917-18 and became Sovietised in 1921-22 with capital at Tiflis. Area: 37,570 sq. miles and population 3,1/2 million. Iron and steel and motor works develop industries and metallurgical plants, manganese mines, sulphur springs, etc. The highest peak of the Caucasus overlooking and protecting it in the north and in the west, the Black Sea offers sub-tropical areas growing tea (tea machinery), bamboo and tobacco. No wonder Stalin called himself an *oriental* and when he died in 1952. I found rabid Western papers crying him down as an 'oriental savage'. But one should remember that what the exploiting Colonial Powers of the West could not do in four centuries (1500-1900) Soviet Republic has done, in less than four decades, (1920-57) to bring food, clothes and hygiene to millions of the neglected and exploited oriental nations.

Thus Russia played a historic role in the vast Asian continent and the U. S. S. R. is fully developing and utilizing the human and material resources which attracted the peoples of the Volga basin to India and the Ganges basin.

So, we reproduce here an important note, by Ulysses Young, on the trade-routes from Ganga to Volga.

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APPENDIX

GANGA TO VOLGA

BY ULYSSES YOUNG

In 1797 the celebrated Indologist Herasim Lebedeff, who was then residing in Calcutta wrote to his Government of the possibility of enriching his country by linking it by sea to India, and urged on them, as a first step, to send down to Bengal two three-mast vessels that "would set sailing from the Ganga and traversing the Mediterranean and other seas and crossing the Baltic will enter the Neva". He was confident that the proposal, when carried out, "will replenish the treasury through revenues, help trade and exploration and benefit my country in many other ways."

Lebedeff's efforts did not produce any immediate result. Little did his countrymen imagine at the time that in making this effort he was only trying to revive, in a slightly different way, a long-forgotten tie whose history was then at least two thousand years old ; a tie which linked the people nourished by the divine Ganges to the races favoured by the mighty Volga, not of course by sea, but by a combined land and river route.

The existence of this ancient route is attested by the Classical writers who came to India in Alexander's train or shortly after him. That part of this route, which lay astride North India and spanned the 1156-mile distance which separated Pataliputra on the Ganga from Taxila in the North West, has been described by Megasthenes. From Taxila the road ran right up to Bactra (Balkh), then a great international trading centre, where converged all the caravan-routes from different parts of Asia and Europe. One of these routes led to the left bank of the Icarus river which flowed into the Oxus. A trading party venturing beyond Bactra in the direction of South Russia would change wagons for boats on the Icarus, and the Oxus would then carry the boats down to the Caspian Sea, which being crossed, the wares could be carried up the river Cyrus to Baku round the eastern part of the Caucasus chain to the source of the Phasis river and so to the Black Sea and the South Russian peoples settled along its northern and eastern shores.

But instead of being taken up the Cyrus the wares could also be landed on the North-Western shores of the Caspian and taken over by the people called the *Aorsi*, who in their turn passed them on to another people, the *Siraces* living north east of the Black Sea. The Siraces no doubt passed part of the wares to the Greek cities in Crimea and especially to Tanais a mart common to Asiatic and Russian nomadic tribes on

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the Don River. But part of the trade passed also to the *Barsileenas*, a Russian (Scythian) tribe known in Hellenistic times as Royal Scyths, because of their political superiority and commercial enterprise, who had their capital on the Volga. No doubt they used the Volga for carrying trade further up into the heart of the Russian land.

Our chief authority for Indian trade relations with the Russian *steppes* is Patrocles, who in 285 B. C. was commissioned by the ruling dynasty of Syria to explore the Caspian, and reported that the Oxus which separated Bactriana from Sogdiana was so convenient for navigation that the Indian wares were easily conducted down it to the Caspian from whence they were transported by other rivers to the Black Sea. Patrocles' report is endorsed by Aristobulus, one of the technicians, who followed Alexander's army, who declared that the Oxus was the largest of the rivers he had seen in Asia except those in India. He further said that large quantities of Indian wares were brought down on the Oxus to the Caspian, and thence, on that sea, were transported to Baku and brought down on the Cyrus river and through the regions ; that come next after it, to the Black Sea.

From Vano (116-27 B. C.) we learn that the great Roman General Pompey came to know during the Mithridatic Wars (66 B.C.) that Indian wares took 7 days to cross Bactria and reach a river which flowed into the Oxus, that they could, after having been transported to the Caspian, being conveyed up the Cyrus, be carried by land in 5 days to the Phasis which flowed into the Black Sea. There is, therefore, little doubt that at least from the 4th century B. C. onwards, there was a regular trade-route *via* the Oxus which connected the peoples of the Ganga to the races settled on the Volga and in the neighbourhood.

The existence of this route has been doubted by several modern historians chiefly on the ground that, at present, the Oxus empties its waters into the Aral Sea and has no connexion whatever with the Caspian. It is, however, extremely doubtful that Patrocles, who undertook a personal exploration of the Caspian, could have made a mistake on the point or would have submitted a report to his Royal master which was fundamentally wrong. Nor is it easy to set aside the evidence of Aristobulus, who was a scientist by training and would not have concocted a story about the Oxus route, had he not been convinced of its reality. The interest, which the Roman empire consistently evinced, since its very inception, in the protection of the Cyrus valley, needs to be examined in this connexion. From the time of Augustus we hear of many attempts to place on the throne of Armenia which commanded the way to the Cyrus valley, a vassal of Rome, and during the reign of Tiberius we learn that the South Russian tribes, Albanians and Iberians of the Cyrus valley, were protected by the might of Rome. Arrian, consular legate under Hadrian, speaks of many small forts and garrisons in the district

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of Phasis on the east coast of the Black Sea, the object of which was no doubt to protect the trade passing from the Caspian to Phasis and *vice versa*. The garrison set up by Vespasian in A. D. 75 at Harmozoica overlooked the Dariel Pass and guarded against the incursions of any barbarians who might molest travellers proceeding to the Caspian. Rome would not have taken so much trouble over an outlying district unless the amount of trade pouring through it had made the task worth while.

It would thus seem that Rome was trying to control the Caspian route in order to attract the overland trade from India by short-circuiting the *Parthians* who controlled the main land-route which ran from Bactria *via* Hecatempylus to Seleucea. The Chinese found an established Oxus traffic about the end of the first century A. D. ; and Emperor Justinian in the 4th century A. D. appears to have made use of this route in getting introduced to Byzantium the living *eggs of the silk moth* after he had failed to forestall the Persians in the sea-trade with India in silken goods. The practice of sending silk to the West by the Oxus route is attested by the recent find of silks in a number of tombs in south Russia. As silken fabric as well as figured silk was virtually an *Indian monopoly* during the opening centuries of the Christian era, there is little doubt that the South Russian tribes were conducting during this period a thriving trade in Indian silk.

Le Conte d'Alveilla has summarised the numismatic evidence of India's trade with Novogorod and the Baltic from the 8th to the 11th centuries ; and it will be reasonable to argue that the greater part of the trade was carried down the Oxus and up the Volga in which the Russians of the steppes played a most conspicuous part. The continuity of this trade up to the 16th century is attested by Nikitin (1466-72) and Master Anthonie Jenkinson, an employee of the Muscovite Company of London, who, in 1558 (a century after Nikitin) undertook a journey from Moscow to Bokhara and back. The journey was accomplished partly by caravan and partly by riverine route. Jenkinson speaks of a regular trade-route from Novogorod to the Caspian *via* the Volga and from the south-east gulf of the Caspian to Urgeri by land, from whence the trading partly voyaged to Kait up the Oxus and from the latter place to Bokhara by land and by river. Jenkinson learnt from the local people that "times past there did fall into this gulf (of the Caspian) the great river Oxus which hath his springs in the mountain of Paropanissus in India, and now cometh not so farre. . . . ."

We may, therefore, be fairly sure that there did exist, from the 4th century B. C. down to quite recent times, a regular traffic between the Gangetic plains and the lands washed by the Volga and the Don. The fact that the Oxus does not flow into the Caspian but into the Aral, creates a problem which it is not possible for me to discuss in this short essay. In pre-historic time the Aral and the Caspian and much of wh

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is now dry land may have been one large *inland sea*; and in historical times the Oxus may have had a branch leading into the Caspian. The evidence for such a possibility has been summarised by Kropotkin in his famous study "The Old Bed of the Oxus" and it will be needless to restate that evidence here. Suffice it to say that the Oxus-Volga traffic had so firmly established itself among the peoples who took advantage of it that even the deflection of its course away from the Caspian could not interrupt it any way; and it is no wonder that Jenkinson, as late as 1559 saw the merchants of Bengal brushing shoulders with the Russian traders in Bokhara, which then formed one of the chief halting places on the *Indo-Caspain* route.

Of the articles which formed the chief items in this ancient trade I have already made a reference to silk and silken fabric. Jenkinson found Indian merchants bringing to Bokhara fine cotton fabrics which were appreciated not only by the Tartar tribes but by the Russian traders as well who took away with them diverse kinds of wares made of cotton wool in exchange for red hide, sheep-skin and woolen cloth. This trade in *cotton* in which *India exercised a complete monopoly* from hoary antiquity, must have been as old as the commencement of intercourse between Russia and India. The famous Greek physician Ctesias testifies to the popularity of 'bright coloured Indian textiles' among the Iranians; and it would have been surprising, had the Indian tribes of the steppes like the Scythians and Sarmatians, for example, been ignorant of these covetable articles. Figured textiles, whether embroidered or hand-painted, had their origin in India, and examples, of similar textiles found in South Russian tombs were to all appearance either Indian imports or imitations of Indian wares.

Another article in which India exercised complete monopoly was *spice*, but spice did not form an item of trade with Russia during the 16th century. the control of the trade having as noted by Jenkinson, in the meanwhile passed to the Portuguese interlopers. Philologists would have it that the famous medicinal plant Rhubarb was originally a Russian import from India. It was called in antiquity Rha Barbarum: Rha' being the ancient name of the river Volga, while 'Barbarum' implied connexion with Barbarika, the famous port town on the mouth of the Indus. It is believed that Rhubarb travelled from Sind to the Volga *via* the Oxus route. That would evidently explain its name.

That a flourishing trade was carried on by the people of the steppes with Balkh (Sanskrit *Balhika*) and Northern India is also proved by the discovery, among other things, of metal horse-trappings of Indian style in the graves of the Sarmatians who flourished between the Don and the Volga, from the third century B. C. right up to Roman times. Several beautiful specimens of jewellery and toreutic art have been found in South Russia especially in the Kuban region, whose style appears to be entirely

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foreign to the locality. Its chief features are on the one hand its predilection for polyfiromy and on the other its powerful and pathetic naturalism expressed mainly in groups of fighting animals. The bias of Indian artists both in favour of polychromy and a realistic animal art is well known from antiquity ; and in the absence of any art of the Kuban valley it may be reasonable to hold that this art was moulded by Indian influences percolating through the Oxus route. Lastly, one should mention the objects of minor art found in the Necropolis of Bori in the Caucasus. Such as, for instance, bracelets with inlaid stones, which were certainly *imported from India* during the first century B. C. or thereabout.

It is not possible to enumerate here the many subtle ways in which Indian artistic influence made themselves profoundly felt in the South Russian Steppes during the pre-Kievan period. It would perhaps suffice to call attention to a typical specimen of early Russian art found in the Kuban region whose analogue cannot be found anywhere except in India, This is a goldfront plaque of triangular shape on which is represented the Indo-Iranian sun-god, seen full face, in his chariot with horses separated into two groups in order to show the epiphany of the god. The earliest representation of the sun-god with the same iconographic features occur on a Bodh Gaya railing of the Second century B. C. It may be worth noting that the conception of the solar god as a chariot-riding deity is found for the first time in the Vedas. Buddhism evidently borrowed this concept from the Vedic myth and the acceptance of this concept as an established fact in the Iranian and the Near Eastern religions was thus due essentially to Buddhistic influences that the Kubans derived their iconographical ideas relating to the sun or *Surya* ultimately from India is, therefore, a possibility which deserves serious consideration. The plaque, moreover, displays another characteristic peculiar only to Indian art, viz., the portrayal of figures in simple elevation in open violation of the Classical rule of *perspective*. The intrusion of this feature in early South Russian art may well have been an outcome of the impact on it of *Indian artistic influences.*

Some features of the early Russian art which are attributed to Byzantine and Christian influences also many well have been inspired by Indian aesthetic ideas. It would, therefore, seem that the road which linked the Ganga to the Volga and brought the products of Indian commercial art to the steppes of South Russia also helped the growth of a more-subtle, more intimate and profounder relation between these two great lands than has hitherto been suspected. (*Vide* Hirth : *China and the Roman Orient.*)

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IX

CHINA AND ASIAN STABILITY

As Russia, with the Asian Soviets, forms the vast single block of diverse nationalities and languages inspired by a common ideology, so China, the compact mass of mankind dominantly Mongoloid, is being transformed into the bulwark of Asian solidarity. But there is another fragment of Chinese party politics in Formosa under Chiang Kai-shek who, with American support mainly, is trying to perpetuate schism defying the People's Republic functioning fully from 1949, with about 600,000,000 souls. Then the third element is represented by the Overseas Chinese numbering about 10 million: majority of them in Asia (with 2½ m. in Malaya and 1½ m. in Indonesia) and also in Oceania, Africa, Europe, North and South America.

In religion the Chinese were cosmopolitan in spirit, harbouring the *Jews* in Honan, the *Muslims* counting 50 million and the *Buddhists* 150 million professing foreign faiths. The rest are Taoists or Confucians ; but all religious groups are now subjected to the new communist drive to secularization. The resultant psychological types and their reaction to the new Government should be cautiously watched. The West has clashed with the East, in China as well as in India, for over three centuries of modern history started by he Manchu dynasty (1640 onwards). Emperor Chi'en Lung (1736-1795) was a contemporary of Clive and Hastings; so we may follow easily the quick transformation of China during the last two centuries. China invaded Tibet in 1751 and began controlling the succession of the Dalai Lama. In 1758 Kashgaria was conquered maintaining Chinese control over Turkestan and Central Asia. In 1781 the revolt of the Muslims were suppressed, the Formosan rebellion was crushed, and the Gurkhas of Nepal were vanquished (1792).

Between 1757-1842 China, suspicious of the Christian westerners, stopped them systematically from settling down in any Chinese port under the pretext of trade ; Earl of Macartnay was sent away (1793) from the Chinese Court of Peking ; but the Americans luckily entered into a profitable trade in Canton (1784).

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During the century of 1795-1895 we notice China declining through total refusal to take to modern education, science and industry which Japan accepted and thus defeated China in the first Sino-Japanese War of 1893-94.

In 1821 the Opium trouble started, for the East India Company began sending (defying Chinese Emperor's prohibition) 5090 chests of Indian opium to China. It was temporarily stopped (1834) with the end of the Company's monopoly of British trade with China. The Chinese burnt 30,000 opium chests and the British opened the Opium War (1841-42) and forcibly took Hongkong and opened other ports like Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Nengpo and Shanghai. Chaos reigned between 1850-64 when the Taiping rebellion led to ruthless destruction, of life and property. The French took advantage of it and gradually grabbed the whole of Indo-China (1862 onwards.)

In these gloomy days was born Sun-wen, famed later on as Sun Yat-sen (1862-1925), a contemporary of Lenin. Dr. Sun tried to organise rebellion (1895) against the decadent Manchus but failed; he escaped *via* Hawaii to Europe and America and organised (since 1893) the overseas Chinese. Meanwhile Japan defeated the corrupt Manchu rulers of China and took Formosa (1895). The big powers of Europe—France, Germany, Russia—began their scramble for "concessions", forming States within a State. So the hot-heads of China started the *Boxer Rising* (1900-1901) ruining the prestige of the Manchus who were driven out in 1911 by the Revolutionary Chinese who elected Dr. Sun Yat-sen their President (December, 1911). After a second revolution in July, 1913, Yuan Shi-kai was elected President; but he too tried to play the Emperor (1917) and lost his chance. Dr. Sun moved to Canton and made his Government in 1921. In 1915 Japan presented the notorious 21 demands during the First World War; but the Washington Conference (February, 1922) guaranteed to China her independence and territorial integrity. There was also the remission of the Boxer indemnity of 6 million dollars diverted to rehabilitate Chinese education by creation of the China Foundation for Promotion of Education and Culture. So U. S. A. sunk billions of dollars in China to conciliate the Chinese and to capture their vast market. But other factors went against U. S. A.

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Soviet Russia, in repudiation of the Tsar's ill-gotten gains, gave up (1919-20) extra-territoriality, etc., at Tientsin and Hankow and the balance of the Russian share of the Boxer indemnity to be used for the education in Russia of the young Chinese, who with many other Asians, were invited to the first Pan-Asian Congress, in Baku (1920). In January, 1924, the first Kuo Min Tang Congress at Canton with Sun Yat-sen as President admitted the Communists to the party which began to be influenced by Russian advisers, notably Michael Borodin. Chiang Kai-shek (born 1887), himself trained in Japan, headed the Russian instructor in the new Whampoa Military Academy. He went to Russia for further experience ; and on return—when Dr. Sun died (March, 1925,—began destroying the Chinese communists, who, in their turn, waged a 30 years' war against Chiang who championed the outmoded feudalistic capitalism. Yet Chiang's master Dr. Sun propagated progressive socialism since 1904-1907 (a decade before the Russian Revolution of 1917). Before his death (12th March, 1925) he published his lectures—*San Min Chu I* or the three Principles of Nationalism, Democracy and Social Progress—all the three betrayed by Dr. Sun's corrupt or incompetent followers, Chiang Kai-shek, Hu Han-min and Wang Chiang-wei.

COMMUNIST CHINA

The dividing line between the two historical periods was drawn by the youths of Peking who, on May 4, 1919, called a huge demonstration against the supine and corrupt government and thus began a truly nationalistic and cultural revolution. Few now remember that a young graduate of the Normal School of Ch'angsha organised the New People's Student Union after joining the Revolutionary movement. He was Mao Tse-tung, (born 1893) in Hunan Province where he joined as a boy a small Communist Party cell which had its ramifications in Hankow and Peking. Mao in 1918 took a small job in the library of the Peking University studying books, writing poems and he was elected delegate to the first Communist Congress in Shanghai (July, 1921). Its second session met in Hangchow (July, 1922), which formally resolved to wipe out imperialism and war-lordism, stressing Dr. Sun's

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Nationalism. They decided to join the Communist International and invited the third Congress to Canton (June, 1923) where Mao was elected Member of the Central Committee. The fourth Congress met in Shanghai (January, 1925) where the party resolved to organise the Farmers' and Labourers' movement and the youth and the women's organisations. Thus their youth *corps* had a good number and the Party had more than 1000 members. The fifth Congress in Hankow (April, 1827) brought 100 delegates representing 500,000 members of the party. Mao took the lead in Land Reforms. The sixth Congress met in Moscow (July), for Chiang started his ruthless campaign to extirpate the Chinese communists who took up guerilla activities against Chiang's Kuomintang Government. Mao formed the first Red Army (1827-28) with the youths of Hunan, Fukien and Kiangsi whence Mao led the famous Long March (1934-35) to Yenan (8000 miles). He also set up a Chinese Soviet and led the Agrarian Revolution, seizing for peasants the lands of the idle landlords. Meanwhile the Japanese began occupying Manchuria (1931-32) and Mao appealed to the nation and made common cause with Chiang for the war of Resistance. In September, 1937 Mao kept back his communist propaganda and ordered his Red Army to fight the Japanese as part of the Chinese National Army which was strengthened under Chiang who concluded a non-agression treaty between China and Soviet Russia (August, 1937). The Japanese and the Russian forces clashed (August, 1938) on the Manchuria-Korea-Siberia borders. The Japanese took Canton and Hankow amidst protests of the Western powers but the Second World War broke out in full fury in 1939.

LIQUIDATION OF KUOMINTANG (1939-1949)

In August, 1939 Hitler and Stalin made a strange German-Russian Pact and in September England and France declared war on Germany invading Poland. In December, 1939, Russia was expelled from the League of Nations for distributing vital war-materials to the enemies. In May, 1940 Churchill formed his Coalition Government with Labour Party in June, after French collapse, and America made a big defence programme with a

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"two-ocean navy" and offered warships to England in exchange for American naval and air bases in the British Empire by the agreement of September, 1940 when Germany, Italy and Japan also entered into a Pact which encouraged Japan to attack Hawaii (December 1941). U. S. A. thus entered the war and England reopened the *Burma Road* to send supplies to China. But civil war raged in China. (1941-45) and the seventh Congress of the Chinese Communists met at Yenan in 1945. Mao after the Japanese surrender (August 1945) flew with U. S. A. Ambassador Hurlay to Chung-king to conclude peace, if possible, with Chiang. But in 1946 civil war again broke out in Mukden, Kalgam and Yenan. From 1948 Mao Tse-tung began his big offensive and totally defeating (1949) Chiang's forces, drove them to Formosa and occupied the vast Chinese mainland establishing the People's Republic of over 500 million souls.

In June, 1950 Chairman Mao Tse-tung delivered a memorable address on "Fight for a better turn in the Economic situation in China" and the whole nation began working as one man to develop a New Democracy in the East with Soviet friendly assistance. U. K., India, Burma, Ceylon, among others, promptly recognised the People's Republic which is showing throughout very cordial sentiments to India led by Premier Nehru who was most warmly welcomed (1954) as a guest of the Republic. The Chinese Foreign minister Chou En-lai naturally gave full support to the policy of Nehru in the Bandung Conference (July, 1955). Chou En-lai was born (1896) in Kiangsu who studied western diplomacy while in Paris as a student, forming Chinese communist cells in Paris and in other European cities. Returning to China in 1923 he helped Chiang and Mao in their anti-Japanese drive ; but when civil war broke out Chou retreated to Yenan and finally emerged as Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic and of the administrative Councils and also as the Minister of Foreign Affairs helping Mao in all sectors of national progress.

Ten years senior to them is General Chu Te (born 1886), the Communist Commander-in-Chief. Graduate of the Yunan Military Academy, he formed the Revolutionary League taking part in the Yunan uprisings. After that he visited Germany (1922) and fostered the Chinese Communist cells in Berlin and

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other places. He joined the North Expedition (1926) after his return to China where Kuomintang and the Communists began clashing (1927). He helped Mao Tse-tung in building up the Red Army of Farmers and Labourers and led the Eighth Route Army and commenced the Long March (1935). Famed General and Vice-Chairman of the People's Military Council, Chu Te is also the Supreme Commander of the Chinese Forces.

Another talented leader is Kuo Mo-jo (born 1892), poet, novelist, critic and scholar, now Head of the Cultural Ministry. He began as a medical student (like Dr. Sun Yat-sen) in Japan, publishing there his Poems (1921-22). On return to homeland he organised the "Creative Society" so influential in modern Chinese literature. In 1925 he was of the staff of the Sun Yat-sen University, Canton. In 1927 he fostered Proletarian literature from Shanghai (1927) and thence escaped to Japan where he studied old Chinese history and wrote copiously (1927-37). In 1945 he visited Russia and in 1949-51 he was in Poland and France. On return he was elected Chairman of the Committee of Cultural and Educational Affairs. As President of the *Academia Sinica* he won the Stalin Peace Award. He translated also from Goethe, Tolstoy, Upton Sinclair, etc., and wrote copiously on Political Science, Social Problems and Archæology—a prolific and versatile writer who recently visited India.

This new generation, of course, got inspiration from progressive veterans of the last century some of whom I mention : The oldest to remember, I suppose, is Kiang Yu-wei (1856-1928), scholar and social reformer admiring Western culture, Condemned by the Manchus, he fled to Hongkong and thence to Japan where he met Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but was against violent revolution. He followed rather the teachings of Confucius and Buddha, writing on the Theory of Compassion and Equality in the Buddhist Teachings, which should be translated by the Sino-Indian Institute of Cheena Bhavana, Santiniketan.

Kiang's favourite pupil was Liang Chi-chao who invited Dr. Tagore to China in 1924. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's noble wife Sun Ching-ling (born 1890) helped Dr. Sun in his revolutionary works and later joined Chu Te, Chou En-lai, etc., of the Revolutionary Party. She could not pull on well with her

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brother-in-law Chiang Kai-shek. She travelled through Russia and other parts of Europe and America for upholding the cause of World Peace and Chinese Democracy. She wrote in English *The Struggle for New China* and got the Stalin Peace Prize (1951). She should be invited by the Indian Women's Organizations, as she is the real disciple of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and now Chairman of All China Democratic Women's Federation of the Welfare Institute and also Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic. Her Federation helped to convene (December, 1953) the Conference of Asian Women, with 165 Delegates from Oriental countries contacting 76,000,000 women workers of different grades and ideals. Free India should invite another such Conference of the progressive women of the East.

The People's Republic of China (proclaimed 21st September, 1949) passed the Organic Law of the State, led by the Communist Party with five million members (July, 1950) who strive for independence, democracy, peace and strength of China through unification. China (like India) is a sub-continent of 32 Provinces and 12 municipalities, covering an area of over 3,000,000 sq. miles. Food, clothing and housing problems are as acute as in India but within five years (1949-54) China has made tremendous strides through hard labour and integrity. By the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1950, U. S. S. R. granted to China commodity credits of 300 million U. S. dollars to be repaid in 10 years (1954-63). With great zeal for science, new China is applying modern methods of agriculture, reafforestation and irrigation. Foreign air services have closed but the Sino-Soviet Civil Aviation Co. (1950) is operating lines from Peking to Central Asia ; and Russia has returned to China important railways to the East. Shipping industry is being developed and the Bureau of Navigation has regional centres at Tientsin, Shanghai, Tsingkao, Dairen and Canton. Before 1949 Communist victory, there were many western trading agencies : 151 British, 142 American, 20 Swiss, 11 French, Belgian, Dutch, Italian, etc. ; also 7 overseas Chinese firms. How many have resumed commercial relations are not definitely known. But Ceylon, U. K. India, Pakistan, etc., are doing good business with China. After U. S. A. and India, China is the third in the world's total cotton production, next in

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silk and tea. So manufactures relating to these articles are thriving. Coal and iron are there in plenty and will help developing heavy industries. China is also rich in minerals like gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, tin, antimony, tungsten, etc., which are found in plenty. So petroleum oil is being extracted in Shensi, Kansu, Upper Yang-tse and South Manchurian zones. Tin mining industry thrived in Yunan with its vast tin ores. Sino-Soviet Joint-stock Companies are developing oil and non-ferrous metals in Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan (*vide* Basil Davidson *Turkestan Alive* 1957). Total trade union membership was over 4 million in 1950 and must have gone higher now. Like U. S. S. R. in the west, China may develop into the biggest Labour Republic in the East benefiting most of the "under-developed" (yet over-populated) countries of Asia. On the ensuring of the livelihood and well-being of these teeming millions depend the permanent peace and stability of Asia.

CHINA AND TIBET

According to the Chinese official report (1945) a team of Chinese geologists was sent from Peking to investigate into the possibility of finding mineral deposits in Tibet, and the team after reconnaissance and prospecting survey has discovered ores of many rich minerals in that hitherto "forbidden" country. Chinese experts are gaining world renown* in Science.

The minerals found by Chinese experts in Tibet include iron, coal, copper, zinc, lead, graphite, arsenic, gypsum, kaolin, borax, natron and bitumen. In several places coal and iron were found to exist side by side. Specimens of these deposits were sent to Peking where, after analysis, those were found to be of excellent quality. At Gyamda Chamdo, a district town few miles from Lhasa, coal and iron have been found and the Chinese authorities are reported to set up a steel factory.

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* The Nobel Prize for Physics has been won in 1957, by two brilliant young Chinese Physicists: S. D. Lee and Cheu N. Yang (age 35).

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AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

The Chinese authorities are also carrying on extensive agricultural researches in Tibet and Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan with Indian traders and different kinds of crops and vegetables, hitherto unknown in Tibet are being experimentally cultivated in different parts of that mountainous country under difficult climatic conditions; and most of these crops have been successfully grown there through modern scientific methods. Two agricultural demonstration farms have been established at the capital city Lhasa and at the second city Shegatse, where the Tibetan peasants are being taught the modern agricultural methods growing more food for the country which is hitherto a deficit area specially in regard to foodstuff. Paddy, Russian beet for sugar, cotton, oranges, bananas which were unknown in Tibet, are also being grown in certain parts of the country. (*Vide* P. S. H. Tang : *Communist China Today*, 1957).

DALAI LAMA'S VISIT TO INDIA

His Holiness the Dalai Lama, accompanied by the Panchen Lama participated in Lord Buddha's 2,500th *nirvana* celebrations in India. The Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama are regarded as embodiments of Lord Buddha ; and the present Lamas, though young in age, are anxious to strengthen their spiritual ties with India and the Buddhist world abroad. Their Holinesses sent gifts of Tibetan Buddhist scriptures to Nalanda and to the Maha Bodhi Society of India. A number of Tibetan religious manuscripts were also presented by the Dalai Lama to the Visva Bharati University at Santiniketan and they visited the Bengal Buddhist temple in Calcutta. They also presented the relics of Lord Buddha to the Buddhists of Burma. These relics were being worshipped in the Potala Palace of the Dalai Lama at Lhasa and in the Tashi Lumpo monastery of the Panchen Lama at Shegatse.

Sri Nehru was invited by Premier Chu En-lai to visit (October, 1954) China where he was welcomed by the Venerable Shirob-Jaltso, President of the Chinese Buddhist Association. In

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September 1954, Mrs. Uma Nehru also visited China at the invitation of the China-India Friendship Association and she laid wreathes on the *stupa* built in the memory of the great Chinese Philosopher-Pilgrim Hauan-Chuang (or Hiuen Tsang) a friend of our Emperor Harshavardhana (7th century A. D.).

So the leaders of Communist China, warmly co-operated with Nehru by sending to the New Delhi Buddhist Art Exhibition (1956), some of the finest and most valuable samples of Sino-Buddhist frescoes, portraits, paintings, manuscripts and other art-objects warmly applauded by millions of visitors during the *Buddha Jayanti* (1956-57). Indians got the first chance of appreciating the frescoes (contemporary with *Ajanta*) of the Tun-Huang Grottoes in Kansu, dating from the Turkish *Wei* dynasty (4th century) to the Mongol *Yuan* dynasty (13th century) and also the sculptures from Yun-Kang, Tatung-fu (Shansi) and from Lung-men in Lo-yang (Honan).

Statues and mural paintings from the 4th to 17th century (Ming dynasty) were shown to us proving how the modern Chinese antiquarians are restoring re-copying and conserving those precious paintings and sculptures. Many new cave-paintings and *rock-cut* shrines have been discovered, as we were glad to find from the Chinese Buddhist Exhibits in New Delhi. These and other historical manuscripts and monuments of Sino-Indian collaboration may be presented to the public by the *Cheena Bhavana*, Santiniketan where Premier Nehru received the ovation of the Founder-Principal Tan Yun Shan celebrating the 20th Jubilee (1937-57) with a *Souvenir* volume.

Along with China, the Himalayan States of Sikkim (population about 150,000) of Bhutan (population 300,000) and Nepal (population about 9 million) demonstrated their Buddhist art treasures in the Delhi Exhibition. This gesture of Trans-Himalayan friendship revived and strengthened the spiritual-*cum*-cultural relations of India with her Asian neighbours who echoed the prayer of the Chinese Buddhists : *The wheel of Law rotates for ever and the Sun of Buddhism increases its glory day by day.*

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CONCLUSION

ASIA IN WORLD ECONOMY

With the independence of India and Pakistan, Burma and Indonesia, Asia, after the Second World War, first made its voice heard—in the cause of Peace and Co-existence. This was strengthened by the emergence of the Chinese People's Republic (600 million). India was one of the earliest to recognise the Chinese Republic and to defend it in the U. N. against charges of being aggressive in the Korean War which, happily was stopped through Indian intervention for a truce. India again affirmed her traditional Peace Policy in the Indo-China War which was also stopped, although troubles are brewing here and there. Premier Nehru boldly raised the Iron Curtain between the East and the West by paying friendly visits to U. S. A. and to the Chinese Republic and to Soviet Russia—both joining to strengthen the hand of Nehru stabilizing Asia through the principle of co-existence, in spite of differences of political ideology and economic systems.

With a new "Orientation" in the outlook of nations, some glaring "inequalities" in the life and economy of the "under-developed" countries of Asia may be tackled provided we are granted 10 years' peace and no war. This problem has been ably discussed by Mr. and Mrs. Woytinsky—joint authors of *World Population and Resources : Trends and Outlook* (New York, 1954). They have pointed out that—in 1948—while the *per capita* income of the U. S. A. was 1525 dollars, that of the next richer groups (like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, U. K. Switzerland, Sweden, etc.) averaged 814 and the French figure was 418 and West German 360 dollars. In U. S. S. R. *per capita* income was only 181. In Turkey and Japan 140, and for the teeming millions of China 17 dollars (1938) only. We do not know where will India stand after the second Five-year Plan.

The West took, two centuries ago, to the path of industrialisation and colonialism capturing *markets* all over the world. The East, dominated—politically and economically—lagged far

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behind and poverty is the prevailing lot of the majority of Man in Asia. The additional production of foodstuffs for this half-starved human family would cost about 25 million dollars (against total 2,400 million of the total human race). To *food* must be added *clothing*, and *housing* charges, better sanitation, water-supply, medical and educational aids, amounting to 40/50 million annually. This implies an increase, in current world production of consumer goods and services, only 7 to 10 per cent—a target which man in this scientific age may reach with good will, mutual aid and peace. The future Plan-framers of India must take these basic factors into their consideration.

RESOURCES OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA HUMAN AND MATERIAL

The population of the vast area, covering about 16 per cent of the total area of the world, is over 12,000 million or 50% of the world's population. This huge human mass is concentrated, for centuries, in the river-valleys, deltas and low-lying plains. The average density is very high, *e. g.* in Japan 580 per sq. mile, in Java and Malaya 800 and in the congested regions of China, India and Indo-China the density per sq. mile is 2000. Food clothing and housing problems are most acute in the *Sub-marginal* areas of the countries further handicapped by resistance of the illiterate peasants to re-settlement, inadequate technological trends and insufficient capital formation. Internal migration and urbanization are slow and unsteady, while external migration to the neighbouring countries are getting more difficult owing to stricter immigration laws and stronger national (anti-foreign) tendencies. India faced it with the independence of Burma and Ceylon and will face it with the progress of Self-Government in Malaya. The Chinese represent 39% the (1931) and 45% (1947) of the entire population of Malaya. They represent about 4% of the population of Thailand. The receiving countries, therefore, are now trying their utmost to shut their door against these economic rivals in labour and production, showing moreover their political anxieties regarding such a large number of *aliens* mainly Chinese settlers. Indonesia, encumbered further by the Dutch and Eurasian settlers of divided loyalty, is

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showing similar anxieties due to similar causes. Expulsion and nationalization or expropriation of Dutch assets may lead to serious consequences in Indonesia.

In the peak period, the *Indians abroad* numbered over 4 million, the Japanese 3.1/2 million (1920-1940) and the Chinese nearing 10 million characterized as *overseas Chinese* who, from 30 foreign countries, send much money for investment in New China. The European *colonialists* who started the war-cry of "Yellow Peril" in 1900 are using the same slogan now in a different sense, since China joined the Communist Bloc (1949-1950). The Japanese emigration to North America (Canada, U. S. A. and Hawaii) was stopped ; and, after their defeat, the Japanese, forced to return home, added to serious congestion and they were permitted to settle only in Latin America, as I saw, specially in Brazil. The "White Australia" policy is responsible for shutting the Yellow folks to enter Australia and New Zealand even on temporary earning exploration. So the Indians in East and South Africa are facing a major economic crisis due to the *apertheid* violating religion and ethics. Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) devoted 21 years (1893-1914) of his early life to the peaceful settlement of human problems in a human way. But alas ! the colour prejudice of the white Boers undid the Smuts-Gandhi pact and exposed the oppressor and the oppressed equally to violence and ruin.

The importation of "coolies" or "indentured" labour (opposed by Mahatma Gandhi and Rev. Andrews) was the result of the demand of the White investors building their lucrative plantations (sugar, rubber, etc.) and mining (tin and other ores). For over a century the Chinese and the Indians have helped the White businessmen to get their lions share while the labourers earned the jackal's wages. But things are changing so rapidly—with the liquidation of the Dutch and the French empires in Asia, that we may face a serious crisis or a lucky readjustment through mutual aid and goodwill. Australia should think less in term of the Whiteman's Paradise and more in term of the vital needs of the Asian neighbours. Since the Bandung Conference (1955) it is getting clearer from day to day that, in the second half of this century, the nations of awakening Asia will develop some sort of

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a Eastern Commonwealth of their own to assure to their growing population the indispensable means of livelihood, as assured by the U. N. Charter, of food, clothing, shelters and Human Rights. Neither nuclear weapons nor military pacts like the SEATO can solve these vital problems analysed vividly by the experts of the U. N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East with its head-quarters in Bangkok.

Agriculture will continue to be the mainstay of our economy and employment frame amidst millions of the neglected under-employed. The "land belongs to the tiller" is a slogan dominating the Asian horizon and China is now leading to that direction followed by Indo-China, Burma and India. A new system of land-classification and utilization is taking shape including better management of our forest resources, fisheries, etc. Irrigation, electrification, river-control, etc., are getting top priorities in our national planning and budgetting. Cotton and wool, jute and rubber are still (substitutes notwithstanding) in big demand in the world market where East Asia occupies a key position, just as West Asia and French North Africa stand regarding the oil (petroleum) supply of the world. The U. S. A. as the major oil promoter of the world has entered the Middle East as a dominant partner and U. K. is, for years, engaged in exploiting the oil of Iran and Iraq and Borneo. Indonesia and China will soon develop their oil resources effecting a healthy balance of interests between the East and the West. Siam and Burma, India and Pakistan are likewise exploring their oil resources.

The largest producers of iron ores are China and India both developing their iron and steel industries. Japan also shows a big steel production but depends for ores on Hongkong, Malaya, India and the Philippines.

So India offers manganese ores, Pakistan chromite and China and Burma Tungsten. Malaya produces ilmenite as a byproduct of *tin* mentioned among the ferrous metals. Then, for non-ferrous and light metals, we get from South Asia copper, lead, zinc and above all tin in which Malaya is the world's most important producer, seconded by Indonesia, China, Indo-China and Burma jointly giving 73 per cent of the world's total *tin* output. China is vigorously developing tin-industry in the Yunan province.

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Bauxite deposits—vital to aluminium industry—are largely found in India (Madras), China, Indonesia and Sarawak (Borneo). So graphite is found in Ceylon, phosphate in Indonesia and China, gypsum in India and Pakistan, pyrites in India and the Philippines and above all *sulphur* (now in world shortage) in Japan, Pakistan and India. Soviet scientists have announced their latest application of nuclear energy to the control of cancer and to the improvement of agriculture. China and Tibet will soon benefit by such peaceful use of atomic power ; and from China other nations of Asia may derive benefit. Prof. Topchiev announced that more than 30 Soviet Research Institutes carried out experiments with radioactive super-phosphate to determine the best methods and periods for feeding phosphatic fertilizers to agricultural crops. Thus Soviet Russia and China may revolutionize the production technique in agriculture the mainstay of livelihood for 80 per cent of the rural population of Asia.

An eminent Indian scientist Dr. N. R. Dhar has recently given important facts about the population of Asia *vis-a-vis* the *world population* (5 Mill. in 8000 B. C. ; 20 M. in 5000 B. C. 1000 M. in 1000 B. C. ; 2000 M. in 1 A. D. etc.). Against that we find the population of Asia to be : 330 M. (1650), 479 M. (1850), 937 M. (1900), 1121 M. (1933), 1155 M. (1940), 1238 M. (1947) and 1292 million in 1950. Thus from mid-17th. century (1650) to mid-20th century, Asia showed a population growth from 330 million to 1292 M. or nearly *one thousand million increase* in *three* centuries ! Asia to-day is the home of 53 per cent of the total human race, in spite of violent reduction through famine, flood, war, pestilence and other calamities, as watched by the experts of the International Red Cross. With the scientific control of diseases and natural calamities, we may expect further increase in population pressure and food problems, which can only be tackled by world co-operation through U. N. or such other agencies of World economy and World Government. No more power blocs with "cold war" but the warmth of human sympathy in *One World*, is the consummation devoutly to be wished.

Asia announced the Palæolithic Dawn of culture with her three heralds : The Java Man, the Peking Man and the Mount Carmel Man. Her Neolithic villages (1000-5000 B.C.)

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showing progress to agriculture and animal husbandry, have been definitely located from the Nile Valley to the Mesopotamian and Indus Valley civilization zones. The Book of the Dead, the Epic of Gilgamesh, the Code of Hammurabi leading to the Laws of Manu, the Book of Judges and the Book of Genesis of the Old Testament furnished some of the earliest recorded thoughts of Man. The Indo-European linguistic science, added a new significance to the grand Vedic Literature of India which emerges with Iran, the land of Avesta, as the earliest literary creations of the Aryan or Indo-European races. At the end of the Classical period, terminating with the Guptas and the T'ang dynasties, we find Arabia taking the lead with Islam and its sacred book the Koran recited over the three Continents.

From the Mongol Chenghis Khan to the Turkish hero Mahomet II, conqueror of Constantinople, Asian capacity of organization and leadership were obvious. But thenceforth there was decline in the pursuit of Science, Technology and Maritime expansion where Europe excelled and thus dominated the East for nearly four centuries. But from the age of Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) to that of Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) and Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948), we find clear indications of the Indian Renaissance, leading simultaneously to the new awakening in most of the Asian nations from the Mediterranean to the Pacific shores. The Western Powers in Asia in that epoch, passed from competitive empire-building to collective colonialism : Portuguese French Dutch or British. At the end of the Second World War, the nuclear armaments are being invented not for the perfection of Man and Society but for almost total annihilation of the Human race and civilisation.

Religions apart the basic ethical ideals of the East are reacting clearly against the aggression of the West. The Cairo conference on Afro-Asian solidarity gives a signal that civilisation may yet be salvaged and Humanity saved through the solemn and scientific truths of Co-existence and Non-violence. May the men and women of goodwill all the world over, join Asia to strengthen the Cause of World Peace for, as the Indian Sages ever pronounced, Humanity stands on the foundations of Peace, Goodness and Unity : शान्तम् शिवम् अद्वैतम्।

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MAHATMA GANDHI

ON

AHIMSA

Non-violence is the Law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. Non-violence, in its dynamic condition, means conscious Suffering.

It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the putting of one's whole Soul against the will of the tyrant.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

National Library of India, Belvedere, Calcutta

Library, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta

Library, Calcutta University

Library, Indian Museum Calcutta

Editor : Journal Asiatique, Paris

Editor : Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient

Editor : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Editor : Bulletin, London School of Asian and African Studies.

and remembering with gratitude the services voluntarily offered by so many of my loyal Friends in different Countries and Continents.

K. N.

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Plate 1

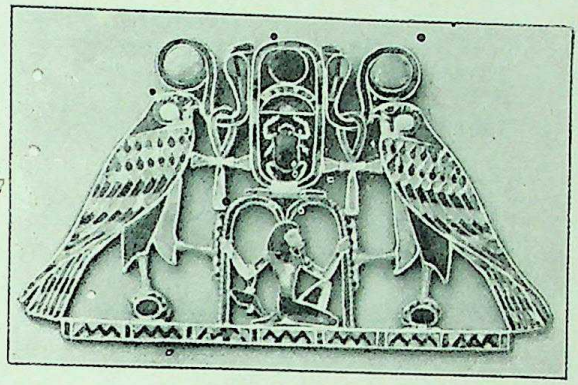

Fig. 1

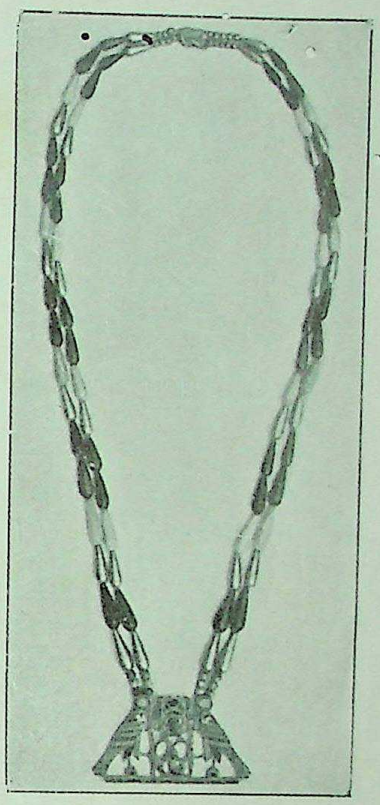

Fig. 1*a*

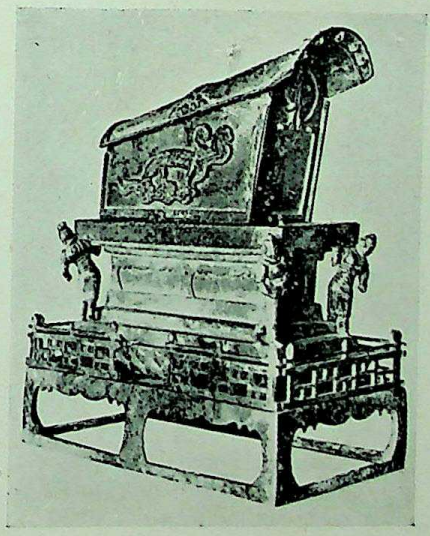

Fig. 2

Fig. 1, 1*a*—Egyptian Jewellery, Metropolitan Museum, New York
Fig. 2—Chinese Shrine, T'ang Period, Metropolitan Museum, New York

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Plate 2

Fig. 3— Head-dress of one of the Sumerian women from the Great-Pit of Ur, Chaldia

Fig. 4—Asian Sphinx dedicated by the Naxian Greeks, Delphi

Fig. 5—Fragment of a Hittite Sphinx from Vedic Boghas Koi, Istanbul Museum

Plate 3

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Fig. 6—Bronze worshipper from Tylissos, in Candia, Crete

Fig. 7—Bronze warrior from Athens

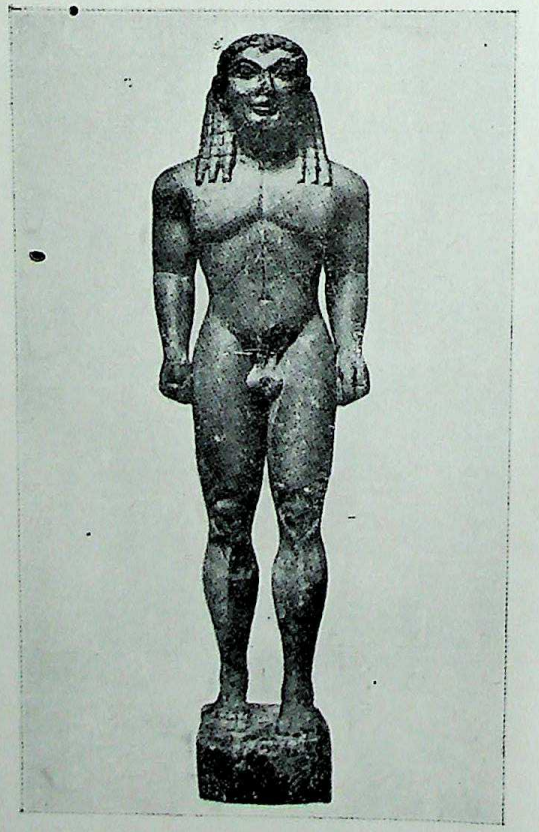

Fig 8—Jaina-like Statue by an Argive Sculptor, Delphi.

Fig. 9—Female with Asian drapery, Acropolis Museum, Athens.

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Fig. Oriental 10—Painting on an Amphoravase, National Museum, Athens.

Fig. 11—Egyptian Portrait Statue, Boston Museum.

Fig. 12—Terracotta Solar god Apollo from Vejji, Rome

Fig. 13—Chinese Votive Stele, Dated 554 A.D., Boston Museum.

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Fig. 14—Buddha Head, Amaravati, Boston Museum.

Fig. 15—Bronze Avalokitesvara, Ceylon, Boston Museum.

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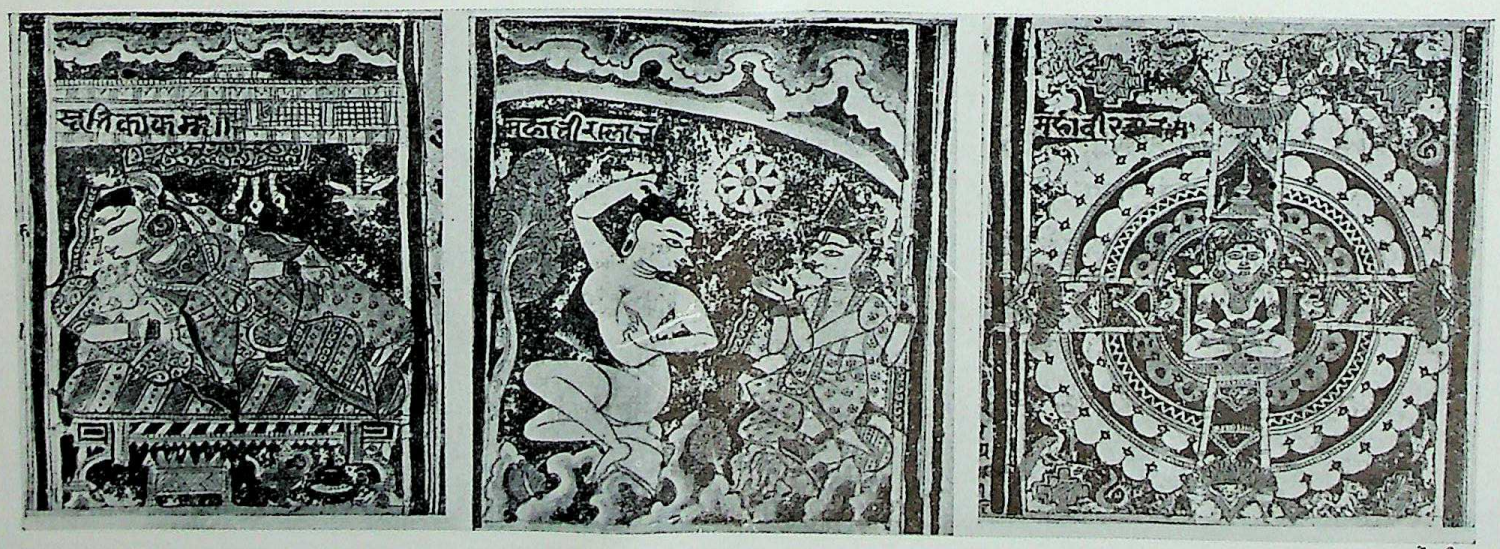

Fig. 16—Gujarati Jaina Manuscript Painting, 15th century, Boston Museum

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Plate 10

Fig. 17—Kangra Painting, 17-18th century,
Boston Museum.

Fig. 18—Copper Bodhisattva, Nepal, Boston Museum.

Fig. 19—Copper Siva Nataraja, South India, Boston Museum.

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Fig. 20—Persian Rhages Dish, 12th century, British Museum

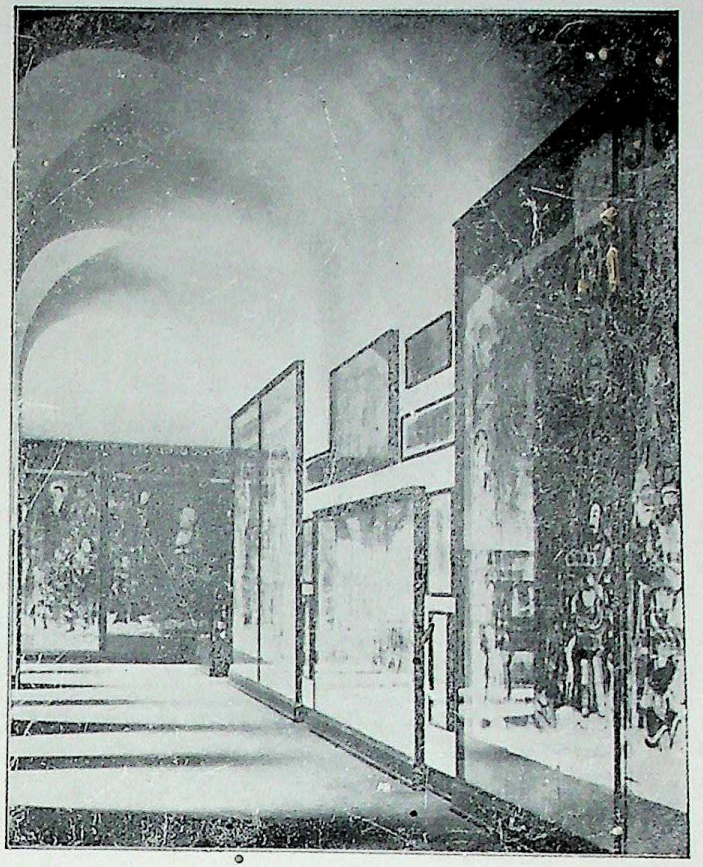

Fig. 21—Buddhist Paintings from Central Asia, Folk Museum, Berlin.

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Figs. 22, 22*a*—Peruvian pottery (racial types) from Valle de Chicama.

Figs. 23—Peruvian pottery (racial types) from Chimbote.

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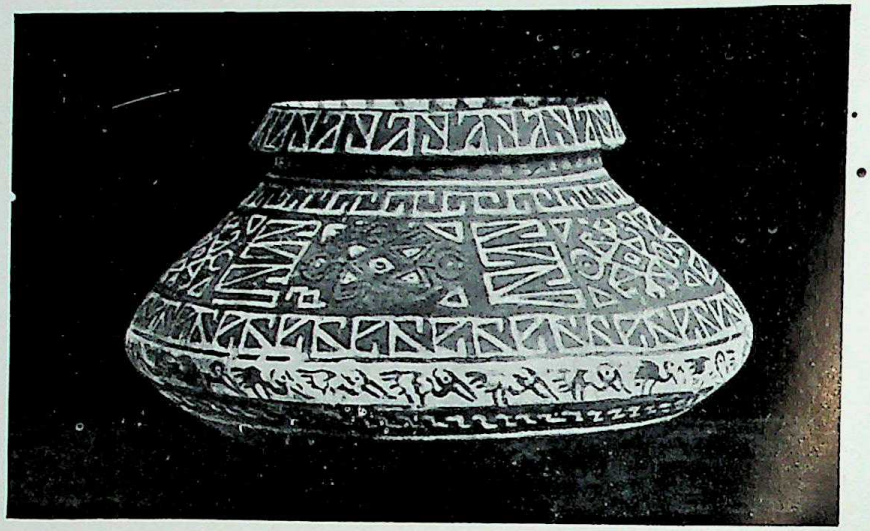

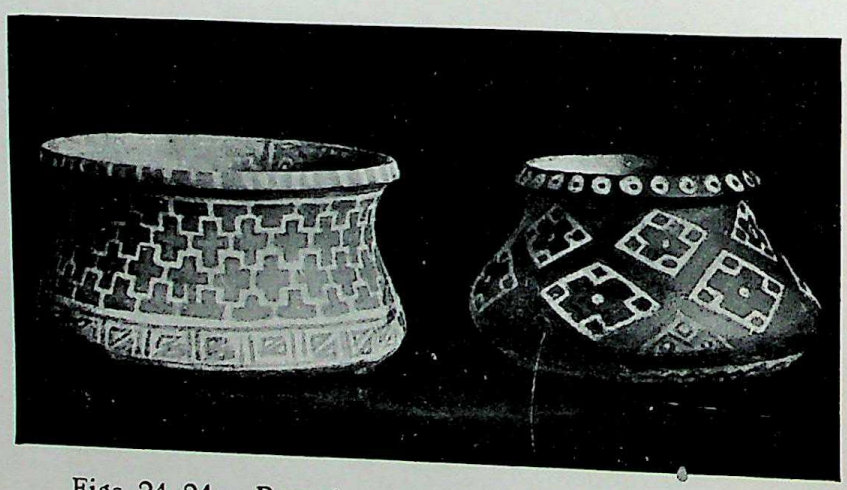

Figs. 24, 24*a*—Peruvian pottery (geometrical) designs.

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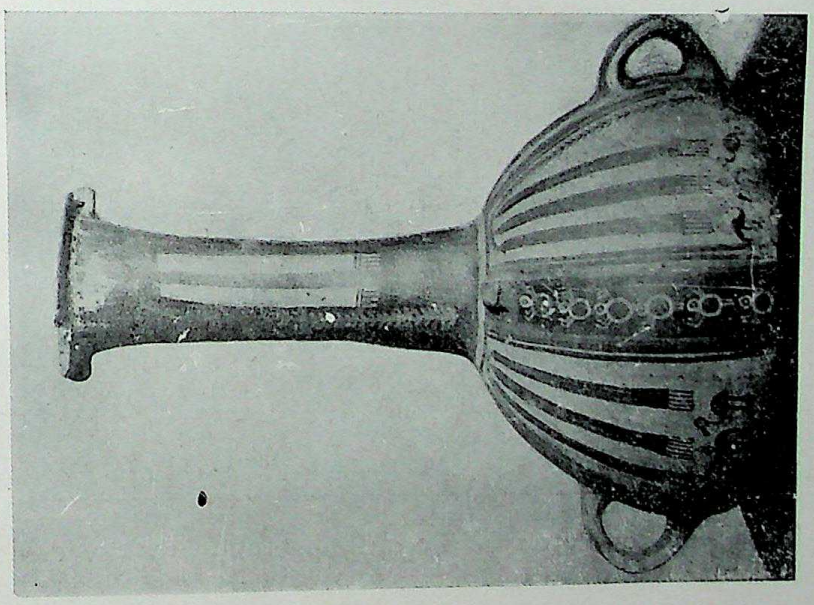

Figs. 25, 25*a*—Amphore vases from Cuzco, Peru.

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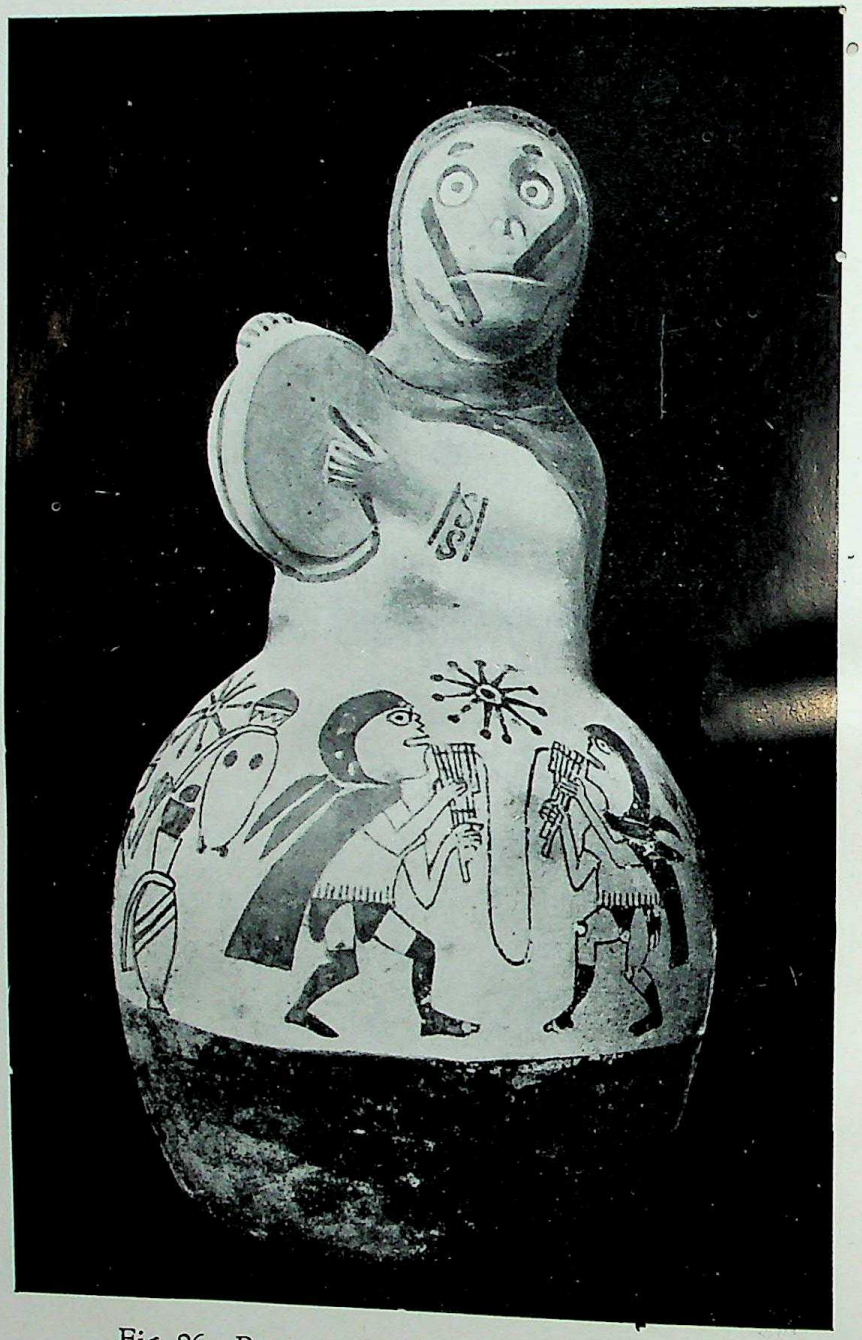

Fig. 26—Pottery musician from Trujillo, Peru.

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Plate 17

Fig. 27—Indian Polycephalic design on Inca pottery.

Fig. 28—Poncho textile with Indian designs from Peru.

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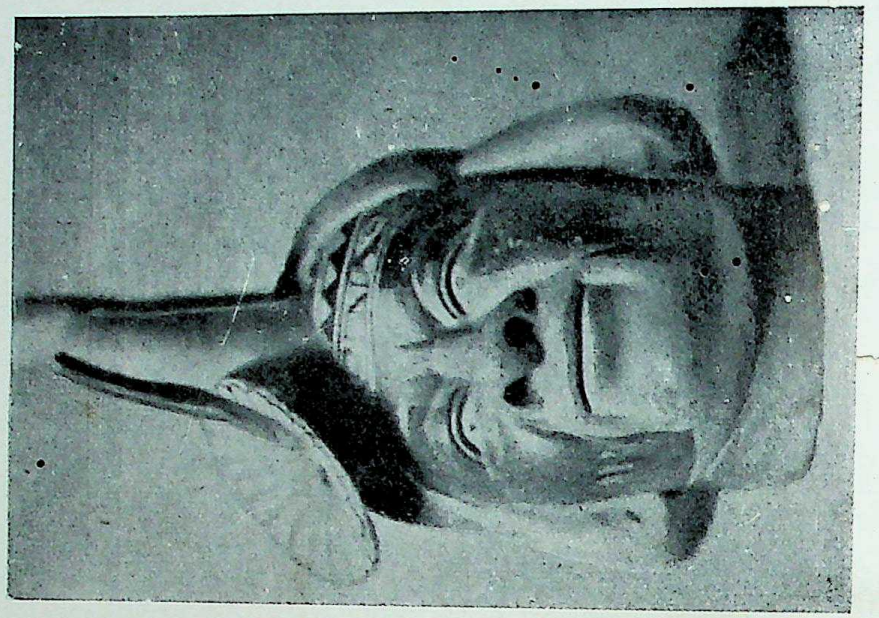

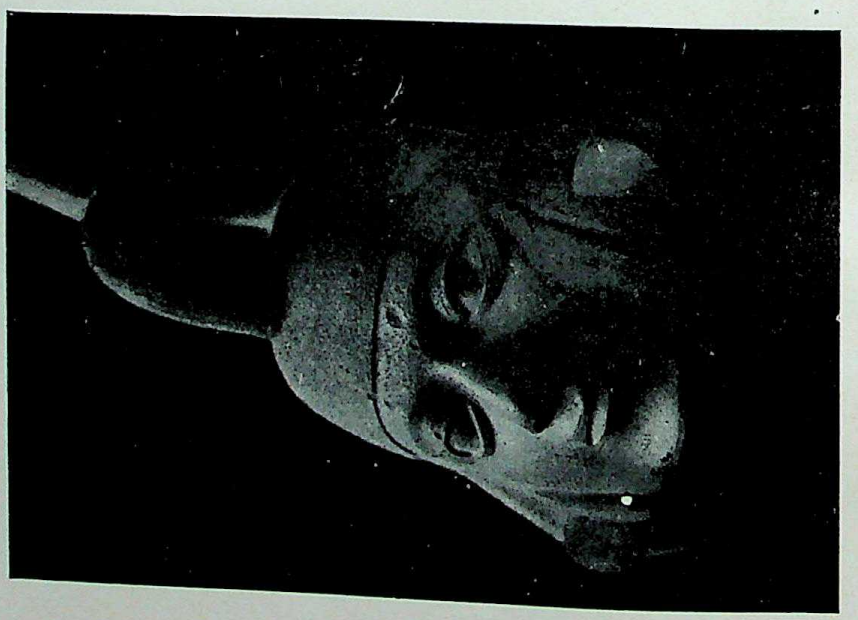

Figs. 29, 29*a*—Head designs from Chicama, Peru.

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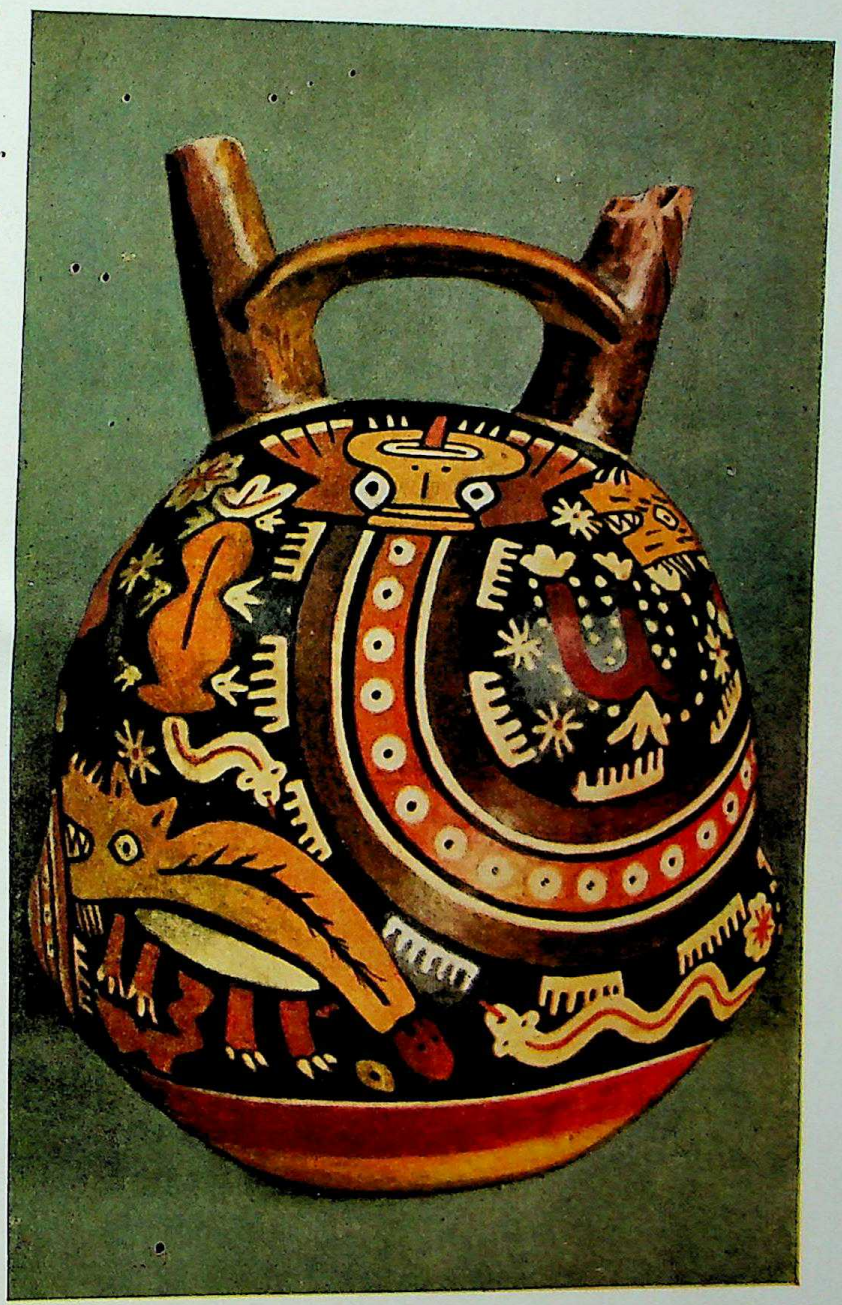

Polychrome pottery from Nazca, Peru

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